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Keeping Up Appearances: Candidate Self-Presentation through Web Videos in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Primary Campaign

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MSc in Politics and Communication

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Nisha Gulati

ABSTRACT

The 2008 U.S. presidential candidates are increasingly placing video content on their official campaign websites. At this phase in the election campaign, over four hundred candidate web videos have been produced and published online. Candidate web videos have emerged as a significant force in U.S. political communication since the start of the 2008 primary campaign, but their usage as a campaign tool has not yet been examined in detail.

This study analyzes candidate web videos from an image presentation perspective. Using Lynda Lee Kaid and Anne Johnston's (2001) videostyle concept as its theoretical underpinning, the verbal, nonverbal, and video production techniques of web videos are examined to reveal candidates' styles of self-presentation. Content analysis is performed on a sample of ten videos produced by each of the three front-running Democratic and Republican candidates. This sample of sixty videos is analyzed to examine three aspects of web videos; candidate self-presentation in web videos as compared to political television advertisements and campaign websites, individual candidates' self-presentation styles in web videos, and trends in candidate self-presentation in web videos by party.

The study finds that web videos are distinctive as a political communication tool in a number of ways. They are relatively simplistic in their use of nonverbal and production techniques, enabling candidates to project a 'realistic' image to viewers. The web videos are longer in duration and appear in greater numbers than political television advertisements, granting viewers access to a greater level of unmediated video footage of the candidate than has been available previously. They are positive in nature, never attacking or portraying opposing candidates negatively. The web videos are also more focused on images than issues and use ethical appeals more often than logical or emotional appeals.

Videostyles unique to individual candidates are also revealed in this study. Hillary Clinton and Rudy Giuliani are portrayed as traditional leaders, frequently shown in their formal role as candidates, giving speeches. In contrast, John Edwards and Barack Obama are presented as 'one of the people', often shown meeting and interacting with voters on the campaign trail. John McCain is depicted as a patriotic leader, supportive of the military, while Mitt Romney is shown as both a successful leader and a religious family man.

Distinct videostyle trends by party are also observed. Democrats and Republicans tend to use similar production techniques, but their verbal and nonverbal styles differ. There is striking contrast in verbal elements of videostyle including the Democrats' emphasis of issues like the Iraq War and social issues, and Republicans' emphasis on security and economic issues. In addition, Republicans use incumbent strategies, such as highlighting achievements, and Democrats use challenger strategies, such as calling for changes. Noteworthy differences in nonverbal components are observed in the national symbols featured; Republicans display the flag more whereas Democrats feature more community imagery. In addition, the parties emphasize different emotional appeals. Republican videos exhibit fear and patriotism to a greater extent as compared to Democratic videos which appeal more on happiness and hope. This study makes a significant contribution to the field of political communication research by providing some of the first insights into candidate image presentation within the emerging medium of campaign web videos, and as such serves as a beacon in directing future research.

Introduction

If last year was the year of the rogue videographers, the already-underway 2008 presidential campaign is likely to be remembered as the point where web video became central to the communications strategy of every serious presidential candidate (Cillizza and Balz, 2007: 1)

Increasingly in 21st century political campaigns, internet-based media has become an influential tool in political communication and a critical component of any candidate's image management strategy. The 2008 U.S. presidential campaign marks the beginning of an era when instead of regretting the release of unofficial campaign videos such as the '1984 anti-Hillary Clinton' and 'Obama Girl' YouTube videos which may be unfavorable, candidates start taking this medium into their own hands. Candidate web videos on official campaign sites are a recent and increasingly significant trend in political communication. Hillary Clinton announced her candidacy for the presidency on a web video featured on her campaign website. Similarly, Barack Obama chose to announce the formation of his exploratory committee for the presidency via a web video rather than a more traditional media release.

While some of this change has been driven by increased access to the Internet in the U.S., the improved connection speed in particular, with broadband penetration nearly doubling since the last general election in 2004 (Web Connection Speed Trends, 2007), has given more people the capacity to watch such videos.

Presidential primary candidates have therefore produced dozens of web videos in the early phases of this campaign. These videos are prominently featured on most candidate homepages above the fold, not tucked away amongst hard to navigate pages, highlighting the important role they play in campaign communication strategy. While most candidates have adopted this new form of communication, the degree to which they have embraced web videos varies considerably. In the first half of the primary campaign, some candidates' websites featured over eighty-five videos, whereas others featured only thirty. In addition, the quality and content of videos varies considerably between candidates. Some websites feature minimally edited full-length speeches, others specific clips from news interviews, and still others show the candidate 'behind the scenes' to give an insider's view on the campaign trail. Most campaigns have now expanded their communications teams, employing full time videographers to keep up with this latest trend (Cillizza and Balz, 2007: 1).

As web videos are a new phenomenon in the field of political communication, little research has been conducted on their use. Related past research has focused on how candidates use political television advertisements and campaign websites to present specific images of themselves. Because both of these media are created and controlled by candidates and their campaign teams and are unmediated by journalists, they provide a clear illustration of the images candidates wish to present (Scammell and Langer, 2006: 764). Since the use of such videos as a campaign tool is now widespread, it is important to consider how candidates are presenting themselves through this medium.

Candidates appear to be using specific techniques in their web videos to construct “an image that serves to represent that candidate” to voters (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 26). To better understand candidates’ styles of self-presentation, this study will use Lynda Lee Kaid and Anne Johnston’s (2001) videostyle concept to analyze and interpret the verbal, nonverbal, and television production techniques used in these videos (Kaid, 2004: 165). The verbal components (such as language style, mention of specific issues, and type of appeals made), nonverbal components (such as style of dress, setting, and surroundings) and television production techniques (such as staging and sound effects), together contribute to the image a candidate seeks to present in web videos (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 29). This study will examine the general characteristics of web videos, investigate the characteristics of individual candidates’ videostyles, and compare the differences in videostyle techniques used by Democrats and Republicans. In so doing, this research will focus on to what extent, if any, web videos represent a new form of political communication that distinct from those used previously.

1. Theoretical Chapter

1.1. Construction of Image through Self-Presentation

Self-presentation, or impression management, theory suggests that an individual “present[s] an ‘edited’ version of their personality to a particular audience” in order to promote an impression on that audience that the individual believes will be beneficial (Bromley, 1993: 108). It is argued that the image of an individual is thus produced by the manipulation of audience impressions (Verser and Wicks, 2006: 180; Schweiger and Adami, 1999: 355; Bromley, 1993: 113). Goffman’s (1959) theory of presentation of self in every day life contends that all personal communication takes two distinct forms, “expressions given and expressions given off” (Goffman, 1959: 16). Thus, the image an individual impresses upon his or her audience is not a reflection of reality, but instead a managed manipulation of verbal and nonverbal messages (Goffman, 1959: 243). Other impression management theories are more focused on specific circumstances; Jones and Pittman’s (1982) strategic self-presentation theory links nonverbal behavior to power relations and Ting-Toomey’s (1988) face negotiation theory concentrates on nonverbal behavior and threats to social dignity (Burgoon and Hoobler, 2002: 265). Impression management theory can be applied to gain insight into various forms of political communication, especially campaign communication. Here, it is argued that candidates for election and their campaign teams construct and project an image to represent the candidate to voters (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 26). This image, of course, is not a true reflection of the candidate but rather meticulously constructed (Nimmo and Combs; 1990: 3).

In the past, candidate self-presentation was managed using other media, such as essays and newspapers. This was then supplemented by public addresses and debates. Modern broadcast media, particularly television and the Internet, have created yet more fora for candidate self-presentation (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 75). Politicians use specific behaviors and images to produce a positive impression on voters through television advertisements, campaign websites, and web videos (Verser and Wicks, 2006: 180; Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 25). Often drawing on polling and market research, politicians construct an image, comprising of both the visual impression and the projection of character traits, using linguistic, visual, and aural symbols and signals (Morreale, 1993: 1). This is consistent with Goffman’s (1959) presentation of the self in which he suggests that individuals continually present and manage their image not only through their choice and style of verbal language,

but also through body language, gestures, and symbols. Here, nonverbal messages act as environmental cues to provide a useful frame of reference for interpreting and checking the validity of verbal messages (Burgoon and Hoobler, 2002: 262; Edell, 1998: 14; Goffman, 1959: 241).

1.2. Presentation of Self in Political Television Advertisements

One form of political communication in which a candidate's image is particularly constructed is political television advertising (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1997a: 145). As an unmediated form of political communication, advertising is valuable in the analysis of image presentation as it "offers the clearest evidence of how parties/candidates choose to present themselves to the mass of voters" (Scammell and Langer, 2006: 764). In political advertising, a candidate's image is manipulated through the deliberate use of verbal content, nonverbal messages, and television production techniques (Kaid, 2006: 44).

Kaid and Johnston's (2001) approach to understanding candidate image in political advertising is through what they term videostyle. Adapted from Goffman's (1959) presentation of self, videostyle looks not only at verbal and visual components, but also at video production techniques used in the construction and presentation of candidate image (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 29). In Goffman's theory, verbal and visual messages are carefully managed and likewise Kaid and Johnston suggest that production techniques be seen "not [as] haphazard or accidental but rather designed with a particular effect or message in mind" (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 30). Using codes and symbols, candidates and campaign teams specifically craft the language, appearance, and video production techniques of political advertising as all three influence the audiences' impressions of the candidate (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 29).

The verbal content of political advertising, consisting of what is said and printed, is manipulated to influence audience impressions of a candidate (Graber, 1976: 181). Specifically, the focus on image or issue, along with the particular images and issues which are highlighted are managed to make the desired impression on the audience. Generally, political advertising has been found to contain slightly more issue rather than image information (Kern, 1989: 31). When issues are discussed in political advertisements however, they are discussed in a more vague way, not in regards to specific policy (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1997a: 157). In terms of image qualities, Shyles' (1983) studies found

that the most frequently mentioned characteristics in political ads are “experience, competence, special qualities (those unique to the given race), honesty, leadership, and strength” (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1997a: 158). Other verbal components of political ads, such as the overall positive or negative focus and the specific language used, are also designed to send certain messages to the audience (Graber, 1976: 18). The values mentioned, types of evidence offered for claims, and position-based strategies are designed to promote a specific image of the candidate. For example, Trent and Friedenberg (2004) found that incumbents and challengers utilized different strategies in campaign videos. Incumbents are more likely to appear with world leaders, use party endorsements, highlight accomplishments, and create pseudo events, whereas challengers often attack their opponent’s record, take an offensive stance on issues, and emphasize change and optimism for the future (Trent and Friedenberg, 2004: 81).

In addition, the nonverbal elements of political advertisements impact audience impressions of candidate image. Elements, such as style of dress, appearance, gestures, and kinesics are used by the audience to form an impression of the candidate (Knapp, 1980: 119; Druckman et al., 1982: 66; Bromley, 1993: 110). Also, sounds, music, and music interaction with language can be constructed to send specific messages to the audience (Stout and Leckenby, 1998: 222). Environmental settings and colors contribute to audience impressions (Knapp, 1980: 71). Furthermore, national and cultural symbols, such as the flag and military symbols, signal power and status in political advertisements (Burgoon and Hoobler, 2002: 268, Knapp, 1980: 138). Such nonverbal elements influence audience perceptions of candidate credibility, competence, and character (Knapp, 1980: 4). Images of specific socio-economic and ethnic groups are also used in advertising to connect candidates with such groups, as people associate themselves with the images they see on-screen (Morreale, 1993: 17).

In political television advertisements, video production techniques are also managed to influence audience perception of candidate image (Morreale, 1993: 15). Cultural ideologies, such as the American dream, are represented using video production codes and symbols which audiences interpret with their own understanding of cultural experiences (Morreale, 1993: 12; Burgoon and Hoobler, 2002: 259). Production techniques, such as lighting and sound, can create moods which make impressions on the audience by evoking specific emotions, such as fear, happiness, and hope (Zettl, 1998: 86). Other production techniques like staging “signal for viewers how to interpret the media content” (Kaid and

Johnston, 2001: 32). For instance, speaking head-on to the camera can indicate objectivity (Morreale, 1993: 15). In addition, cinema verité filming techniques can suggest to the audience that the video they are viewing is unaltered reality or news, even when the video production is actually manipulated (Nichols, 1983: 17; Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1997b: 169).

Despite these well-defined advertising techniques, it remains unclear how the candidates' own videos, presented on their campaign websites, might use these techniques. As TechPresident.com's Micah Sifry notes, "there's something fundamentally different about video online...Viewers are looking for that rare, unscripted, revealing moment, to get a little sense of who these candidates really are" (Vargas, 2007: 1). However, understanding the role of campaign web videos requires first considering the role campaign websites play in image development.

1.3. Presentation of Self on Campaign Websites

Candidates' campaign websites are designed to "create and maintain a positive impression of a candidate" (Bimber and Davis, 2003:48), functioning as another form of advertisement (Davis, 1999: 119). Candidates and campaign teams govern the entirety of the construction, production, and presentation of the messages and images communicated to voters on campaign websites as they are unmediated and un-interpreted by journalists (Carlson and Djupsund, 2001: 69; Bimber and Davis, 2003: 11). Such sites enable the same level of control of message and image as political advertising, but at a much less expensive rate (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 21; Carlson and Djupsund, 2001: 69).

Candidate presentations online thus far have been remarkably similar to self-presentations offline (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 100) as candidates use campaign websites to manage and enhance their image and clarify their issue stances in detail (Verser and Wicks, 2006: 178). A distinguishing feature of campaign websites, though, is that they generally present positive messages, focusing on the sponsoring candidates' strengths, instead of negative messages regarding their opponents (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 98; Davis, 1999: 104; Kaid, 2004: 181; Carlson and Djupsund, 2001: 77).

As with political advertising, candidate websites have tended to place a slightly greater emphasis on issues than on image (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 84). Bimber and Davis'

(2003) studies of the 2000 presidential candidate websites showed that the candidates discussed a large number of issues at length and the issues discussed varied for each candidate (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 88). More specifically, Xenos and Foot's (2005) studies of 2002 U.S. campaign websites found that the top issues discussed were the economy, defense/security, health care, and taxes/spending/budget, although these were discussed more in the form of basic issues stances, rather than specific policy proposals (Xenos and Foot, 2005: 180).

Image information, however, is a growing feature of campaign websites (Davis, 1999: 99). Candidates increasingly place personal background information on their websites in order to offer an attractive image of the candidate's character and to make voters feel that they know the candidate personally. Specific characteristics, such as leadership ability, qualifications, and past accomplishments, are highlighted on campaign websites (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 82). Candidates are often shown interacting with their spouses and family, including children and grandchildren, to portray normative family ideologies (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 85).

Campaign websites are also widely used to emphasize the candidate's identification with voters (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 81). By demonstrating candidate empathy to the electorate, promoting endorsements from organizations, and highlighting popularity amongst demographic groups, signals are sent to other voters from those same groups that the candidate is sympathetic to their interests (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 92; Davis, 1999: 100). Endorsements from prominent figures, both political and non-political, as well as news media stories, are also featured to boost image status (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 93; Davis, 1999: 100). These image enhancement practices are often executed in the form of campaign website biographies, photo diaries, and increasingly web videos (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 81).

1.4. Presentation of Self in Primary Campaigns

Candidate presentation of self in a presidential election campaign is especially complex in nature because of the two distinct campaign phases, the primary and general election. In both of these phases, political communication methods vary principally because the opponents and audience in each phase differ (Trent and Friedenber, 2004: 63; Kern, 1989: 131; Parmalee, 2002: 319). During the primary phase, candidates seek the

nomination of their party, so their opponents and target audience are members of their own party, rather than the general population (Parmalee, 2002: 319). Consequently, political communication methods used for primary campaigns tend to be more targeted than for general election campaigns (Kern, 1989: 131; Parmalee, 2002: 319). Research indicates that candidates tend to stress their "own party's issues" more than those of the opposing party in this phase (Benoit, 2007: 144).

Presentation of character in political messages, however, is more common than policy discussion during the primary phase (Parmalee, 2002: 319; Benoit, 2007: 140). Furthermore, primary campaign messages tend to be more positive than those of the general election campaign, where attacks and negative campaigning are more prevalent (Benoit, 2007: 138). These trends are likely to be a consequence of the lack of distinct policy differences between members of the same party, thereby eliminating the opportunity to attack an opponent on issue stance. This positivity may also occur because the winner of the primary will need the backing of his primary opponents and their supporters to be successful in the general election (Benoit, 2007: 138). Finally, in the early stages, the candidates may be attempting to construct an image of themselves for the public, as candidates are often relatively unknown during this early stage of the campaign.

1.5. Conceptual Framework

In 1999, Richard Davis foresaw the popular use of web videos on campaign websites writing,

Web television presentations by candidates will still be advertisements. Candidates need to get their messages out to voters. Websites give them that control, perhaps to a greater extent than they have had on many other mechanisms of mass communication, with the exception of paid advertising (Davis, 1999: 119).

As Davis predicted, candidates and their campaign teams are now creating videos specifically for campaign websites. However, the question of how this new web video technology affects candidate self-presentation arises (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 75). How are these videos being used to construct and manage candidate image? This research aims to uncover candidates' self-presentations through web videos on campaign websites and compares them to other forms of political communication. Are candidates presenting themselves using the same techniques in web videos as they do in television

advertisements? Do candidates use the same styles of self-presentation found on candidate websites?

This study will use Kaid and Johnston's videostyle concept to examine the characteristics of campaign web videos and to understand how candidates are presenting themselves through this new medium. Initially developed by Kaid and Davidson (1986), videostyle was originally used to examine the differences in candidate self-presentation between presidential incumbents and challengers in political advertisements. However, videostyle has since been used in a number of studies to describe a variety of characteristics of presidential television advertisements by Kaid and Tedesco (1999) and Kaid and Johnston (2001) amongst others (Kaid, 2006: 44). Such studies use videostyle to examine style patterns in political ads, such as the differences in characteristics of Democrats and Republicans as well as to investigate how "presidential candidates used their ads to suggest a particular vision of their candidacy for voters" (Kaid and Johnson, 2001: 33).

Videostyle suggests that candidate self-presentation in video can be understood through its verbal, nonverbal, and production techniques (Kaid, 2004: 165). Thus, this study will specifically examine the use of such techniques in web videos to understand how candidates are using these to present their image.

1.6. Statement of Research Objectives

The central thesis to be tested is how candidate self-presentation in web videos compares with that observed in political advertisements and campaign websites. Because of the high profile nature of the election, this study focuses on candidate image in the 2008 US presidential primaries. In this setting, this study aims to systematically analyze the verbal techniques, nonverbal techniques, and production techniques employed in campaign web videos. These three components of image management have all proven relevant in the evaluation of candidate presentation of self in previous research (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 29). This study evaluates the nature of the techniques in the following dimensions:

Q1: What are the overarching characteristics of candidate self-presentation in web videos?

⇒ *How do these characteristics compare to those of political advertisements and campaign websites?*

Q2: What are individual candidates' styles of self-presentation in web videos? Do they focus on or image?

Q3: Are there observable differences in the videostyle techniques employed by Democrats and Republicans?

⇒ *How do these characteristics compare to those of political advertisements and campaign websites?*

2. Research Design and Methodology

2.1. Historical Studies

Previous studies of political communication, on candidate videos and television advertisements, have employed a variety of research methods to investigate aspects of political communication content. Benoit (1999) performed a thematic analysis of the content of four decades of U.S. political advertisements, classifying the functions of television advertisement appeals as acclaims, attacks, or defenses (Benoit, 1999: 7). Morreale (1993) analyzed presentation of candidate image in fifty years of U.S. campaign films as the embodiment of cultural myths and ideals (Morreale, 1993: 6). Parmalee (2002) used frame analysis to understand candidate self-presentation in the 2000 U.S. presidential primary videocassettes (Parmalee, 2002: 318). Scammell and Langer (2006) investigated features of U.K. political ads using content analysis with regard to emotional stimulation and appeal (Scammell and Langer, 2006: 770). However, "Kaid and Johnston's (2000) 'videostyle' is probably the most thorough treatment of video production techniques" (Scammell and Langer, 2006: 770). In *Videostyle*, Kaid and Johnston (2000) investigate U.S. presidential candidates' self-presentation as well as presentation styles by party through the analysis of the verbal, nonverbal, and production characteristics of political advertisements using content analysis (Kaid, 2004: 165).

The objective of this study is to understand the overall characteristics of candidate self-presentation in web videos, the individual candidates' styles of self-presentation in web videos, and the influence of party affiliation on web video characteristics, through the analysis of video content. Thus, this study uses content analysis to examine web video content. In particular, this study draws heavily on the content analysis used in *Videostyle* as a basis, adapting and modifying the method for the study of candidate web videos.

2.2. Rationale

Content analysis is a commonly used technique for analyzing messages and themes in political communication (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1997a: 144; Scammell and Langer, 2006: 770). Previous analyses of campaign videos, mainly of television advertisements, have employed content analysis in order to understand "how the specific

features of the visual medium are manipulated to deliver the message" (Scammell and Langer, 2006: 770).

Content analysis is a suitable research method as this study's aim is to identify broad patterns and trends in a large body of web videos. It is particularly apt for the study of large bodies of data (Hansen et al., 1998: 123). Content analysis calls for the identification and enumeration of the presence or absence of specific characteristics of media texts to infer and understand messages and images within such texts (Hansen, 1998: 95; Krippendorff, 2004: 18). In this research, for instance, content analysis could be used to measure the presence or absence of issues discussed, national symbols, and sound effects, for example.

Content analysis uses a systematic and replicable process (Hansen, 1998: 95; Krippendorff, 2004: 18) which facilitates a comparative examination of the web video content in a "comprehensive way, less prone to subjective selectiveness and idiosyncrasies" (Hansen et al., 1998: 91). This is a central requirement in comparing candidates' styles of self-presentation based on a large number of relatively different candidate videos.

Finally, the reliability of this research, and any content analysis, can be tested through measures of inter-coder reliability (Krippendorff, 1980: 132; Bauer, 2000: 143). Thus, should this study be replicated, coding choices made by this author can be verified and compared to future research.

2.3. Limitations

Content analysis as a research method has its limitations. Firstly, though content analysis is systematic, it is not objective. The dimensions of the content analyzed are subjectively chosen by the researcher (Hansen et al., 1998: 95). However, as noted previously in the Historical Studies section, the research method, design, and tools are adapted from a large body of existing research. The use of previous research helps to limit primary researcher subjectivity, though the subjectivity of previous researchers still remains.

Content analysis also fails to take into account the degree to which a given characteristic is present (Hansen et al., 1998: 98). In this study, for example, the analysis will measure the presence of logical, emotional, or ethical appeals made in the videos but will be unable to quantify the intensity of such appeals. This problem can be mitigated by

coding not only for the presence or absence of such characteristics, but also their relative dominance. While this does not measure the exact degree of characteristics, it does provide some measure of their intensity.

Content analysis is limited in its ability to analyze broader effects of web videos in political and popular culture. For example, the analysis in this study does not discuss the contexts of discourses or how meanings are constructed through the use of symbols in the web videos (Wood and Kroger, 2000: 28). It is also unable to measure the impact of web videos on audiences or electoral outcomes (Hansen et al., 1998: 95). Finally, content analysis does not analyze why certain strategies are employed in the production of web videos. These limitations in methodology limit the scope for which content analysis is appropriate (Gill, 2000: 177; Gaskell, 2000: 38), however, these topics are beyond the aim of this study.

2.4. Selection of Data: Population

To determine candidates' modes of self-presentation, criteria were established to determine which videos should be included in the population (Kaid and Johnston; 2001: 34). While the entire population is too large to be feasibly analyzed, an accurate identification of the population from which videos for the analysis will be selected, is crucial to establishing an unbiased sample.

The study examines videos from Democratic and Republican candidates in the 2008 presidential primaries to enable not only an examination of web video characteristics for individual candidates, but also an analysis by party. The study does not include any third-party candidates. To ensure that both major parties were equally represented in the study, an equal number of Republican and Democratic candidates were chosen. The three candidates from each party with the highest fundraising totals in the first and second quarters of the election campaign (ending June 30, 2007) were selected as funds raised can be correlated with candidate viability (Goff, 2004: 5). The selection of a total of six candidates provided a comprehensive range for a comparative study between candidates. The candidates selected were Hillary Clinton, John Edwards, Rudy Giuliani, John McCain, Barack Obama, and Mitt Romney.

The video population was constructed from all videos featured on the official campaign websites of the six candidates as these were the only videos which were certain to portray the candidates in a manner approved by them and their campaign teams. This not only included videos created specifically for the websites, but also television advertisements and news clips posted on the websites, as these all contribute to the candidates' presentations of self. Although user-generated election-related videos on YouTube and Googlevideo are widespread and may play an important role in the campaign and election, these videos are not officially endorsed by the candidates and thus may not reflect the videostyles and strategies that the candidates and campaign teams wish to project. Consequently, these were not included in the population.

All videos posted before the end of the second quarter of the year, June 30, 2007, were included in the population. There are a total of four campaign quarters before the first primaries and caucuses are held, thus videos from the first two quarters only reflect the campaigning strategies of the early primary campaign. The population of videos totaled 443.

2.5. Selection of Data: Sampling

The 443 videos were sampled to reduce the population to a smaller group that could be analyzed, whilst still remaining representative of the entire population. The population of videos was stratified into categories by candidate. Each candidate's videos were then stratified into five categories: testimonial, career or personal biography, campaign update/on the trail, issue statement, and other. The stratification was undertaken to ensure that the sample served as a representative cross section of each candidate's various types of videos in the population. Two videos were then selected at random from the population for each of the five categories for each candidate. A total of ten videos were selected for each of the six candidates yielding a total sample size of sixty videos. This sample size was selected such that statistical inferences could be made from the sample to the population.

2.6. Design of Research Tools

A written coding frame was developed to investigate videostyles in the sixty web videos using the individual video clip as the unit of analysis. The coding frame, largely adapted from those used in Kaid and Johnston's (2001) and Scammell and Langer's (2006) studies of political advertisements, was developed to characterize candidate web videostyle

by investigating the verbal, nonverbal, and television production components of the videos (see Appendix). 104 web video characteristics were tested, the majority of which required marking the presence or absence of characteristics. However, in some cases, the question required the coding for the dominant characteristic of that attribute of the video.

A sub-sample of six videos (10% of the sample) was coded as a pilot. This helped to identify superfluous variables (Weber, 1990: 23) which were removed from the study accordingly. For example, variables used to determine who sponsored the video were removed as in this study only videos sponsored by the candidate's campaign were analyzed. It also helped determine any missing variables worthy of investigation, which were then added to the study. For example, issue variables such as mention of the Iraq War and potential conflict in Iran were added as they are pertinent to the campaign.

2.7. Data Analysis

The primary researcher's data was used for the results and analysis. It was stored in Microsoft Excel and then imported into SPSS for analysis. Using SPSS, frequency tables were constructed and cross tabulations of the data by party and individual candidate were carried out. As the variables measured were categorical, chi-squared tests were used to determine the statistical significance of differences between the parties and between the individual candidates. The significance level, α was set to 0.05, and as such statistically significant data presented in this study is done so at the 5% level.

2.8. Reliability

The reliability of the results was tested by a second coder on a sample of six videos, comprising 10% of the total sample. The inter-coder reliability across all categories, determined as $R = [2(C_{1,2})] / (C_1 + C_2)$, was +0.905.

3. Results and Interpretation

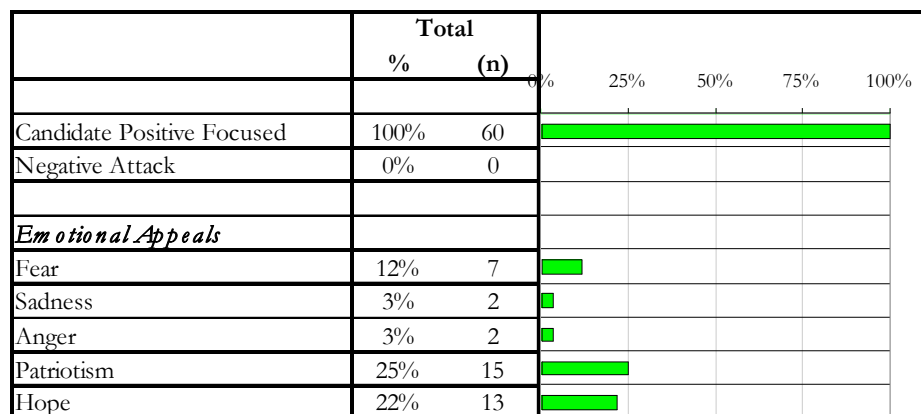
3.1. General Characteristics of Web Videos

This section provides an overview of the general characteristics of web videos identified in this study and compares these to previous findings on political ads and campaign websites. The main findings include that campaign web videos are strongly positively focused on the sponsoring candidate rather than negatively focused on an opponent, and that web videos tend to be more image than issue focused and to rely on ethical appeals, as opposed to emotional or logical appeals. The nonverbal and production techniques observed are strikingly simplistic, making web videos appear to present a more 'realistic' image of the candidate.

3.1.1. Verbal Components

Firstly, the web videos were marked by positive campaigning. All videos sampled were focused on the candidate sponsoring the video and portrayed the candidate positively. In fact, none of the videos contained any negative attacks on opponents and ads which invoked emotional appeals rarely used sadness and anger (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Positive/Negative Focus and Emotional Appeals

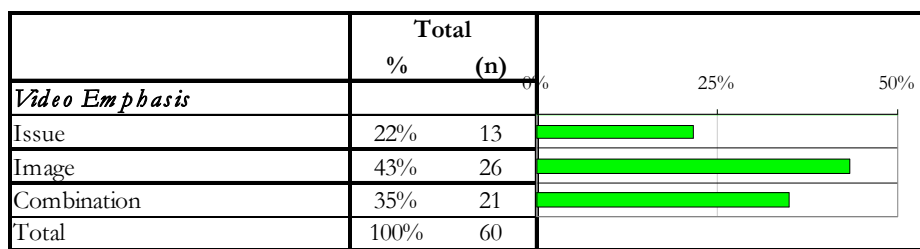


This finding is in keeping with research on candidate websites which have been found in previous studies to exhibit positive, candidate-focused campaigning styles (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 98; Davis, 1999: 104; Kaid, 2004: 181; Carlson and Djupsund, 2001: 77). This positive focus is also found in political television advertisements, but to a much lesser extent; only 62% of political ads are positively focused (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 54). The positive

campaigning style present in web videos may be a consequence of the candidates attempting to build their images as they are often relatively unknown at the national level during the primary phase. This style may also be a function of both the minimal policy differences between candidates of the same party and because should they advance to the general election phase, candidates will depend on the support of their primary campaign opponents and their supporters (Benoit, 2007: 138). Alternatively, the positivity may occur because videos on candidate websites are journalistically unmediated in nature, and as such, provide a rare forum for candidates to create positive impressions of themselves (Bimber and Davis, 2003: 48).

Secondly, the web videos emphasized candidate image more frequently than they discussed issues. Overall, 43% of the videos dominantly emphasized image while only 22% were issue focused (see Figure 2). In fact, one quarter (25%) of the videos featured no discussion of issues whatsoever and over half (53%) of the videos dominant appeal content related to the candidates’ personal characteristics.

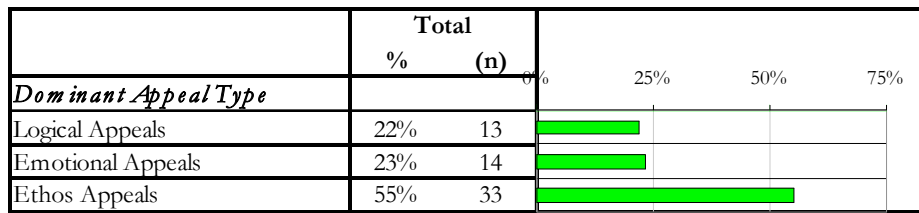
Figure 2. Emphasis on Issues or Images



The heavy emphasis on image identified draws a distinction web videos and political advertisements and campaign websites, which have been shown in previous studies to focus more on issues than image (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 17; Benoit, 2007: 140; Bimber and Davis, 2003: 84). Similar to the causes of positivity in web videos, the predominance of candidate image in web videos may result from the lack of policy differences between candidates of the same party during the primary campaign or from the candidates attempting to build their image to become better known to the public (Benoit, 2007: 140).

Finally, web videos emphasize different types of proof. The majority (55%) of videos use ethical proof as the dominant appeal type with logical and emotional proof being used in 22% and 23% of videos, respectively (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Dominant Appeal Type

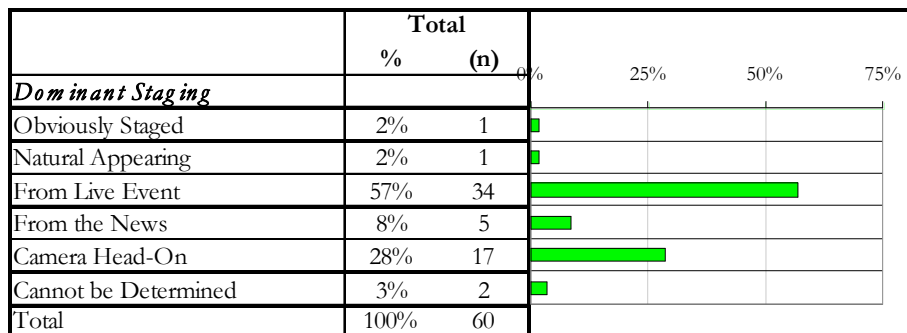


These findings signal a difference between web videos and political television advertisements, which in previous studies by Kern (1989) and Kaid and Johnston (2001) have been found to use more emotional than logical or ethical proof (Kern, 1989: 207; Kaid, 2004: 165). In web videos, candidates frequently present themselves by emphasizing their accomplishments and relying on the testimonials and endorsements of others.

3.1.2. Nonverbal and Production Content

The production and symbolic features of the web videos also differ from those of political television ads. In particular, the length, sound qualities, and staging are distinct. The average length of the web videos in the sample was 4 minutes, 30 seconds and 93% of web videos featured live sound, rather than sound-over or a combination, while 57% did not feature music at all. 57% of videos were from live events and 28% featured the candidate or another speaker head-on in an informal setting (see Figure 4).

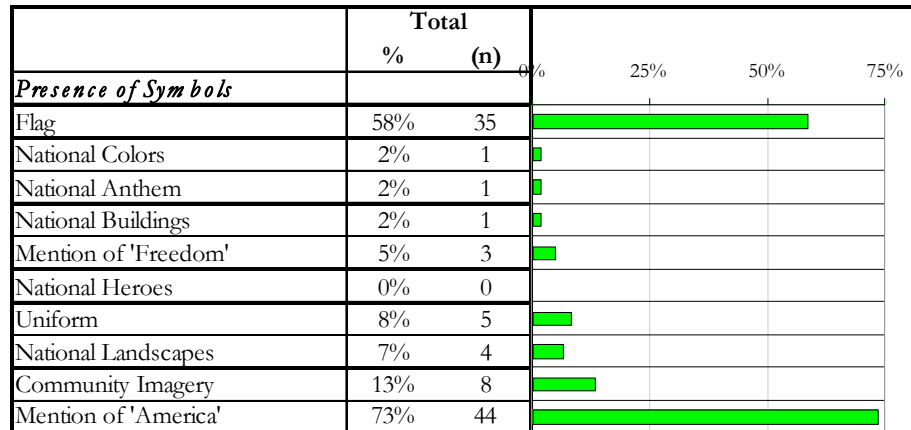
Figure 4. Dominant Staging



National symbols, such as colors, buildings, heroes, and the national anthem, as well as candidate slogans were not present in any of the web videos indicating further dissimilarity between web videos and political ads. One exception to this was identified with the specific use of the terms 'country', 'nation', and 'America' (see Figure 5). This finding, however, is probably not significant as the use of such terms is common in U.S. elections.

Finally, candidates were not portrayed in any particular light, and instead were presented in a neutral fashion as 'themselves'. For instance, the candidates were rarely portrayed in a heroic fashion (only 13%) and campaign slogans were not featured in any web videos. Instead, candidates were often shown being followed by a camera as they went about their daily lives, engaging with family or traveling to a campaign event.

Figure 5. Presence of Symbols



These findings signal a distinction between web videos and political advertisements. Nearly all of the videos studied were 'natural appearing' and did feature the polished nonverbal and production techniques and styles typically used in political television advertising (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 179). The average duration of the web videos was significantly longer than that of political advertisements where the vast majority last less than sixty seconds (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 65), and they are published online in greater numbers giving more opportunity to 'get to know' the candidate. Symbols, such as national buildings and heroes, often featured in political television advertising, were used infrequently in the web videos (Diamond and Bates, 1992: 330). The absence of common and overt production techniques (such as voice-overs or anonymous announcers), styles (such as staged dramatizations), and cultural symbolism give the web videos a simplistic appearance. The 'behind the scenes' and 'intimate portrait' styles used, aside from being inexpensive to produce, allow viewers to feel that the web videos are 'reality' rather than giving off the impression that they are advertisements (Johnson-Cartee and Copeland, 1997b: 169).

3.2. Individual Candidate Videostyle

In this section, the major distinguishing characteristics of each candidate's videostyles are presented, as the length of this study does not permit a thorough discussion of every aspect of videostyle for all the candidates. Instead, a classification system, in a manner similar to Kaid and Johnston's (2001), has been created to summarize individual candidate videostyle. The first classification determines the candidate's direct or indirect style based on the candidate's appearance and whether the candidate is the dominant speaker in the video. The second classification relates to the type of proof offered in the web videos, classified as logical, emotional, or ethical, or a balance of these. The third and final classification is based on the dominant emphasis of the video, as issue based, image based, or a combination of both. In addition, other distinguishing features of candidate videostyle are highlighted where relevant.

3.2.1. Hillary Clinton Videostyle

Clinton's videostyle is *direct - logic/emotion/ethos balanced - image and issue balanced*. Clinton's videos are primarily (70%) staged with a person talking directly to the camera. Rarely seen in conversation with individual voters (20% of videos) and never with her family, Clinton is portrayed as a traditional leader. 70% of Clinton's videos discuss her personal characteristics. She stresses her competency in 60% of videos and her qualifications in 40% of videos, highlighting her experience over other Democrats. She emphasizes her compassion in 80% of videos, joint top with Edwards.

Clinton is often shown in formal web addresses or giving speeches, discussing a variety of issues including the Iraq War (50% of videos) and foreign affairs (50% of videos). Concern for children's issues (60% of videos) and energy (70% of videos) are discussed by Clinton more than all other candidates combined. Clinton discusses healthcare in 70% of her videos, the most of anyone, and this is the dominant issue in 30% of her videos. In doing this, Clinton appears to be drawing attention to the large amount experience she has on these issues. As a frontrunner in the campaign (Balz and Cohen, 2007: 1), Clinton appears to be spreading her videos evenly across a vast amount of issues while highlighting her image.

3.2.2. John Edwards Videostyle

Edwards' videostyle can be described as *direct-emotional-image focused*. He appears in all of his videos, and his dominant expression is smiling in 70% of his videos. Edwards' videos are dominantly staged from live events (80%) and he is presented in formal outdoor settings, shown 'behind the scenes' engaging with voters in his role as the candidate in 60% of his videos. His family accompanies him in 50% of videos. All of these qualities reinforce his charismatic, friendly, and approachable reputation, giving the impression that he is 'one of the people'.

Edwards emphasizes image over issues in more than any other Democrat (60%) and uses emotional appeals in 70% of his videos. He emphasizes his compassion in 80% of videos, tied for the most with Clinton, but considerably more than the other candidates. In 60% of his videos, Edwards emphasizes that he is a 'family man' and is the only candidate who links the personal directly with the political, relating his working class upbringing to workers' rights in 30% of videos.

3.2.3. Rudy Giuliani Videostyle

Giuliani's videostyle is *direct-ethical-issue and image balanced*. Giuliani appears in all of his videos and his videos are primarily (80%) from live events where he addresses large audiences in formal speeches. Interestingly, his family is never shown in any of his videos, possibly to deflect attention away from his past divorces, an aspect of his personal life likely to be unpopular with conservative Republican primary voters. Giuliani's videos are the most basic in terms of production techniques and feature the least editing of all candidate web videos. He predominantly uses ethical appeals (70%) and the majority of Giuliani's videos (80%) are a combination of issues and image, more than any other candidate. This may be due to the fact that his videos are significantly longer than other candidates, averaging 12 minutes, 5 seconds in length, allowing for him to present both his image and issue information.

Depicted as a traditional leader, Giuliani makes use of the symbolic words 'nation', 'homeland' or 'America' in all ten videos, the most of any candidate. He also mentions the issues of security, safety, or terror in 80% of his videos, and these issues dominate in 50% of his videos. He uses the emotional appeal of fear in 40% of his videos and emphasizes

toughness in 80%, the most of any candidate. Giuliani emphasizes his successfulness as well as his qualifications in 70% of his videos, more than any other candidate. Through these techniques Giuliani appears to be positioning himself as the 'security' candidate as he is widely known for "making national security the signature theme of his campaign" ('Financial Times Editorial Comment', 2007: 1)

Giuliani also stresses issues, typically known as Republican issues, which he has a 'proven record' on as Mayor of New York City. He mentions crime in 60% of his videos, spending, the national deficit, and the budget in 60%, cutting taxes in 50%, and welfare reform in 40%, whereas these issues are rarely mentioned, if at all, by the other candidates.

3.2.4. John McCain Videostyle

McCain's videostyle is *direct-ethical-image focused*. He is the dominant speaker in 70% of his videos and uses ethical appeals in 60% of videos, emphasizing his qualifications and capabilities, and using endorsements from his spouse and military personnel. McCain's videos are focused on image; he has 50% more issue free videos than any other candidate. He is shown as a competent leader in 40% of his videos and emphasizes his toughness in 70%. Through these images, McCain appears to be highlighting his status as a senior government official and as military leader.

Though McCain only mentions the Iraq War in 30% of his videos, less so than other candidates, he is frequently seen speaking and engaging with military personnel. He also makes specific mention of the words 'nation', 'homeland', or 'America' in 90% of his videos, second in frequency only to Giuliani. Further than this, 70% of his videos make patriotic appeals and he is endorsed by POWs in 30%, more than any other candidate. It appears that McCain is promoting himself as a patriotic leader, supportive of the military.

McCain's nonverbal style is also noteworthy. He is the only candidate whose dominant expression is never smiling and is instead attentive or serious in 80% of his videos. He is also the most casually dressed Republican, wearing casual clothes in 60% of his videos.

3.2.5. Barack Obama Videostyle

Obama's videostyle is *indirect-ethical-image focused*. Barack Obama appears in 70% of his videos but is the dominant speaker in only 40%. His videos are mainly from live events (70%) and he is often shown interacting with voters on the campaign trail. He uses ethical appeals in 70% of his videos and features endorsements from 'common' people in 50%, the most of any candidate. These 'common' people are featured as the dominant speakers in 40% of his videos, again more than any other candidate. Obama appears to be using such endorsements and testimonials to enhance his image as 'one of the people'.

Obama mentions the Iraq War in 70% of videos and this is the dominant issue in 50% of his videos. Obama is the only Democrat with a 'proven record' of opposition to the Iraq War from the start and appears to be emphasizing the issue to take advantage of this. Obama calls for changes in 90% of videos, more than any other candidate, most likely to highlight his position as a 'Washington outsider' (Bolton, 2007: 1).

3.2.6. Mitt Romney Videostyle

Mitt Romney's videostyle can be characterized as *indirect-ethical-image focused*. Romney is rarely (20%) the dominant speaker in his videos. Instead, he mainly relies on political pundits or journalists as speakers (50%). Half of his videos are edited from the news, either individual clips or a montage of news clip highlights, whereas no other candidate uses news clips in their videos. Romney's dominant appeal type is ethical (70%). These video techniques highlight the fact that Romney is 'newsworthy' and that 'people are talking'. Romney, relatively unknown at the national level compared to his opponents, may be using these video qualities to lend credibility to his campaign.

Romney uses image most of all candidates. Image dominates over issues and personal characteristics are emphasized in 80% of his videos, often through endorsements. In particular, he emphasizes his successfulness as a business leader and Governor in 60% of videos, and portrays himself as a 'family man' in 50%. More so than any other candidate, Romney discusses traditional values and emphasizes his religious beliefs (30%). His self-presentation may be focused on image in particular because he is a lesser known candidate than his Republican counterparts. It is also likely that Romney is trying to highlight his

success, family oriented nature, religiosity, and traditional values to reach the religious and conservative Republican base.

3.3. Web Video Trends by Party

This section examines the influence of party affiliation on verbal, nonverbal, and production characteristics of videostyle. Presented below are the statistically significant differences in videostyle by party (at $\alpha \leq 0.05$). In the tables below, where data has been sourced from a series of questions within the coding frame, the statistically significant results are highlighted in yellow.

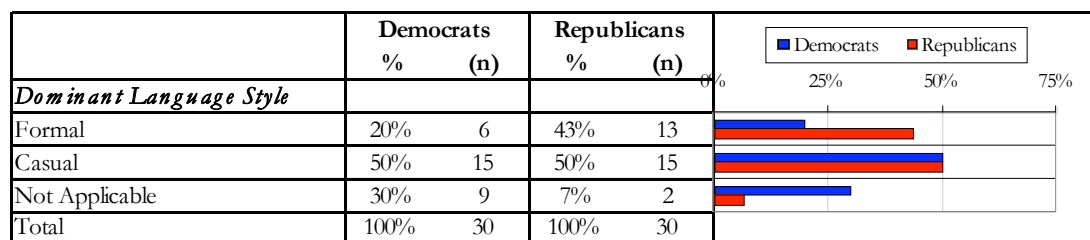
Overall, Democratic and Republican candidate videostyles are very similar in their use of video production components, but the verbal and nonverbal components are distinct. Most noteworthy differences in party-based videostyles occur in the components related to dominant speaker, issues emphasized, strategies used, characteristics emphasized, and use of emotional appeals and national symbols.

3.3.1. Verbal Components of Democratic and Republican Videostyle

Language Style

While both parties used casual language in the same number of videos, Republican candidates (43%) used more formal language in the web videos than Democratic candidates (20%) ($\chi^2 = 7.0$, d.f. = 2, $p = 0.030$) (see Figure 6).

Figure 6. Dominant Language Style by Party

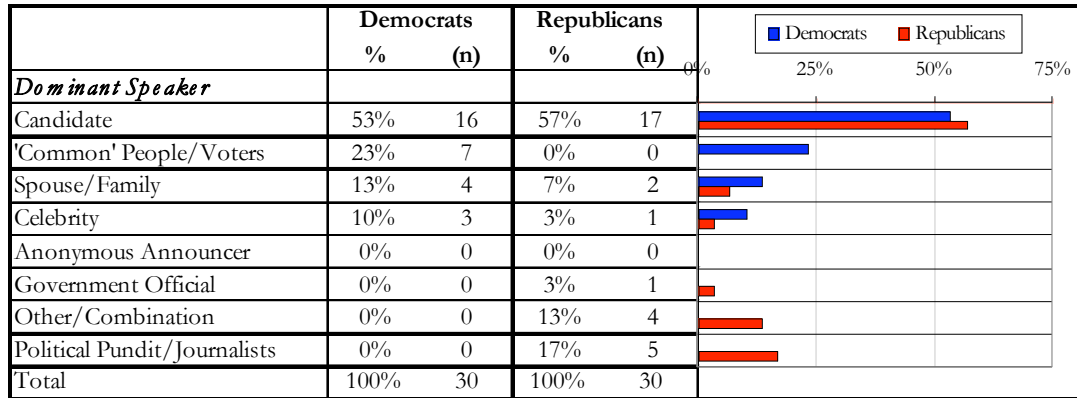


Dominant Speaker

Both Democrat and Republican videos featured the candidate as the dominant speaker in the majority of their videos. However, Democrats featured 'common' people or voters as the dominant speaker in nearly one quarter of videos (23%) whereas Republicans

never featured 'common' people as the dominant speaker. Republicans featured political pundits or journalists as the dominant speaker in 17% videos as compared to Democrats who never did ($\chi^2 = 18.7$, d.f. = 8, $p = 0.017$) (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Dominant Speaker by Party

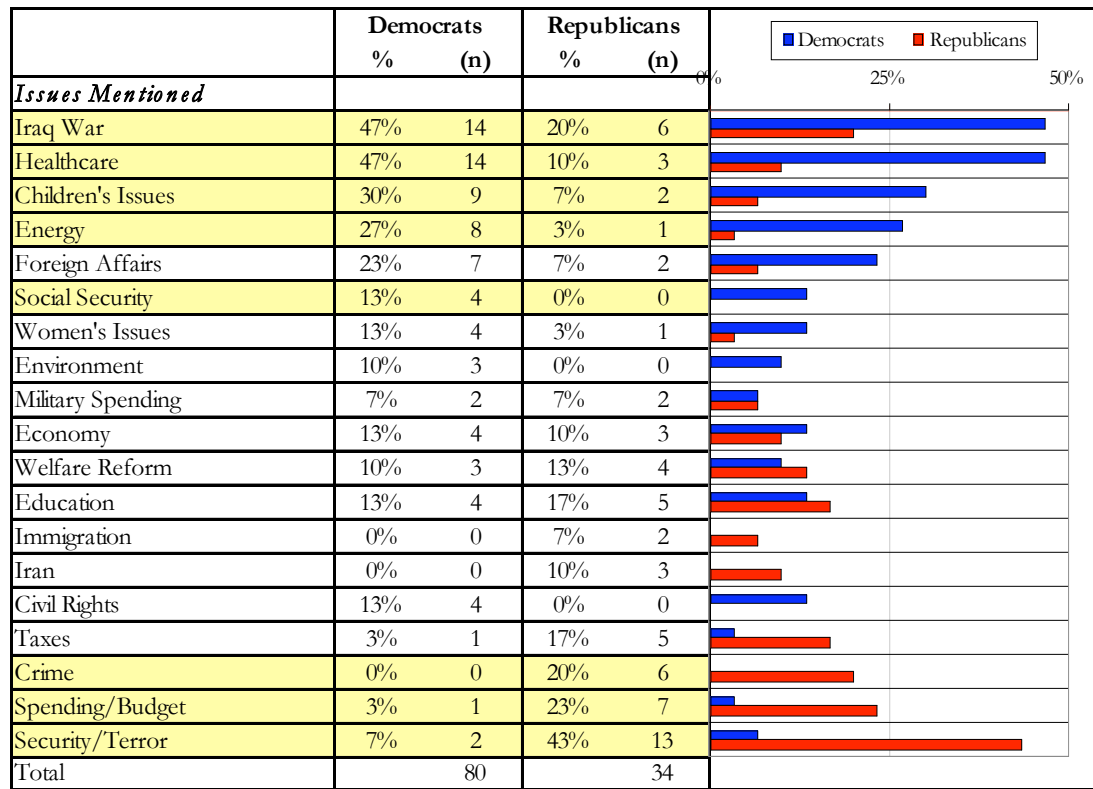


The data suggest that the use of the candidate as dominant speaker occurs more frequently in web videos than in political television advertisements. Previous studies of political advertisements have found that the candidate tends to be the dominant speaker in approximately one third of political ads (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 88). In addition no candidates from either party used anonymous announcers in web videos, unlike political ads which have been found to use anonymous announcers in nearly half of ads (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 88).

Issues Mentioned

Democrats and Republicans maintained a relatively clear party division on issues mentioned in their web videos, clearly visible in Figure 8. Democrats mentioned the Iraq War in 47% of videos, compared to Republicans in 20% ($\chi^2 = 4.8$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.027$). Republicans discussed issues of safety, security, or terror in 43% of videos whereas Democrats did so in only 7% ($\chi^2 = 10.8$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.012$). Democrats discussed concern for children’s issues in 30% of videos compared to Republicans in 7% ($\chi^2 = 5.5$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.021$). Democrats mentioned social security in 13% of videos whereas Republicans never mentioned this issue ($\chi^2 = 4.3$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.038$). Finally, Democrats discussed health care in 47% of videos as compared to Republicans in 10% ($\chi^2 = 9.9$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.002$).

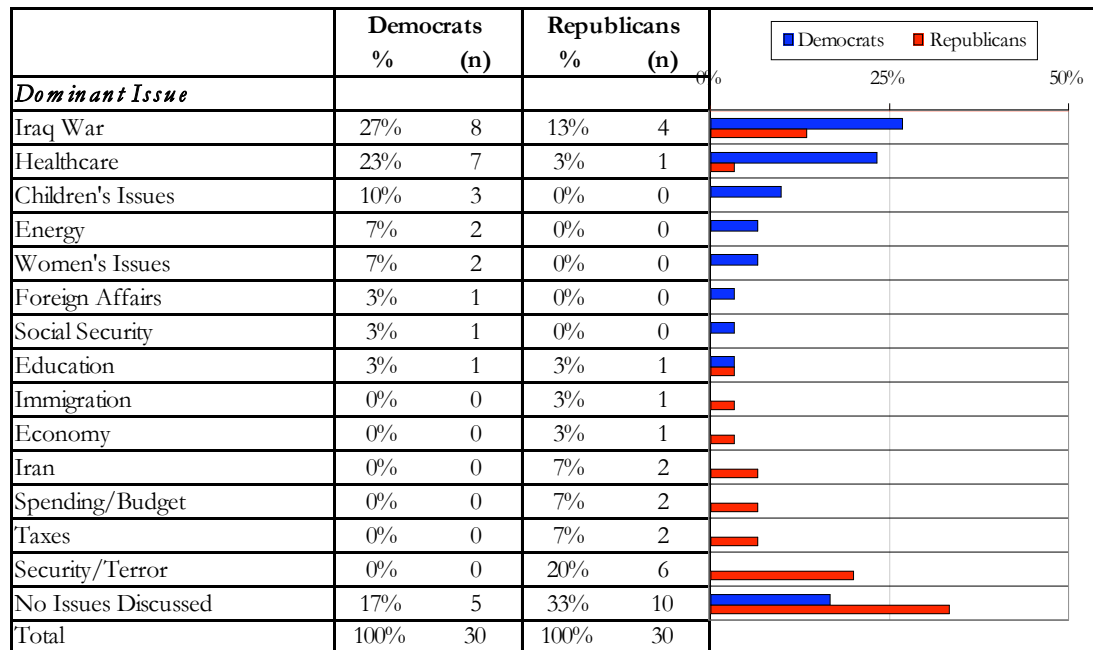
Figure 8. Issues Mentioned by Party



Dominant Issue

Democrats and Republicans also featured different dominant issues in web videos (see Figure 9). The Iraq War was the dominant issue presented in 27% of Democrat videos compared to 13% of Republican videos. Health care was the dominant issue presented in 23% of Democrat videos compared to 3% of Republican videos. Republicans' most numerous dominant issue, security and terror, was discussed in 43% of their videos whereas Democrats mentioned this issue in 23% of videos. Republicans presented twice as many videos with no issues discussed (33% of videos) compared to Democrats ($\chi^2 = 30.5$, d.f. = 14, $p = 0.007$).

Figure 9. Dominant Issue by Party

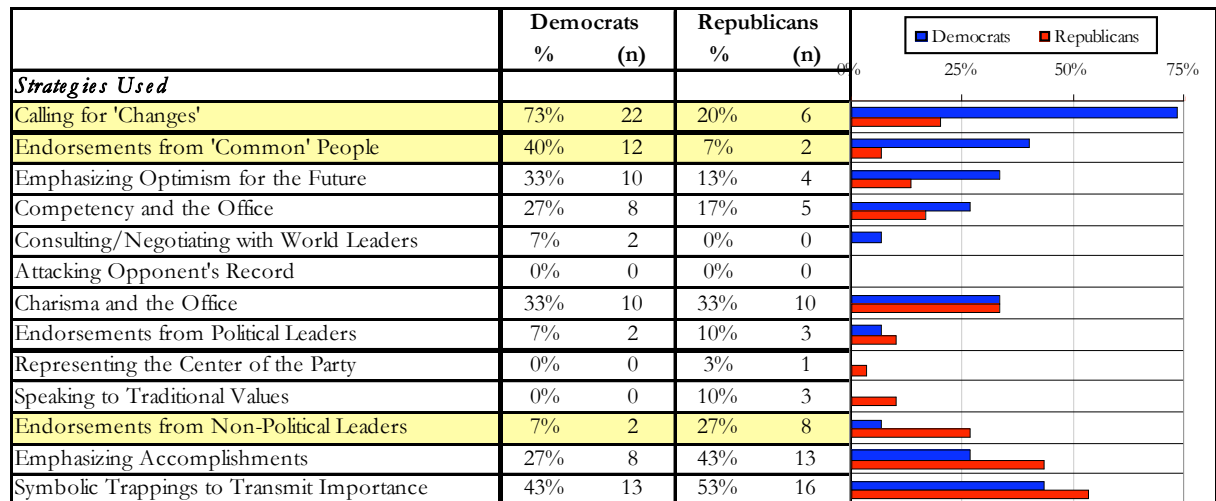


The findings concerning issues mentioned by party and the dominant issues in the web videos are consistent with previous research on political advertisements. Studies by Benoit and Hansen (2002) and Damore (2002) found that in primary elections in particular, candidates emphasize issues over which their political party has perceived ownership (Kaid, 2006: 42). For example, Democrats generally emphasize education, health care, jobs/labor, poverty, and the environment more and Republicans emphasize national defense, foreign policy, government spending/deficit, taxes, and illegal drugs in the primary campaign (Kaid, 2004: 163).

Strategies

Democrats and Republicans also employed different strategies in web videos (see Figure 10). Democrats called for changes in 73% of videos compared to Republicans in 20% ($\chi^2 = 17.1$, d.f. = 1, $p \leq 0.001$). Republicans used nonpolitical endorsements from business leaders and celebrities in 27% of videos where as Democrats did so in 7% ($\chi^2 = 4.3$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.038$). Democrats used 'common' people or voters' endorsements in 40% of videos as compared to Republicans in 7% ($\chi^2 = 9.3$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.002$).

Figure 10. Strategies Used by Party

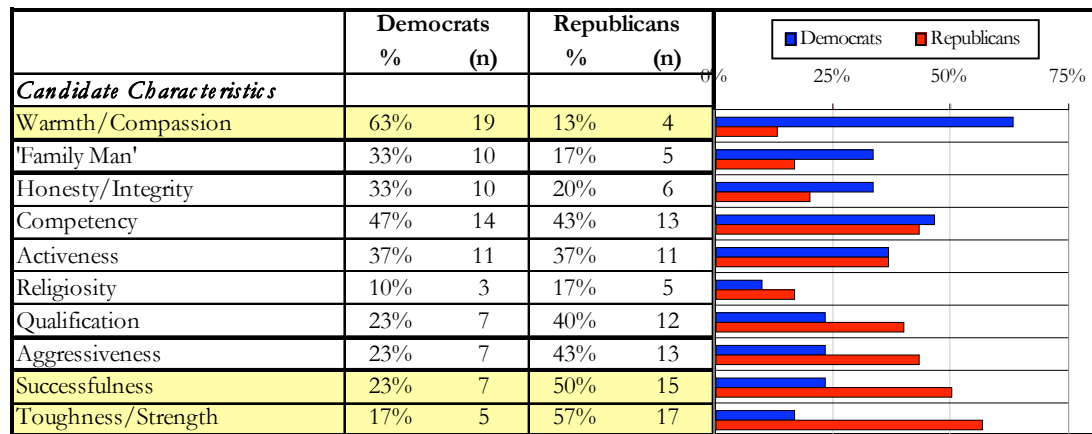


The strategies employed by the two parties for the election appear peculiar at first. Though there is no incumbent in this election, it was observed in the web videos that Republicans used strategies more typical of incumbents, such as endorsements from famous leaders and emphasizing accomplishment, whereas Democrats used strategies consistent with challengers, such as calling for changes and emphasizing optimism for the future (Trent and Friedenber, 2004: 80). This may be because the sitting President is Republican, thus associating the Republican candidates with incumbency.

Candidate Characteristics

Republican and Democratic candidates emphasized different candidate characteristics in the web videos (see Figure 11). When presenting candidate’s characteristics, Republicans used toughness in 57% of videos compared to Democrats in 17% ($\chi^2 = 10.3$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.001$). Republicans emphasized successfulness in 50% of videos whereas Democrats did so in 23% ($\chi^2 = 4.6$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.032$). Democrats emphasized compassion in 63% of videos compared to Republicans in 13% ($\chi^2 = 15.9$, d.f. = 1, $p \leq 0.001$).

Figure 11. Candidate Characteristics Emphasized by Party



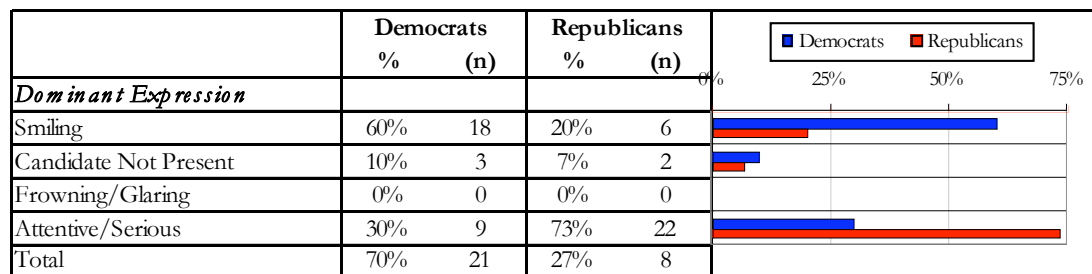
Past studies on candidate characteristics stressed in political advertisements have shown that Democrats tend to emphasize compassion and competency more than Republicans (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 84). Similar results were found in this study of web videos. However, previous studies have found that Democrats tend to focus more on toughness/strength and qualifications than Republicans in political advertisements (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 84); the opposite is observed in this study of web videos.

3.3.2. Nonverbal Components of Democratic and Republican Videostyle

Candidate Expression

Democrats’ dominant expression was smiling in 60% of videos as compared to Republicans in 20%. Republicans’ dominant expression was attentive or serious in 73% of videos as compared to Democrats in 30% ($\chi^2 = 11.7$, d.f. = 2, $p = 0.003$) (see Figure 12).

Figure 12. Candidate Dominant Expression by Party

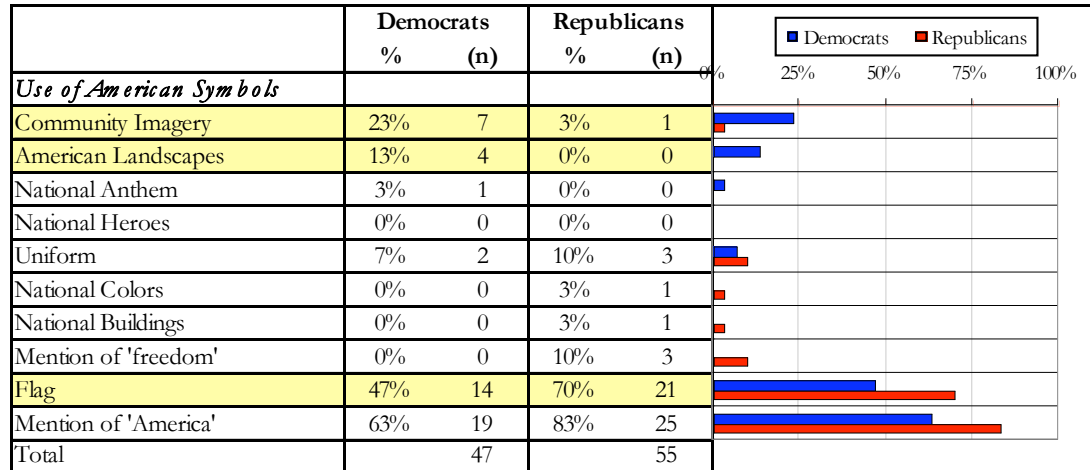


Symbols

The two parties emphasized different national symbols (see Figure 13). For example, Republicans used the flag in 70% of videos as compared to Democrats who used the flag in

less than half of videos ($\chi^2 = 3.3$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.050$). Democrats used community images in nearly a quarter of videos (23%) while Republicans used such images in just 3% of videos ($\chi^2 = 5.2$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.023$).

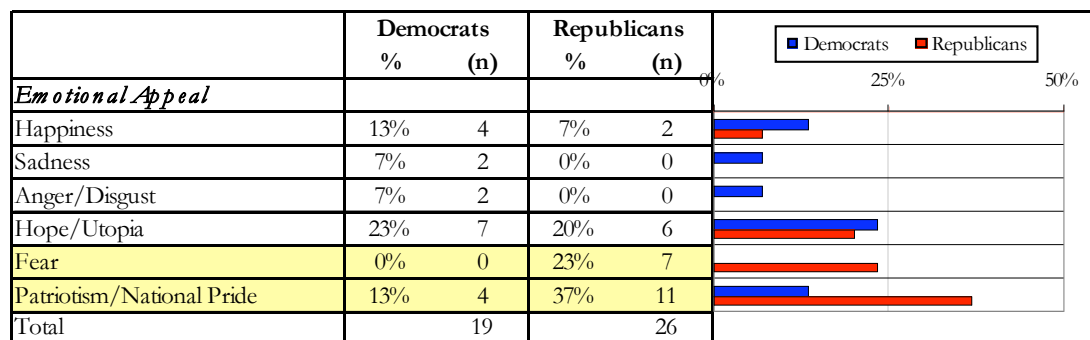
Figure 13. Use of American Symbols by Party



Emotions

The two parties used different emotional appeals in their web videos (see Figure 14). 23% of Republican emotional appeals traded on fear, whereas Democrats never used fear in videos ($\chi^2 = 7.9$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.005$). 36% of Republican emotional appeals were based on patriotism, as compared to 13% of Democrat appeals ($\chi^2 = 4.4$, d.f. = 1, $p = 0.036$).

Figure 14. Emotional Appeals by Party



Past research on party videostyle in political advertisement shows that Democrats use more fear appeals than Republicans (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 97); the opposite is observed in this study of web videos.

3.3.3. Production Components of Democratic and Republican Videostyle

The production components of the parties' videostyles do not differ significantly. The differences in use of music, music/text balance, music genre, music effect, and setting amongst Democrats and Republicans are not statistically significant in this study. These results are similar to other comparative studies of video production techniques in political ads by party (Kaid and Johnston, 2001: 97).

3.3.4. Summary of Democratic and Republican Videostyle

A summary of the most significant differences in videostyle characteristics by party is presented in Figure 15 below. Democrats and Republicans show little distinction in videostyle production components and instead, the most striking differences between the parties' videostyles occur among the verbal and nonverbal components. First, Democrats discuss social issues and the Iraq War whereas Republicans discuss safety, security, and terror. Second, Democrats use more endorsements from 'common' people or voters, compared to Republicans who use more endorsements from non-political famous people, like business leaders and celebrities. Third, Democrats emphasize compassion whereas Republicans emphasize 'toughness' and successfulness. Fourth, Republicans make more image than issue appeals. Fifth, Republicans appear attentive or serious in web videos, whereas Democrats appear smiling. Finally, Republicans use more fear and patriotism appeals, as compared to Democrats who call for changes more.

Figure 15. Parties Compared Overall

	Democrats	Republicans
1	More 'common' people as dominant speaker	More formal language
2	More mention of Iraq War	More mentions of safety, security, and terror
3	More mention of concern for children	More Image than issues
4	More mention of Social Security	More emphasis on candidate 'toughness'
5	More mention of health care	More emphasis on candidate successfulness
6	Call for changes more	Use more fear appeals
7	More emphasis on candidate compassion	Use more patriotism appeals
8	More endorsements from 'common' people	More endorsements from non-political famous people
9	Dominant expression smiling	Dominant expression attentive or serious
10	Feature communities more	Feature the U.S. flag more

4. Conclusion

Candidate presentation of self observed in web videos is unique; it incorporates styles commonly used in both political television advertisements and campaign websites as well as others not emphasized in either of these media. This research finds that web videos are similar to political ads and websites in their overall positive, candidate-focused nature, but they differ in their focus on image over issues. However, it is especially the nonverbal and production techniques used in web videos which distinguish them from political advertisements. The polished look of television ads, with specifically designed lighting and sound effects, is markedly absent. Instead, viewers are more likely to get a less produced 'behind the scenes' look at the candidate, both at home and on the campaign trail, as web videos tend to use more of a 'realistic' style, showing an 'intimate portrait' of the candidate. The web videos are longer and published in larger numbers than political television ads, providing greater and more detailed insight into the candidates and their campaigns.

Each candidate is found to have their own unique videostyle. Hillary Clinton is portrayed as a traditional leader, shown in formal web addresses or giving speeches on the campaign trail, rarely seen with her family or interacting with voters. John Edwards, on the other hand, is often represented as 'one of the people' and a family man; his videos show him often accompanied by his wife and children, 'behind the scenes' on the campaign trail interacting with voters. Rudy Giuliani is depicted as a traditional leader, addressing large crowds, rarely interacting with voters, and never shown with his family. John McCain is presented as a military hero and a patriotic leader, often seen interacting with current service people and endorsed by POWs. Barack Obama is portrayed as 'one of the people'; he is often shown interacting with voters on the campaign trail, even canvassing door-to-door, and frequently features endorsements from 'common' people. Mitt Romney is represented as both a successful businessman and Governor, as well as a religious family man, often using testimonials from his family and business leaders.

The study of the web video characteristics by party exhibit a distinction in issues discussed, with Republicans talking more about security and terror, and Democrats focusing on social policies and the Iraq War. The two parties employ different strategies; Republicans tend to use strategies traditionally employed by incumbents, such as endorsements from political leaders, whereas Democrats tend to use challenger strategies, such as emphasizing optimism for the future. The parties also use different national symbols in web videos. This

research finds that there is no discernible difference in the production techniques used by the parties.

This study provides insight into candidate self-presentation in web videos, an emerging medium. Future research in the field of web videos should aim to confirm whether findings in this study are specific to web videos or are a function of primary campaigning by undertaking a study of self-presentation in web videos for the general election in 2008. Will candidates begin to go negative in these videos as they have done in political television ads? Will the videos continue to be focused mainly on image? Further research on the evolution of self-presentation in web videos will provide answers to these questions, whilst also documenting emergent styles and techniques. With the explosion of web videos onto the political scene since the last general election, there are sure to be further developments in the use of this medium worthy of investigation.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Coding Frame

- 1. Candidate Name and Video Title (if any)**
- 2. Length of Online Video** (expressed in minutes and seconds)
- 3. What is the dominant format of the video?**
 - 1 Biographical/Resume/Career/Personal:** supplies background information on the candidate and/or his or her family; describes or documents the life of the candidate
 - 2 Endorsement/Testimonial:** shows the responses of people to the candidate; provides an endorsement of the candidate by groups/individuals in the form of talking about the candidate's virtues, man-on-the-street interviews, or famous person endorsing
 - 3 Campaign Update/On the Trail:** shows the candidate on campaigning or provides an update on the status of the campaign
 - 4 Issue Statement:** verbal or visual statement of candidate or position on specific issue(s)
 - 5 Other (specify):** none of the above
- 4. Is there any music present in the video?**
 - 0 No
 - 1 Yes
- 5. What is the relationship between music and other audio/text?**
 - 0 No Music
 - 1 More music than text
 - 2 More text than music
 - 3 Balance between music and text
- 6. If there is music, what is the dominant style/genre?**
 - 0 No Music
 - 1 Classical
 - 2 Modern (pop, rock, jazz)
 - 3 Instrumental
 - 4 Marching Music
 - 5 Trumpet or Announcement Music
 - 6 Folk/Country/Western
 - 7 National Anthem
 - 88 Not possible to determine
 - 99 Other
- 7. Which is the main intended effect of the music?**
 - 0 No music
 - 1 Mystery
 - 2 Fear
 - 3 Feel good/Hope
 - 4 Heroism
 - 5 Combination
 - 88 Not possible to determine

99 Other (Specify)

8. *Is the video candidate or opponent focused?*

1 **Candidate-positive focused:** emphasizes the virtues/good qualities of the candidate; no explicit attack on the opponent.

2 **Opponent-negative focused:** emphasizes the negative qualities/faults of the opponent; explicit attack on the opponent's record, character, campaign, etc.

3 **Comparative/Balanced between positive and negative information:** mark only if there is no dominance of one over the other.

88 **Cannot determine**

9. *Is there a negative attack made in the video?* (Does the video make a negative, derogatory, or unflattering statement or reference to the opposing candidate?)

0 No

1 Yes

10. *What is the dominant setting of the video?*

1 **Formal indoors:** institutional setting, indoors (office, Congress, school)

2 **Informal indoors:** non-institutional setting (home, car, party)

3 **Formal Outdoors:** candidate is acting in formal role as candidate outdoors, speaking to a crowd, talking to voters

4 **Informal Outdoors:** candidate not in a formal role as candidate (walking, running, playing)

5 **Combination (specify):** some combination of the above; no one dominant setting over another

99 **Other** (specify)

11. *Can American symbols be seen in the video?*

0 No

1 Yes

For each of the following, code 1 if present, 0 if not present.

12. *Flag*

13. *National Colors:* obvious presence of red/white/blue

14. *National Anthem:* Star-spangled Banner

15. *Representative National Buildings:* e.g. White House, Congress, Pentagon

16. *Specific Mentions* of 'freedom,' 'free,'

17. *Representations of National Heroes:* e.g. past Presidents or leaders, famous sports, literature, political heroes

18. *Presence of any kind of standard uniform:* e.g. police, military, school

19. *American Landscapes*

20. *Overt use of community imagery, settings, messages:* children playing together, small town downtown, church meetings, sports games

21. *Specific mentions* of 'country', 'nation', 'America'

22. *Who is the dominant speaker?*

1 Candidate

2 A Government Official or Office Holder

3 An Anonymous Announcer

4 Non-Government Celebrity

- 5 Spouse or Family Member
- 6 Political Pundit (s)
- 7 'Common' people, voter(s)
- 8 Journalist
- 9 Combination (specify)
- 99 Other

23. Does a candidate or party representative appear in the video?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes, Candidate who is sponsoring the video
- 2 Yes, An opponent of the candidate who is sponsoring the video
- 3 Both

24. How is the candidate or party member presented?

- 0 No candidate or party representative appears in the video
- 1 Positively
- 2 Negatively
- 3 Neutrally
- 4 Both positively and negatively

25. Does family appear in the video? (mark only one)

- 0 No
- 1 Yes, Spouse
- 2 Yes, Other family member
- 3 Yes, Children
- 4 Yes, Spouse and children
- 5 Yes, Spouse, children, and other family members
- 6 Yes, Other combination of family

26. What is the candidate's dominant expression?

- 1 Smiling
- 2 Attentive/Serious
- 3 Frowning/Glaring
- 88 Not applicable/Candidate not present
- 99 Other (specify)

27. Are there 'casual' conversations between the candidate and other people?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

28. With whom are the majority of 'casual' conversations?

- 1 Family
- 2 'Common' people, voter(s)
- 3 National heroes (police, firemen, military)
- 4 Aides/Staff
- 5 Interviewer
- 88 Not applicable; no 'casual' conversations are observed in the video

29. What is the candidate's dominant style of language?

- 1 Formal
- 2 Informal/Colloquial
- 3 Varied

88 Not applicable

30. What is the candidate's dominant style of dress in the video?

- 1 Formal
- 2 Casual
- 3 Varied
- 88 Not Applicable

31. What is the dominant staging of video?

- 1 All obviously staged
- 2 Natural appearing
- 3 From live event
- 4 From the news
- 88 Cannot be determined
- 99 Other (specify)

32. What are the dominant sound characteristics?

- 1 **Live:** sound is live and on-video directly from person speaking
- 2 **Sound-over:** sound is placed over video
- 3 **Combination:** sound is balanced between live and sound-over
- 88 **Not applicable:** no one is speaking in the video

33. Is the emphasis of this video on:

- 1 **Issues:** issue concerns, specific policy, candidate or opponent position
- 2 **Image:** candidate or opponent personal characteristics, background, qualifications
- 3 **Combination:** Not possible to determine an emphasis

What types of appeals are used in the video? Code 1 if present, 0 if not present.

34. Logical appeals (use of evidence): facts are presented in video in order to persuade viewer that the evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of some position. This can be use of statistics, logical arguments, examples, etc.

35. Emotional appeals: appeals designed to invoke particular feelings or emotions in viewers including happiness, good will, pride, patriotism, anger, etc.

36. Source credibility/ethos appeal (appeal to qualifications as candidate): appeals made to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of candidate by telling all he/she has done, is capable of doing, how reliable he/she is; endorsements or testimonials are often in this category, particularly if they rely on credibility of a famous person to enhance the candidate or attack the opponent.

37. Which appeal is dominant in the video?

- 0 No appeals are made in the video
- 1 Logical appeals
- 2 Emotional appeals
- 3 Ethos appeal/Source credibility

Are appeals made which trade on any of the following emotions? Code 1 if present, 0 if not present.

38. Fear

39. Happiness

40. Sadness

- 41. **Anger/Disgust**
- 42. **Patriotism/National Pride**
- 43. **Hope/Utopia:** abstract, not linked to specific improvements

What are the contents of the appeals made in the video? Code 1 if present, 0 if not present

- 44. **Emphasis of partisanship of candidate:** video identifies the candidate's party, mentions other members of the same party
- 45. **Issue-related appeal (candidate's issue concern):** video reveals that candidate cares about the issue and the issue is salient to the candidate, but nothing said about how to solve problem. May mention who should be held responsible for the problem
- 46. **Issue-related appeal (vague policy preference):** reveals policy preference of candidate, but in a vague, ambiguous, or symbolic way. "I oppose inflation" or "I favor medical care."
- 47. **Issue-related appeal (specific policy proposals):** relates more specific policy proposals. May suggest precise legislation or action he/she will take.
- 48. **Personal characteristics of candidate:** video attempts to convince audience that candidate has good personality traits or qualities, such as honest, intelligence, "nice guy" or that opponent does not have these.
- 49. **Linking of candidate with certain demographic groups:** candidate is shown as being sympathetic to the problems, goals, needs, of certain groups; candidate is shown as a good friend to these groups.

50. Which appeal is the dominant in the video?

- 0 No appeals are made in the video
- 1 Emphasis of partisanship of candidate
- 2 Issue-related appeal (candidate's issue concern)
- 3 Issue-related appeal (vague policy preference)
- 4 Issue-related appeal (specific policy proposals)
- 5 Personal characteristics of candidate
- 6 Linking of candidate with certain demographic groups

Which issue(s) is(are) present in the video? For each, code 1 if present, 0 if not present.

- 51. **Iraq war**
- 52. **International of foreign affairs**
- 53. **Iran potential conflict**
- 54. **Military or defense spending**
- 55. **Economic concerns**
- 56. **Spending/deficit/budget**
- 57. **Crime/prisons/penalties/gun control**
- 58. **Security/safety/terrorism**
- 59. **Concern for children or children's issues**
- 60. **Social Security/Medicare/problems of Elderly**
- 61. **Energy**
- 62. **Women's issues**
- 63. **Environmental concerns**
- 64. **Health Care**
- 65. **Immigration**

- 66. **Taxes**
- 67. **Welfare reform**
- 68. **Education**
- 69. **Civil rights/affirmative action/rights for groups**

70. Which of these issues is dominant in the video? _____

- 0 No issues are present in the video
- 1 Iraq war
- 2 International of foreign affairs
- 3 Iran potential conflict
- 4 Military or defense spending
- 5 Economic concerns
- 6 Spending/deficit/budget
- 7 Crime/prisons/penalties/gun control
- 8 Security/safety/terrorism
- 9 Concern for children or children's issues
- 10 Social Security/Medicare/problems of Elderly
- 11 Energy
- 12 Women's issues
- 13 Environmental concerns
- 14 Health Care
- 15 Immigration
- 16 Taxes
- 17 Welfare reform
- 18 Education
- 19 Civil rights/affirmative action/rights for groups

Which strategies are present in the video? For each, code 1 if present, 0 if not present.

- 71. **Use of symbolic trappings to transmit importance of office:** surrounded by bodyguards, use of title in addressing the candidate, travel with entourage, images used that somehow signify the candidate's official government position
- 72. **Competency and the office:** candidate relays image of a competent world leader, capable of managing the highest office
- 73. **Charisma and the office:** uses the excitement and glamour afforded to the office in his/her videos; shows the hoopla that follows him/her when he/she arrives in a town.
- 74. **Calling for changes:** things need to be done differently, changes need to be made
- 75. **Emphasizing optimism for the future:** things can and will get better in the future; things are already on an upswing now
- 76. **Speaking to traditional values:** reinforcing majority value, traditions, past
- 77. **Appearing to represent the philosophical center of the party:** has support of political party and represents its policies and platforms
- 78. **Consulting or negotiating with world leaders:** appears in video with other world leaders
- 79. **Using endorsements by party and other political leaders:** party leaders used to speak on behalf of candidate; linking of candidate with established, respected political leaders
- 80. **Using endorsements by non-political leaders/influencers:** political pundits, business leaders speak in support of candidate

- 81. **Using endorsements by 'common' people, voter(s):** 'common' people used to speak on behalf of candidate, linking of candidate with 'common' voters
- 82. **Emphasizing accomplishments:** stressing the achievements of the candidate or party
- 83. **Attacking the record of the opponent:** reviewing and criticizing the past accomplishments (or failures) of the opponent.
- 84. **Other (Specify)**

What candidate characteristics are emphasized in the video? Code 1 if present, 0 if not present.

- 85. **Honesty/Integrity**
- 86. **Toughness/Strength:** e.g. "tough on crime"
- 87. **Warmth/Compassion:** focus on human relationships, e.g. showing concern for elderly, children, victims, hugging people
- 88. **Competency:** intelligence, assertive, confident
- 89. **Successfulness:** accomplishments, achievements
- 90. **Aggressiveness:** need for aggressive action, need for drastic change to solve problem
- 91. **Activeness:** have a plan, not just complaining about a problem
- 92. **Qualifications:** candidate's record
- 93. **'Family Man':** highlighting the importance of family, family values
- 94. **Religiosity:** highlights the candidate's religious faith or beliefs

Is the candidate presented as: (Code 1 if yes, 0 if no.)

- 95. **War leader or hero**
- 96. **National hero:** fighting for national or other rights
- 97. **'Ordinary' hero:** overcoming personal difficulties, fulfilling the American dream
- 98. **'One of us':** nothing exceptional, just like citizens
- 99. **'Self reflective':** recognizing difficulties, failure, mistakes
- 100. **The personal directly linked to political positions:** e.g. talking about candidate's children and education

101. Is a candidate or party slogan contained in the spoken or visual aspect of the video?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

102. If yes, what is it?

103. Is the term "values" explicitly used in the video?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

104. Does the spot actually discuss or relate to values?

- 0 No
- 1 Yes

Appendix B: List of Videos Sampled

Title of Video	Length (minutes)
Hillary Clinton (videos retrieved June 30, 2007 from HillaryClinton.com)	
Christine Vilsack Endorses Hillary	5:00
Health Care for Kids	4:35
Hillary on The View	7:00
HillCast: Iraq Roadmap	3:13
I'm In	1:53
Iowa Welcomes Hillary	2:52
Maya Angelou on Hillary	2:53
Message from President Clinton	4:27
On the Road	4:07
Tom Vilsack Endorses Hillary	4:00
John Edwards (videos retrieved June 30, 2007 from JohnEdwards.com)	
AFSCME Forum: About Unions	2:54
Care packages for troops	2:00
Cherokee, Iowa - With Jack and Emma Claire Edwards	1:54
Danny Glover with John Edwards	2:42
Elizabeth Edwards Introduces John Edwards	3:14
Father of the Year Award	6:00
Marengo, Iowa - Town Hall Meeting	1:41
Trivia with Elizabeth and John Edwards	1:27
True Universal Health Care	6:15
We the People	0:31
Rudy Giuliani (videos retrieved June 30, 2007 from JoinRudy2008.com)	
Leadership	1:23
Louis Freeh Endorses Rudy	27:18
Rudy on Confronting Iran	0:58
Rudy on his record	2:23
Rudy on the Terrorists' War Against Us	0:43
Rudy on Why He's Running for President	1:02
Rudy Rallies Supporters in Iowa	24:32
Rudy visits Charleston	41:33
Spartanburg, SC	3:54
Steve Forbes Endorses Rudy	7:05
John McCain (videos retrieved June 30, 2007 from JohnMcCain.com)	
Announcement tour in Iowa	1:58
Coca Cola Nascar	1:44

Iraq: Formula for Success	1:21
Live Free or Die	1:44
Live from Iowa Gov. Pawlenty	0:20
Man of Principle	1:00
Ready to Lead	1:00
Scenes from the Road: Lebanon, NH	1:00
Service with Honor	3:31
Straight Talk on Spending	1:00

Barack Obama (videos retrieved June 30, 2007 from BarackObama.com)

20,000 in Atlanta	3:42
Barack Obama Donor John Madden	1:17
Barack Obama on Iraq, Opposition from the Start	3:02
Hope Action Change: Health Care and Iraq	4:43
Iowa Health Care Address in Iowa City	4:10
June 9th Walk for Change	2:26
Meet Barack	5:46
Meet Michelle	3:22
Michelle Obama Speech	15:27
What Inspires Deborah Fordham	0:57

Mitt Romney (videos retrieved June 30, 2007 from MittRomney.com)

ABC "This Week": Ann Romney's Health Challenge	2:41
America's Calling	4:25
Ann Romney Christmas 2006	13:13
Ask Mitt Anything: Dealing with Iran's Security Threat	3:10
Fox America's Newsroom: Immigration Reform	1:47
Luntz Research Documents Debate Win	2:24
National Call Day	3:10
NBC "Today": Governor Romney Tops Republican Field in Fundraising	3:12
On the Road with Fox's Martha MacCallum	2:08
The One to Watch	1:46

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