

Trump: Verbal and Non-Verbal Expressions of Dominance



Multimodal Interaction Analysis of the enactment of dominance and power through verbal and non-verbal lower-level mediated actions by Donald J. Trump during the 2016 presidential debates.

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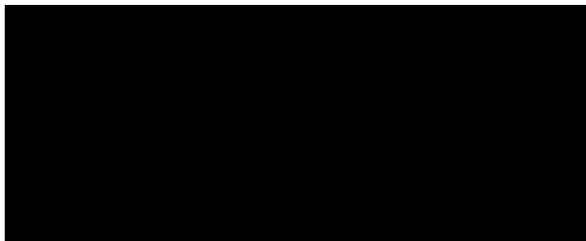
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Abstract

The present research analyzed the expression of verbal and non-verbal communication during the 2016 presidential elections of the United States between Donald J. Trump and Hillary Clinton, and has established several remarkable conclusions in terms of the enactment of dominance and power through social interaction. Multimodal Interaction Analysis was conducted of the communicative efforts and actions after Donald Trump verbally interrupted Hillary Clinton during her speech time. The manner in which Trump both verbally and non-verbally communicates in social interaction manifests dominance and power, and therefore might have contributed to the surprising outcome of the 2016 presidential elections. Such findings are relevant in furthering the comprehension of Trump's victory but are also particularly relevant as it provides innovative insights into how rhetoric and non-verbal communicative efforts can be applied to manifest higher power positions within the social context, and enact dominance over other political candidates and/or political leaders through social interaction.

Keywords: communication, dominance, Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, multimodal, Multimodal Interaction Analysis, politics, power, presidential elections, social interaction.

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Introduction

The 2016 presidential elections of the United States might have been one of the most engrossing and interesting elections of the past few decades. The race between Republican candidate Donald Trump and Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton was scrutinized by a large variety of different media and news channels and by academics from all around the world. What made the 2016 elections so remarkable was that Donald Trump's candidacy was largely unforeseen, due to his lack of experience in politics. Moreover, Trump proved to be an extremely remarkable and phenomenal nominee during the election period by reason of his bold statements and striking appearance and performance. Lastly, what was also particularly interesting about the race for the presidency was that the two candidates differed substantially from one another. This substantial difference was not solely inherent in their ideologies but was also conveyed in their personal demographics, opinions, rhetoric and performance. Donald Trump's abundant performance was oftentimes argued to be perceptually different from his opponent, Hillary Clinton, whose behavior was more conservative. The outcome of the presidential election, furthermore, was not predicted by many scholars or journalists, as many argued that Trump lacked substance in terms of his rhetorical reasoning on specific policies and actions that he claimed he would be taking if he were to become president of the United States (Chow, 2016). The fact that Trump did win the presidency over Hillary Clinton indicates that despite his substance-lacking rhetoric he must have utilized different channels in the social interaction through which he enacted dominance and power, which are notions that are commonly associated with leadership positions.

The presidential candidates were put head to head in the official presidential debates, which generated much social interaction between the two candidates, and, therefore, the opportunity for one candidate to wield social dominance and power over the other. Furthermore, the enactment of power and dominance through the performance of the candidates could have had a large influence on an extensive part of the American electorate as a result of the extremely high viewership of the presidential debates. Donald Trump's victory could, therefore, be partially consequential to the manner in which Trump enacted power and dominance in his verbal and non-verbal communicative actions during specific sequences of the presidential debates, which allowed him to manifest higher status positions within the interpersonal interaction between himself and Hillary Clinton. Comprehension of such actions and how the candidates manifest higher status positions within social interaction is essential to the conception of Donald Trump's victory. It will allow many scholars, academics and

journalists to gain a better understanding of how it can be that Donald Trump, who is a largely inexperienced politician, was capable of winning the presidency.

Multimodal Interaction Analysis of specific sequences during the presidential debates is essential in analyzing such enactment of power and dominance through social interaction. It allows for an analysis of the verbal and non-verbal communicative actions by Donald Trump, and elucidates how such actions manifested power and dominance within with social interaction with Hillary Clinton. What was particularly striking was that several verbal and non-verbal communicative actions of Donald Trump were salient in frequency of occurrence during the 2016 presidential debates, which indicated that they might serve additional functions within the interactive context. The Multimodal Interaction Analysis found that Donald Trump's salient behavior indeed had a purpose as both the verbal and the non-verbal communicative actions largely contributed to the enactment of power and dominance of Trump over his opponent, Hillary Clinton. The essential findings of the present study are that Donald Trump's production of speech, and message length were more favorable to the enactment of power and dominance within the social interaction. Moreover, Trump's non-verbal communicative actions were found to be similarly important to the establishment of dominance and power over Hillary Clinton. His physical characteristics—facial expression, gaze and gesture—and his proxemics with regard to other objects served as indications of the manifestation of power and dominance. These enactments of power and dominance through communicative action might, subsequently, have influenced public perceptions of Trump's leadership capabilities, and could, therefore, have contributed to the unexpected victory as president-elect of the United States.

The first chapter functions as a literature review of the theoretical framework that was used for the analysis of the salient items of Donald Trump's communicative actions during the 2016 presidential debates. The theoretical framework that is particularly important in analyzing social interaction is elucidated, and theories are discussed which argue that social interaction cannot be separated from enactments of power and dominance. Furthermore, concepts, such as leadership, dominance and power, which are inherently related to the theories on social interaction are explained and related to specific findings from different studies that assert which specific verbal and non-verbal communicative actions were particularly important to the establishment of dominance and power through social interaction.

The second chapter discusses the specific methodological framework that was used to analyze social interaction between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016

presidential debates. It provides a clear overview of the concepts and tools that are relevant to understanding the intentions and objectives of Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris, 2004, 2011, 2015). The chapter also elucidates several shortcomings of the methodological framework, and explains how such shortcomings, such as the necessity to limit the dataset, can best be dealt with. Therefore, the specific decisions that were made during the limitation of the dataset, and the transcription of the communicative modes are also addressed in the second chapter.

The third, and final chapter presents the specific findings of Donald Trump's salient communicative actions and how these manifest power and dominance over Hillary Clinton. The chapter first discusses specific verbal communicative actions, such as production of speech and quantity of speech, and argues that Trump's expression of such elements is more favorable to the enactment of power and dominance in comparison to Clinton's expression thereof. Hereinafter, the chapter addresses the equally important non-verbal communicative elements, such as physical indications and proxemics in relation to objects, and similarly asserts that Trump expresses more dominance and power through his physical features, and has more ownership of the space and environment than Hillary does. All these elements are alleged to contribute to perceptions of ownership of the verbal and non-verbal communicative interaction, which manifest perceptions of dominance to the character of Donald Trump.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

This section elucidates several important theories on notions such as mediated action and discourse, as an effort to comprehend the viewpoint from which this research analyzes social interaction. Furthermore, notions such as leadership, power and dominance are conceptualized in order to understand their inherent meanings and their connections to interpersonal interaction and discourse. The connection between these notions and their place in social interaction are central to the present research. Specific verbal and non-verbal actions that establish such dominance and power will be addressed afterwards, in order to present the findings of the analysis on the manners in which specific social actions cause establishments of power and dominance within social situations. Such theories are inherently important to the research as they will determine which actions, performed by Donald Trump, are particularly important in his enactment of dominance over his co-runner, Hillary Clinton.

1.1. Mediated action and discourse

One of the most important theorists of his time in the field of social power and Discourse Analysis is Michel Foucault. His philosophical views on notions such as social power, knowledge and discourse have been widely adopted by theorists, and is commonly used in the creation of theoretical and methodological frameworks that relate to similar notions. Similarly, the framework of Multimodal Interaction Analysis also shares many viewpoints with the objectives that Foucault proposes. Foucault reasoned that social power and interpersonal relationships are inherently related to and established by constructive meaning in discourse (Foucault, 1994). Foucault argues that personal character is not as much of importance in the establishment of social interaction but that discourse is principal to the implicit establishment of social dominance (Foucault, 1972). In the presidential debates it is, thus, not the inherent character of the candidates that determines their power positions but it is their inherent communicative actions and behavior, which are expressed through discourse. The principal objective Foucault puts forward is that statements and clauses should not be rated in terms of their scientific relevance to the discourse, but that the essence of such discourse, in fact, establishes social power. The implicit creation of social power through discourse allows the individual that is acting within the social world to govern over others and constitute a social order in relation to others who are involved in that social interaction (Foucault, 1972). Individuals and groups, therefore, do not simply wield power over another; power is expressed through the action of social discourse (Foucault, 1972). Discourse, thus,

determines the social relationships between people and groups, and expresses authority and other notions that are associated to governance (Foucault, 1972). Donald Trump would, therefore, be able to gain power through social discourse and the communicative efforts that are related to it. Moreover, Foucault does not solely consider power to be a reflection within discourse. Power is considered to be of much greater importance within social interaction, which is that discourse is, in fact, the primary means through which power is established and enacted (Foucault, 1972). The manner in which Donald Trump expresses power and dominance within the presidential debates is, thus, not solely reflected within his social interaction and discourse, as it is, in fact, enacted through it. Foucault does not limit the definition of discourse to verbal expression, as it is often associated with. Discourse is conceptualized as “ways of speaking and seeing” in which “the whole ensemble of practices” related to verbal and non-verbal communicative actions support knowledge (Foucault, 1980). Such knowledge of verbal and non-verbal discourse enforces the conceptualization of truth: a concept that Foucault argues is not an external objective but an internal socio-cultural thing (Foucault, 1980). Social and cultural values of a society, thus, determine which interactive elements are associated with expressive characteristics of compliance, submission and dependence, and which actions are not associated with such matters.

The conceptions of Mediated Action Theory (Wertsch, 1991, 1995, 1998), Mediated Discourse Theory (Scollon, 1998) and Multimodal Mediated Theory (Norris, 2013) build upon Foucault’s objective that discourse is powerful enough to establish interpersonal relationships and ascribe those persons involved in discourse to different roles of either interactive dominance or interactive submission. Wertsch (1991) first introduced Mediated Action Theory in which the concept of mediated action is centralized. Mediated action is characterized as an ecological unit of analysis that involves both individual action and social context. Analyzing human action within this societal context is inherently important in demonstrating the systematic relevance of the construction of interpersonal relationships through interaction (Geenen, 2013). Mediated action is, thus, defined as an action that focuses both on the individual and on the social and cultural means that are inherently linked to the action of the individual (Wertsch, 1991). Donald Trump, the individual, therefore, expresses and enacts specific actions that construe higher or lower status roles within the discourse. However, such actions are supported and given weight to by the cultural means that are inherently connected to their interactive context. Such mediated action is undertaken through mediational means and/or cultural tools in which historical, socio-cultural and institutional processes and trajectories are embedded. The processes and trajectories are, therefore, not

only embedded in the means and tools that are used to undertake the action, but are also crucially important in the action itself (Geenen, 2013). The individual and the mediational means that produce the action can never be isolated and analyzed completely on their own as the means and tools “shape the action in essential ways” (Wertsch 1991). Accordingly, there is a constant interplay between components of the individual and components of the sociocultural context, which cannot be viewed separately.

Sollon’s (2001) Mediated Discourse Theory builds upon Mediated Action Theory. It has created a more theoretical and methodological lens of analyzing actions by arguing that discourse is an inherent component of such social action (Scollon, 2001). Scollon’s conception of the essentiality of discourse in Mediated Discourse Theory comes forth from the field of multimodality. This term is used for the field that asserts that different modes are used in communicative discourse, and construct a social semiotic system. Different fields focused on language as the sole indicator of meaning within interpersonal discourse, and failed to address the non-verbal communicative modes that were equally capable of enhancing meaning through social interaction. Mediated Discourse Theory asserts that multimodal non-verbal expressive modes in discourse should not be neglected when analyzing social action, similarly to Foucault’s (1980) definition of discourse, as it is the prime mediational tool through which such mediated action establishes itself and the social world in which the action is performed (Scollon, 2001). Discourse should, thus, be included in any given social analysis of the worldly actions in order to acquire an adequate understanding of the social environment. Therefore, similarly to Mediated Action Theory, Mediated Discourse Analysis also considers the historical, socio-cultural and institutional context to be of prime importance to understanding social actions, and has added to theory that discourse and interpersonal interaction should be considered more important in analysis of such social actions (Scollon, 2001).

Multimodal Mediated Theory (Norris, 2013) has adopted both Mediated Action Theory and the Mediated Discourse Theory in its conceptualization of discourse and social interaction. Norris argues that discourse is not considered a material object in the world that should be analyzed scientifically but is seen as a social action that reflects the social and cultural life, and relationships of the individual that are inherently linked to and acting through such mediated actions within discourse (Norris, 2013). Such actions create a semiotic system through which interpersonal relationships are established and the historical and cultural context is re-evaluated. Moreover, Multimodal Mediated Theory asserts that language should not be prioritized in such efforts to comprehend the social world. Other communicative

modes, such as gaze and head movement, could also be essentially important to the understanding of interaction (Norris, 2004), especially in debating situations, where strong verbal rhetoric is not the sole indicator of high status positions within the interaction. Thus, although the application of speech by Donald Trump is also important to the manifestation of power and dominance, analysis of the debates should not neglect the non-verbal communicative actions, that are of similar importance to the understanding and elucidation of such enactments. Multimodal Interaction Analysis is a methodological framework, developed by Norris (2004, 2011, 2015), which can be applied when analyzing social interaction, and more specifically, when analyzing interpersonal relationships that are established within such interactions. The framework takes into account all embodied communicative modes, which include both spoken language and non-verbal communicative behavior, which are particularly important to analyzing multimodal interaction between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

1.2. Leadership, dominance and power

A more general understanding of concepts such as power and leadership should be provided before such concepts can actually be analyzed in a sufficient manner. The notion of leadership, for one, cannot be encompassed in one single definition due to the many different lines of research that have asserted and established different views upon the origins and expressions of leadership. The term is associated with a variety of concepts that should also be defined as specifically as possible in order to fully understand the nature and expressiveness of the concept of leadership. Scholars Cleeton and Mason (1946) describe leadership as “a kind of successful performance resulting from the interaction of particular mental abilities, character and affective traits, under particular conditions”. This definition of leadership argues that leadership is a trait that results from certain attributes and mental abilities that people who are submissive do not employ in their interactive discourse with others. Politicians, such as Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, are required to express these traits if they want to enact power and dominance over others, and want to come across as effective leaders. A deficiency of such traits would signify that their leadership ability is less positive and their chances to be elected president of the United States will be less fortunate. Cleeton and Mason (1946), thus, argue that leadership ability is inherently associated with personal expressions of character. Such expressions are produced by verbal and non-verbal embodied communicative modes and transformed into communicative actions that are expressed by the individual. When those communicative actions are in line with people’s perceptions of leadership and/or authority, it will, subsequently, also be more likely that they

are perceived as more capable leaders and authoritative figures by others. This notion is in line with the objectives proposed by Foucault, that power is indeed manifested through social interaction and is, therefore, not solely reflected in it.

Dominance is a second term that is inherently important in the perception of leadership competence, and is particularly important to the conception of political candidacy. Political figures, who are already instated in power, have to enact power and dominance over the persons they are appointed to govern. Political candidates, however, need to do much more. Political candidates need to gain power, mutual trust, respect and dominance over the electorate, their opponents and even over their own party-members. This can be achieved by the manifestation of dominance through social interaction. Van Dijk (2006) links the concept of dominance to manipulation. Van Dijk states that “manipulation not only involves power, but specifically abuse of power, that is, dominance”. Although this conceptualization of dominance is fairly negative, Van Dijk asserts that dominance and manipulation are two separate concepts that are different in meaning to some extent. The concepts of dominance and manipulation are highly similar but differ in their manners of expression. Manipulation is primarily focused on controlling those it wants to, whereas dominance is more focused on the expression of an authoritative image through verbal and non-verbal communicative actions. Dominance is, therefore, part of manipulation but manipulation does not necessarily have to be part of dominance (Van Dijk, 2006). A political figure, therefore, does not necessarily have to manipulate its subjects or urge them to take action when this figure expresses dominance within the social interaction. It can be argued that dominance is, thus, more related to authority and power than it is related to manipulation as it does not explicitly focus on a consequential action, which manipulation does do, but is more involved in the establishment of an authoritative and commanding image. The expression of certain verbal and non-verbal mediated actions in social interaction help the construction of such a dominant and powerful image, and establish higher status positions in the social context (Van Dijk, 2006). Accordingly, Van Dijk supports the conception that dominance and power are enacted through verbal and non-verbal discourse, and can be elucidated by analyzing the communicative actions that construct discourse. The analysis of the presidential elections, therefore, should be based upon the verbal and non-verbal communicative efforts by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton.

1.3. Verbal indications of dominance and power

As was mentioned earlier, verbal expression on its own should not be considered a prime indicator of manifestations power in interactional discourse as non-verbal expressive modes are similarly important (Scollon, 2001). A variety of verbal expressions in interactive discourse, however, are crucial to the demonstration of notions of power and authority, which are expressed through spoken language. Similarly, different types of verbal expression demonstrate opposite characteristics, such as submission, hesitance and tension (Mehrabian, 1981). Theories about the effects of certain embodied communicative articulations on implicit perceptions and establishments of power, dominance and authority are presented in the following paragraphs. These theories are categorized into indications of eloquent and qualitative speech, pertaining to vocal control and vocal amplitude, and indications of quantity of speech, pertaining to message length.

Much research has been conducted on certain behavioral attributes that establish perceptions of dominance and authority. Simonton (1994) argues that one main predictor in dominance and leadership, which can be deduced from the animal kingdom, is expression of intelligence through social skills. Chimpanzees and rhesus monkeys demonstrated that they acquired dominance more easily by creating alliances through social expression than by physical force (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1975). Human interaction is highly similar to that of chimpanzees and a study executed by Simonton (1994) found that with human's verbal intelligence is also better appreciated than verbal assertiveness, and is actually linked to notions of dominance and leadership more often. Verbal intelligence is characterized as discourse in which one verbally communicates in such a manner that it can easily be followed by others (Simonton, 1994). Moreover, Simonton (1988) also established that persons could be considered as more charismatic leaders when they expressed to be committed and self-confident. The production of speech is required to express such notions in order to be perceived as more dominant and a more competent leader (Simonton, 1988). The quality of the verbal production is, therefore, highly important in the establishment of dominance through interactional discourse as the expressive verbal modes are implicitly linked to the notion of dominance, and leadership qualities of intelligence and charisma.

The first type of verbal production that can influence verbal intelligence is vocal control. Dunbar and Burgoon (2005) found that there is a significant positive correlation between vocal control and enactments of dominance. Persons whose voice was more controlled were also perceived to be more dominant in the interaction of the experiment. Persons who produced speech that was less stable, on the other hand, were considered to be

less dominant in the social interaction. Disfluent speech is oftentimes more difficult to comprehend, which, in turn, makes it more challenging to appreciate the discourse. Moreover, verbal disfluency is inherently associated with hesitation and insecurity, which indicates that the speaker is not committed and self-confident. As a consequence, disfluent rhetoric is also less likely to be thought of as intelligent and charismatic discourse (Simonton, 1988, 1994). Comprehension of the rhetoric is primarily important in political debates as the information that is presented should immediately impact and convince the audience. Moreover, political candidates who do not come across as self-committed will be less likely to be trusted than candidates who do. Disfluency is, thus, linked to subordinate attributional traits such as nervousness and incapability, whereas eloquent speech is more likely to be related to attributes of dominance and authority (Dillard and Peck, 2000; Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005).

Ratings of verbal dominance can also be influenced by the loudness of the speaker's voice. Different studies established that speech amplitude is also positively correlated with expressions of dominance (Argyle, 1994; Burgoon and Hoobler, 2002). Speakers who spoke with a louder voice were perceived to be more dominant than speakers whose voices were lower in amplitude. Again, it can be claimed that softer voices are more easily associated with hesitation and insecurity, which make the person speaking less charismatic and, therefore, less dominant in the verbal discourse than those who speak in louder voices (Simonton, 1988). Moreover, louder voices are more pleasant to listen to as the rhetoric is easier to understand than softer voices, which is essential in political debates. However, loud voices are also more easily associated with aggression. Therefore, the speaker is required to make an effort to keep his voice calm and steady in order to remain argumentative instead of aggressive (Anderson and Martin, 1999). A verbally aggressive political candidate could create the impression that the candidate is not expressing dominance but that the candidate is attempting to manipulate those in its surroundings (Van Dijk, 2006), which could lead to negative connotations and a lower-status position within the discourse. However, when one keeps his voice calm and steady while speaking in a louder voice they are perceived as more dominant because they express self-confidence, as their rhetoric is also considered to be more easily comprehensible (Simonton, 1994). The amplitude of a speaker's voice, and their expression of vocal control are, thus, inherently linked to one another in the enactment of dominance and power through social interaction.

A final element that establishes conversational ownership and dominance is not concerned with the production of speech but rather the quantity thereof. Tusang and Dillard (2000) found that shorter messages were rated as more dominant in comparison to longer

ones. This could once again be deduced from the theory that was proposed by Simonton (1994), which asserted that messages that were easily understandable are also more likely to be rated as dominant within the social interaction. Moreover, political debates compel the candidate to speak in shorter messages as the time the candidates have to propose their arguments is extremely short. Accordingly, it is more favorable to debaters to keep their rhetorical discourse as precise and pertinent as possible.

1.4. Non-verbal indications of dominance and power

As much as specific productions of spoken language can function as manifestations for interpersonal relationships in discourse, other communicative modes that are expressed via non-verbal channels are also able to manifest such differences in power and dominance. Such non-verbal channels are subdivided in physical indications, pertaining to the face, posture and movement of the body and hands, and spatial indications, pertaining to proxemics and object use. These two different types of expressions will be elucidated respectively.

Non-verbal indications of physical dominance are argued to be expressed through several different modes. One of such modes is facial expressiveness, which is argued to be more effective for males than for women (Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005). Women who expressed more emotions through facial expression were considered to be less dominant in comparison to when they kept a neutral face. For men, a neutral face was less effective. On the contrary, men were perceived to be more dominant when many emotional articulations through facial expression were present (Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005). High facial expression was, thus, found to only be effective for men in the establishment of dominance in interpersonal interaction. Argyle (1994) found that smiling, which is classified as high facial expression, is more often associated with lower power positions in interpersonal interaction. People who smile less, or not at all, were found to be more dominant in such conversational settings (Argyle, 1994). Accordingly, smiling, overall, establishes a lower power position within interactional discourse, whereas other emotional expressions in terms of face could be favorable for men in establishing higher discursive dominance, but should be refrained from by women.

A second indicator of physical dominance in social interaction is gaze. Carney, Hall and LeBeau (2005) found that mutual gaze and glaring signifies more dominant positions within the social interaction. When one retains mutual gaze with those involved within the interactive process they are more likely to be attributed with self-confidence and devotion. As Simonton (1994) demonstrated, such characteristics are inherently associated with the

establishment of power and dominance within the interactive process of the group. Argyle (1988) supports this theory and indicates that intense gaze and stare downs were found to create more powerful positions within the group due to their inherent characteristics of commitment and determination. Debaters are usually facing one another in debating environments, which facilitates the construction of mutual gaze and stare downs. Thus, intense and mutual gaze establishes higher power positions within the social interaction, and could be functional to the enactment of dominance in political debating context.

Additional indicators of physical ownership through the expression of non-verbal mediated action are static posture and postural shifts. Argyle (1988) and Mehrabian (1981) argue that relaxed posture establishes more dominance within the communicative discourse in comparison to tense posture. Raised shoulders, crossed arms, and a rigid posture are indicators of tension and anxiety. Persons whose shoulders are low, stand at full height with an expanded chest and keep their arms away from their chest are considered to have a more open body posture and therefore, establish immediate dominance within the social interaction (Argyle, 1988; Carney, Cuddy and Yap, 2010; Carney, Hall and LeBeau, 2005). Debaters who express relaxed and open body posture are, thus, able to enact more dominance and power than debaters and political figures who have closed and tense postures. Large and open body posture is associated with increased freedom of movement (Mehrabian, 1981), which allows the communicator to come across as more confident and committed (Simonton, 1994). Carney, Cuddy and Yap (2010) refer to such confident expressions of posture as ‘power posing’. Carney et al assert that open and expansive postures have positive psychological, physiological and behavioral effects upon experiences of power, whereas closed and contractive postures were found to have negative effect upon experiences of power positions within groups. Erect, open and relaxed posture, therefore, establishes a higher power position within the interpersonal interaction than closed and tense body postures.

A last indicator of non-verbal physical ownership within the discourse is the frequency with which the communicator uses gestures and the specific types of gestures that the speaker adopts. More frequent use of gestures was found to establish a more powerful position of the individual within the discourse (Carney, Hall and LeBeau, 2005). Gesture is defined as “a deliberately expressive movement [that has] a sharp boundary of onset and that [is] seen as an *excursion* rather than as a result in any sustained change of position” (Norris, 2004). Gestures often serve a supportive and additive function to verbal speech, which, in turn, facilitates the comprehension process of the verbal rhetoric. More frequent application of gesture, therefore, will make the verbal discourse more coherent and understandable, which relates to more

intelligent expressions of discourse and will establish a more powerful status position within the group (Simonton, 1988). Gestural use, moreover, also causes the posture of the speaker to be perceived as more open and relaxed, which is an indication of more physical power as well. These objectives explain the frequent adoption of gestures by politicians, as it is one of the simplest manners in which a non-verbal communicative action can enforce dominance on its own, and simultaneously emphasize the verbal rhetorical argument that is being made. For this reason, beat gestures, which are short and quick gestures that move along with the verbal rhythm, can be argued to enact dominance and power to an even larger extent. Beats function as a type of gesture that is used to emphasize certain words or phrases, which in turn, facilitate the comprehension process of the verbal rhetoric (Norris, 2004). Such facilitation of verbal conception could, therefore, positively enhance the establishment of dominance in communicative discourse (Simonton, 1988). Thus, both frequency of gestures and the type of function those gestures serve in the verbal discourse, influence the power position of the individual within the interaction.

The non-verbal communicative mode of proxemics is more related to the second category in which the modes can be distributed, which is the category of spatial ownership. Altman and Haythorn (1967) claimed that dominant people seek out to control specific locations and furniture in order to claim those as their personal territory. Dominant people achieve this by carrying objects with them or by leaning on larger objects, such as furniture, which they are not able to carry (Carney, Hall and LeBeau, 2005). Such behavior stems from the animal kingdom, where animals were found to have a psychological advantage when they had clearly defined their territory. Other animals who entered their territory were found to be at a disadvantage, even when they were stronger physically (Lorenz, 1966). Humans, therefore, have copied this behavior and have developed an urge of possession of objects in order to acquire territorial space (Altman and Haythorn, 1967). This specific urge is expressed by closing proxemics of such objects, or closing distance between themselves and the people they want to dominate. Carney, Hall and LeBeau (2005) found that such actions established more powerful positions of dominance within the group in comparison to those who did not shift proxemics throughout the social interaction. It is, thus, asserted that more shifts in proxemics, and more expression of object-ownership also influence positions of dominance and power.

Chapter 2: Methodology

The present chapter discusses the methodology of the research. The tools and concepts that are primal to the methodological framework that was used in the present study, which is Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris, 2004, 2011, 2015), are elucidated. Moreover, explanations are provided of the selection procedure that was adopted to limit the dataset of the audio-visual files of the presidential debates as this is inherently important to the understanding of the comprehension of the analysis procedure. Lastly, an overview is provided of the approach that was used in the analysis of the limited dataset. These elements were derived from the methodological framework provided by Norris (2004).

2.1. Multimodal Interaction Analysis

Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris, 2004, 2011) is a methodological approach to analyzing interaction that is particularly different from other methods such as Discourse and Conversation Analysis. The latter are frequently adopted to analyze the application and the effects of verbal communication on social environments and social interaction. Such methods do consider images and non-verbal channels in their analysis but largely neglect to interpret their contextual importance in relation to the verbal rhetoric. Moreover, the manners in which this social, environmental and emotional context establishes interpersonal differences in power and dominance are also largely neglected by methodological frameworks that solely focus on the verbal exchange of pragmatic discourse (Norris, 2004, 2011).

Multimodal Interaction Analysis takes a different approach to analyzing social interaction. The framework argues that all actions engaged in by humans should be considered multimodal. The amalgam of different verbal and non-verbal communicative modes is considered to enhance meaning (Norris, 2004, 2011). The prime difference from methodological frameworks such as Discourse and Conversation Analysis is, then, that the framework of Multimodal Interaction Analysis does not consider verbal and non-verbal communication to be two separate phenomena that should be analyzed separately. Multimodal Interaction Analysis argues that communicative expressions and actions are inherently linked, and that the individual is part of a socio-cultural world in which their mediated action is essential (Schiffrin, 1994). Social interaction is considered to be “historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context” (Meyer, 2001). This means that the theory connects social actors to the world and the objects within it, and relates their implicit and explicit behavior to structures of interpersonal relationships (Norris, 2004). The

manner in which individuals treat discourse and interact with the world around them shows deep-rooted differences in power and authority, which are established through their mediated actions (Norris, 2004). Multimodal Interaction Analysis of such behavioral patterns of individuals or groups in relation to their socio-cultural context is thus a crucial asset in the elucidation of social meanings and social structures as it takes into account both the verbal and non-verbal expressions of mediated action, and relates these actions to their contextual meanings, which, in turn, explicates underlying power structures between individuals and groups that are involved in social interaction.

The objectives that are proposed are inherently linked to the notion of mediated action, which is used to conceptualize the framework of Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris, 2004, 2011, 2015). Mediated actions are expressed through communicative modes. Communicative modes are defined by Norris as “a system of mediated action” (2013) through which either verbal or non-verbal communicative signs are articulated by individuals to others in the social world they live in. When combining different modes, such as posture, gaze, gesture and spoken-language, we get mediated action. Mediated action can be analyzed in three distinctly different levels, which are all present in each communicative action one performs. These levels are lower-level actions, higher-level actions and frozen actions. First, lower-level mediated actions are defined as the smallest meaningful units of a mode (Norris, 2004) that are mediated by cultural tools and mediational means (Norris, 2016). An example of a lower-level action of this research would be ‘microphone use’ for which a large variety of mediational tools (hands, body, lips, tongue, teeth, breath etc.) but also cultural tools (language systems, knowledge and socio-cultural awareness) are used to produce the action. All these lower-level actions constitute the higher-level action of ‘communication through debate’. This higher-level action could be explained as the more overarching theme of communication that is present in the social interaction. Higher-level actions, thus, always consist of an amalgam of different lower-level mediated actions (Norris, 2004). Higher-level actions can also be embodied by material objects, as opposed to anthropologically communicative actions. Such material objects are not capable of executing any actively communicative behavior themselves without being impelled to do so by living-beings. Actions that are embodied by such material objects are called frozen (higher-level) actions (Norris and Jones, 2005).

Even though the framework of Multimodal Interaction Analysis has many benefits over other frameworks that are commonly used in discourse analysis, it also possesses several weaknesses that were taken into account during the course of the present research. The first

weakness of the methodological framework is that Multimodal Interaction Analysis is not one specific type of framework or theory that can be applied in exactly the same manner in each situation. Norris (2016) mentions that a variety of methodological tools have been developed by an abundance of academics to fit into the framework of Multimodal Interaction Analysis. It is, therefore, a challenge to consider which theory can best be used for one's personal research because the analysis approaches are slightly ill-defined. It is, therefore, predominantly important to strongly define the analysis approach in the research to prevent the framework from appearing chaotic. Secondly, the extensively detailed nature of Multimodal Interaction Analysis makes that a "full analysis of a short passage might take months and fill hundreds of pages" (Van Dijk, 2001). Not all mediated actions can be analyzed due to their considerable magnitude and complexity. This implies that a full analysis of all multimodal action is rarely possible, and the research is generally urged to limit the dataset to pieces that can be considered representative for the full context. Such selection procedures could lead to researcher bias when the limitations are not clearly substantiated. Accordingly, the following section aims to demonstrate the decisions that were made during the selection procedure of the dataset.

2.2. Data selection

The data of this research was taken from audio-visual footage of the official presidential debates between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton that were held on September 26th, October 9th and October 19th, 2016. The data was the official footage of the television broadcasting channel NBC News. A specific choice was made to analyze these three presidential debates as many of the situational factors were consistent across all three debates. The overall environmental setup of each of the debates was extremely similar. The candidates and the moderator were continuously placed in the same triangular formation: Clinton was consistently placed on the right side of the podium whereas Trump was placed on the left side. The moderator was seated opposite the two candidates, in the middle. Furthermore, debate stands, equipped with microphones, were present during the first and the third debate. These stands were replaced by high chairs during the second debate since the candidates were allowed to walk around the podium and interact with the panel audience. Lastly, the audience was requested to remain quiet at all three debates. Accordingly, little disruption was present that could have influenced the behavior of the candidates. This great similarity in environmental factors during all three debates implies that it is largely unlikely that the

demeanor of the candidates was influenced by unanticipated external factors, which, in turn, makes the conclusions drawn in this research more valid and reliable.

The interruptions of Donald Trump during the two-minute speech time of Hillary Clinton are particularly important to elucidate the power relations between these two candidates in the present research. A prime motivation for analyzing interruptive sequences of Donald Trump is that the higher-level action of 'interrupting someone' already functions as an explicit proclamation of dominance and power (Goldberg, 1990). The concomitant lower-level actions during this interruptive sequence expose much more about the character's implicit expressions of dominance and power in social interaction (Goldberg, 1990). Interruptions were, therefore, analyzed from the earliest sign of interruptive intent either via intentional verbal disruption of Clinton's discourse, or via non-verbal intentionally disruptive signs after which a verbal interruption followed. Verbal interruption thus functioned as a main requirement for the characterization of a sequence as being 'interruptive'. The concomitant presence of non-verbal interruptive signs was, on the other hand, optional. The interruptive sequence ended after verbal retraction was finished. This was characterized by either a clear verbal pause in the discursive speech of Donald Trump after which three different scenarios could take place that each indicate that the interruptive sequence has come to an end: (1) Donald Trump allows Hillary Clinton to resume her discourse, (2) Donald Trump allows the moderator to speak, or (3) the moderator allows Donald Trump to legitimately continue his discourse. Non-verbal retractions that took place either during the verbal retraction phase or shortly after verbal retraction had finished were also taken into account in the analysis. In short, an interruption is defined as follows in the present research:

An interruption is a sequence in which Donald Trump verbally disrupts Hillary Clinton's discourse, which starts at the earliest signs of either verbal and/or non-verbal disruptive intention and finishes at the last signs of verbal and/or non-verbal retraction.

Close inspection of the audio-visual footage revealed that a total of fifty-two interruptions by Donald Trump took place during all three debates. The first debate proved to be the most frequent as Trump interrupted Clinton twenty-six times. The second and third debate proved to be less frequent, with nine and seventeen interruptions respectively. Moreover, the interruptions varied in short interruptions that lasted around two or three seconds, and longer interruptions that lasted between ten and twenty seconds.

2.3. Analysis approach

The analysis of the limited dataset consisted of several stages by which the different lower-level communicative actions could be established, and the salience of these mediated actions could be recorded. The analysis approach closely followed the step-by-step approach of Multimodal Interaction Analysis as was proposed by Norris (2004). Norris proposed that the best manner to analyze multimodal interaction would be to transcribe each communicative mode separately before combining all modes in the finished transcript. The communicative modes that were focused on in the present research comprised spoken-language, proxemics, posture, gesture, head movement, and gaze. The decision was made to solely focus on communicative modes that were produced and executed by human, physical action since the candidates were not able to control and utilize external factors such as music and printed media. These latter communicative modes were, therefore, deemed irrelevant for this specific analysis.

The mode of spoken-language was transcribed first as it is the communicative mode that is argued to possess the highest information value (Norris, 2004). The transcription of spoken-language particularly focused on the exact utterances of the speakers and how such utterances are produced verbally. Shifts in pitch and intonation were recorded, as well as verbal cross-talk and (abrupt) pauses (Norris, 2004). The communicative mode of proxemics investigates the distance that the individuals take up to one another, and to other objects that are present during the interaction (Norris, 2004). The candidates were not allowed to walk around the podium during the first and last presidential debates, which indicated that the main emphasis of this part of the analysis lay on the manner in which the candidates used the objects that were close to them, such as the microphones and the debate stands that were present. The mode of posture analyzed the lower-level actions of postural shifts of the individual during the sequences. When a postural shift took place the static postures before the shift and after the shift were recorded and compared to one another (Norris, 2004). Next, gesture was analyzed, in which all important phases—onset, stroke, retraction—were recorded. Moreover, the specific type of gesture, and the verbal context of the gesture were documented as well (Norris, 2004). Hereinafter, head movement was analyzed similarly to posture. The rest position before a shift took place was documented, as well as the new position after the shift had taken place (Norris, 2004). The last communicative mode is gaze, which is inherently connected to head movement but should, nevertheless, be analyzed separately. Every shift in gaze that was perceived was documented (Norris, 2004). Moreover, the environmental context of the gaze-shifts was recorded as well, in order to better

understand the individual's awareness of their environmental space. All communicative modes were combined in a finished-transcript after their separate transcription was finished, which allowed the researcher to conduct thorough analysis of the salient actions of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton that were relevant to the interpersonal relations of social power, and the establishment of power and dominance through the interaction of the candidates.

The salient actions that are relevant to the establishments and enactment of power and dominance through social interaction are represented in visual transcripts (Norris, 2011). These transcripts are visual as a visual representation is best able to capture the essence of the non-verbal communicative interaction. In so doing, the mediated actions are able to be captured in their true essence, and their relations to the expressions of power and dominance can be elucidated in a clear and concise manner. Moreover, verbal utterances are represented through the addition of text-phrases to the visual transcripts (Norris, 2011). Differences in production of speech, such as difference in pitch or amplitude of voice, are also represented in these representations of verbal rhetoric. Curved text indicates that the production pitch in the audio-visual file of the debates was either higher—when the words are curved upward—or lower—when the words are curved downward. Furthermore, the text also differs in size. When the text gets larger, the speaker was speaking in a louder voice, whereas when the text gets smaller, the speaker's voice is less loud in amplitude. Lastly, the text phrases also represent different speakers through difference in text-color. White text color indicates that Donald Trump is the one who has produced the utterance, whereas grey text indicates that Hillary Clinton was the one who was speaking. Blue text color was reserved for the moderator's speech production. Thus, the visual representation through transcription frames portrays a more genuine image of the social interaction, in which both the verbal and the non-verbal communicative modes are represented equally.

Chapter 3: Analysis

The analysis of the interaction sequences of the presidential debates uncovered several salient lower-level mediated actions that were principally important to the establishment of different status positions in social interaction. These particular communicative actions, performed by either Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, are deemed to be particularly important in the manifestation of different status positions within the conversational setting, and are therefore, particularly important to the enactment of power and dominance in the interpersonal interaction. A variety of Trump's actions were found to enact dominance and power. Moreover, in a few situations Clinton's communicative actions actually ascribe higher status positions to her opponent, Donald Trump. The following analysis shows how Donald Trump's verbal and non-verbal mediated actions enact dominance and power, and manifest higher status positions within the social environment. These findings will be supported by visual representations of the mediated actions.

3.1. Conversational ownership

Donald Trump's spoken language during the 2016 presidential debates reveals a variety of salient indications that power and dominance within the social context. Dominance and power are established through the lower-level mediated actions that are expressed in the interactive discourse between the two candidates. Both verbal and non-verbal actions are similarly important in the enactment of power and dominance (Scollon, 2001). The present section argues that Donald Trump's speech patterns contribute to the enactment of power in his interruptive sequences, which could, in turn, also have contributed to the unexpected outcome of the presidential elections.

3.1.1. *Vocal control*

A first indicator of the enactment of power and dominance through the production of speech, which subsequently results in higher conversational ownership, is the lower-level mediated action of vocal control, which pertains to the absence of indications of either positive or negative emotional affects in the production of speech (Dillard and Peck, 2000). The analysis revealed that Trump's utilization of steady and uninterrupted discourse was particularly salient during the presidential debates. His rhetoric particularly stood out as a consequence of his interaction with Hillary Clinton, who showed different patterns of speech. Clinton's verbal speech production came across as inherently hesitant and nervous as a

consequence of several different factors, whereas Trump's verbal utterances during the interruptive sequences were steady, fluent and straight-forward. Fluent and steady speech were considered to be characteristics of vocal control (Dillard and Peck, 2000; Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005). In turn, Trump acquired a higher status position due to his vocal control within the interactive discourse, while Clinton's speech was indicative of nervousness and discomfort, which are characteristics that are more typically associated with lower status positions, especially in contrast to the vocal control of her opponent. Figure 1 shows a representative sample of a salient interruptive sequence of the third and final presidential debate in which the contrastive production of speech in terms of vocal control by Clinton and Trump is exemplified. It is evident that Donald Trump has more conversational ownership than Hilary Clinton in the sequence as shown in Figure 1. Frames 2 and 3 show the verbal interruption of Donald Trump during Clinton's rhetoric, and show a salient pattern: Seconds after Trump verbally interrupts Clinton, he takes ownership of the rhetoric by voicing his opinion loudly and clearly. His speech pattern is rhythmic and does not convey any discontinuity or indications of stuttering, which could, otherwise, point to nervousness. His voice is fluent and constant, which exemplifies vocal control. In turn, this control is indicative of a more powerful position within the social interaction (Dillard and Peck, 2000; Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005). Hillary's reaction, moreover, enriches Donald Trump's enactment of power, and allows his vocal control to be even more indicative of dominance and power since Clinton's verbal speech pattern is far less favorable to the establishment of dominance than the manner in which Donald Trump verbally expresses himself. The frames 1-7 show several different features with regard to Hillary Clinton's vocal speech patterns. Firstly, Clinton almost immediately curtails her rhetorical phrasing and, in so doing, allows Trump's interruptive words to be listened to. As a consequence, she takes up a less powerful position within the discourse, as she lets Trump take control over the turn-taking of the verbal discourse (Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005). Furthermore, frames 4 and 5 indicate that Clinton tries to continue her rhetoric after Trump's interruption has finished but fails to do so in a strong and assertive manner. Clinton struggles to continue her phrasing as she repeats the word 'nuclear' several times. This causes her speech to become disfluent and irregular, which makes her speech less comfortable to listen to, and points to indications of nervousness and hesitance (Simonton, 1988). Moreover, Clinton's frequent use of the word 'eh' (frames 6-7) amplifies those inherent traits of subordination and discomfort, and points to the conception that Clinton needs some time to gather her thoughts before continuing her rhetoric, either because she is nervous or because she was caught off guard. Both indications are suggestive

of lower status positions, and, therefore, contribute to the enactment of dominance and power within the social interaction (Simonton, 1988). Donald Trump, thus, establishes dominance and power over Hillary Clinton by means of his excellent vocal control, which is amplified by Clinton's unfortunate speech patterns are indicative of lower-status positions within the interactive context.

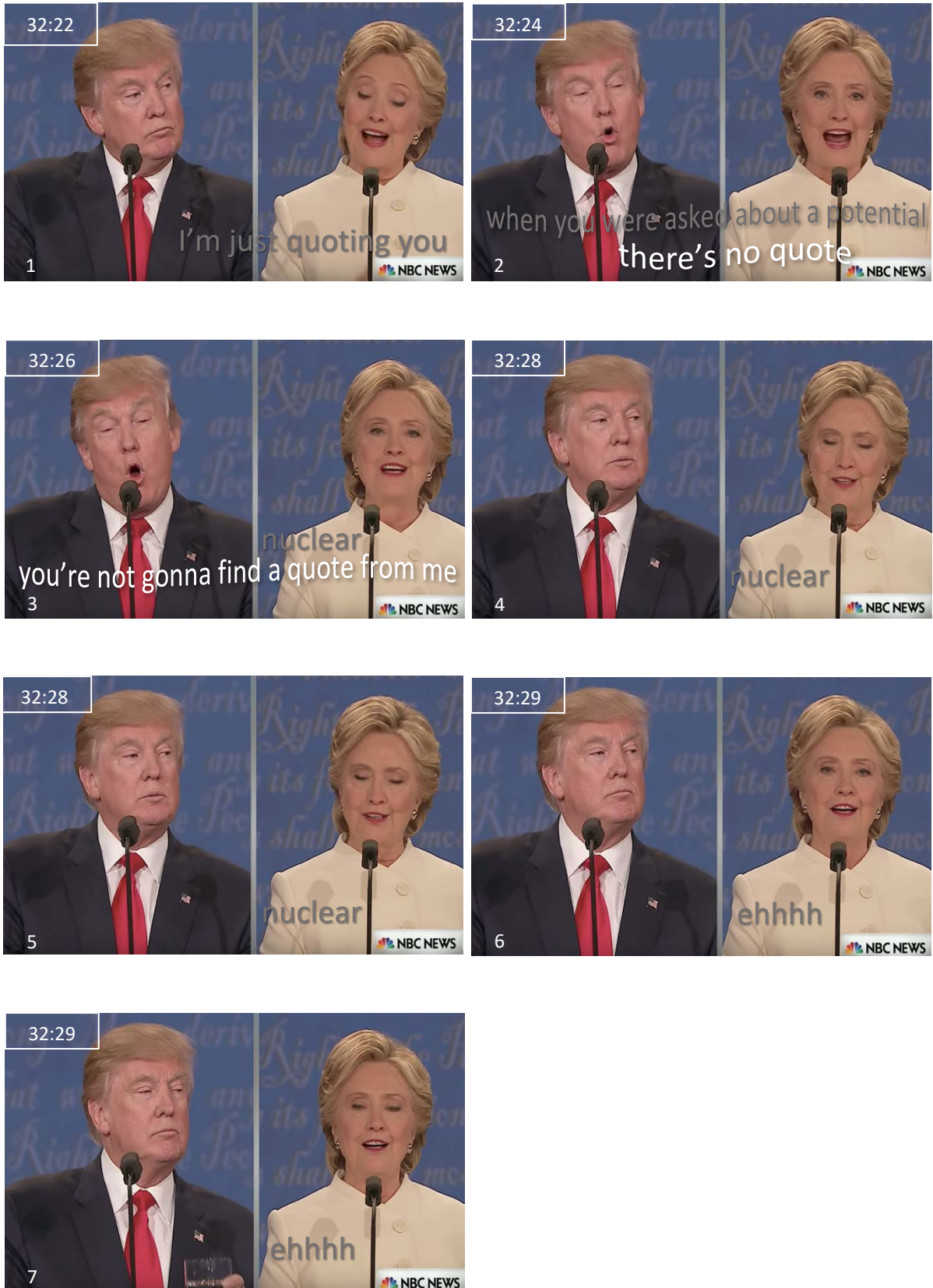


Figure 1: Contrast between Trump's vocal control and Clinton's disfluency (frames 1-7).

3.1.2. *Vocal amplitude*

Secondly, another specific type of lower-level mediated action that enacts power and dominance through the production of speech is the manner in which Trump adjusts his vocal amplitude without seeming aggressive or exasperated. The loudness of his voice is determined by one specific lower-level mediated action, which is the manner in which Trump utilizes his own posture in relation to the microphone. The analysis of the presidential debates found that Trump frequently repeats a non-verbal pattern of postural and proxemic shifts when he intends to verbally interrupt Hillary Clinton. Trump nearly consistently closes the distance between the microphone and his mouth before he intends to speak. Figure 2 shows one representative sample of this consistently repeated action which was taken from the first presidential debate. Frames 8-13 show that Donald Trump bends forward in the direction of the microphone before he verbally expresses himself. In doing so, Trump's mouth is closer to the object that is amplifying his voice. Naturally, when one is closer to the microphone, the sounds that are produced will be louder than when one is further away from the microphone. This specific physical shift, thus, has a positive effect on Trump's verbal production as it amplifies his voice considerably without any indication of Trump having to raise his voice. Raising his voice could instantaneously make him sound more aggressive, which could negatively affect his position in the discourse (Anderson and Martin, 1999). This specific shift in proxemics allows Trump to voice his opinions loudly and clearly without fomenting the negative connotations of aggressiveness. As Burgoon and Hoobler (2002), Dillard and Peck (2000), and Argyle (1994) reasoned, loudness of voice is a particularly important indication of the manifestation of conversational ownership and the enactment of dominance. Trump, thus, achieves higher amplitudes by means of closing proxemics between the microphone and his own body, and, subsequently, enacts more dominance and power within the social interaction. Furthermore, this shift in proxemics can be proven to be inherently related to Trump's speech pattern since the candidate conveys opposite patterns after he has finished speaking.



Figure 2: Trump's postural shift to enlarge vocal amplitude (frames 8-13).

Figure 3 shows a representative sample of the postural retraction phase of the interruptive sequence that was shown in Figure 2. Frames 14-18 show Donald Trump slowly returning to an erect position, further away from the microphone as he finishes his interruptive discourse. As a consequence, his final utterance is less loud in amplitude than his previous utterances were. This shows that when Trump finishes his verbal interruption, he does not deem it necessary to remain close to the microphone any longer since he will not speak after that. The postural shifts to and from the microphone are, therefore, inherently related to Trump's verbal speech pattern.

Clinton, on the other hand, does not convey any similar actions. Clinton's posture is relatively still, and her proxemics to the objects around her do not change very frequently. This indicates that she does not bend forward to utilize the microphone to a larger extent as Donald Trump does do. Figure 4 is one representative sample of the difference in proxemics to the microphone between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. As a consequence of Clinton's deficiency of microphone use, Clinton's voice might not have been perceived as equally demanding, which allowed Trump to enact more power and dominance within the interaction.

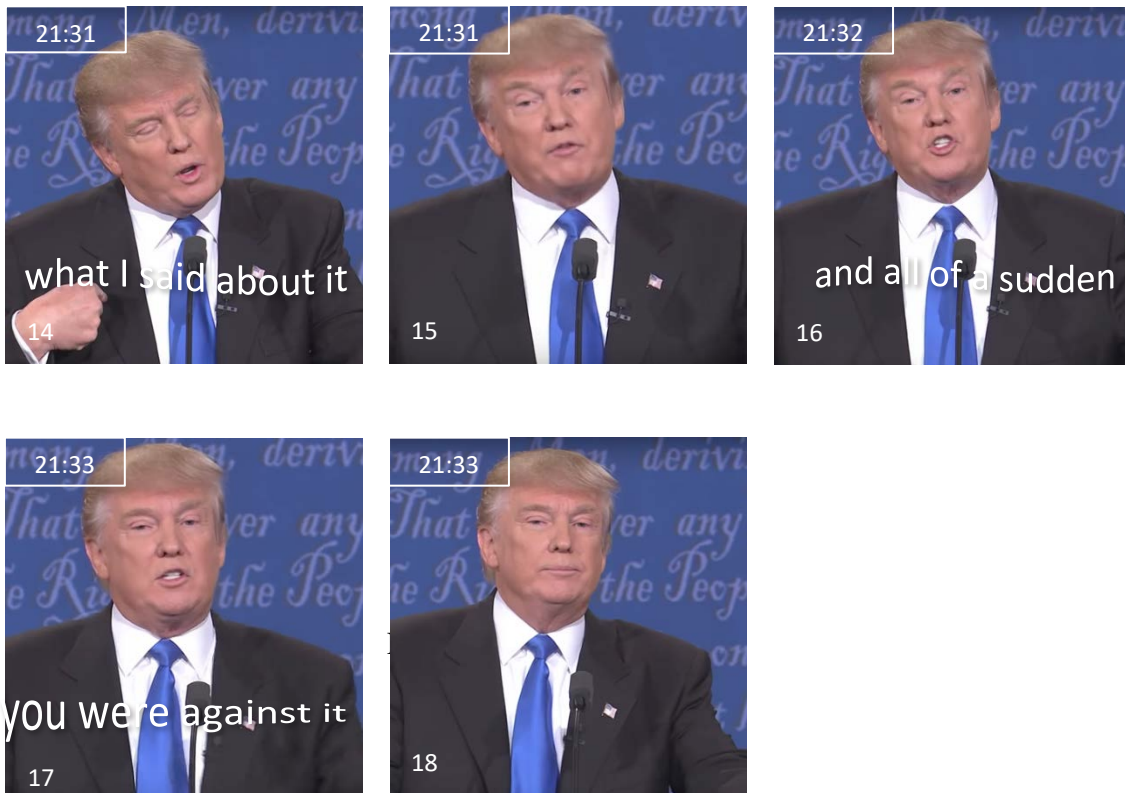


Figure 3: Trump's postural shift to minimize vocal control (frames 14-18).



Figure 4: Difference in proxemics to the microphone between Trump and Clinton (frame 19).

Trump's ritual of microphone use is salient across all three debates during nearly every interruptive sequence of Hillary Clinton. This indicates that Trump was able to enact a power and dominance over Hillary Clinton throughout the interruptive sequences, without coming across as aggressive. Consequentially, this specific mediated action, which is utilization of the microphone to establish a louder voice without sounding aggressive or exasperated, established a larger amount of conversational ownership for Donald Trump.

3.1.3. *Quantity of speech*

The last lower-level mediated action that contributes to the manifestation of power and dominance by Donald Trump via communicative interaction is not the production of speech itself, but the quantity of speech that Trump produces. The analysis of the interruptive sequences uncovered that Trump utilizes short words and phrases more frequently than Clinton does. As Tusang, and Dillard (2000) found in their research, shorter messages are an indicative of higher status positions are, therefore, facilitate the manifestation of dominance and power within the social interaction, probably due to the fact that longer messages are less easily comprehensible (Simonton, 1994). Less utilization of speech, and shorter message length, therefore, have a positive effect on Donald Trump's status position within the discourse. Figure 5 shows one representative interruptive sequence from the first presidential debate, in which the difference between Clinton's efforts to utilize longer messages is overruled by Trump's adoption of shorter ones.

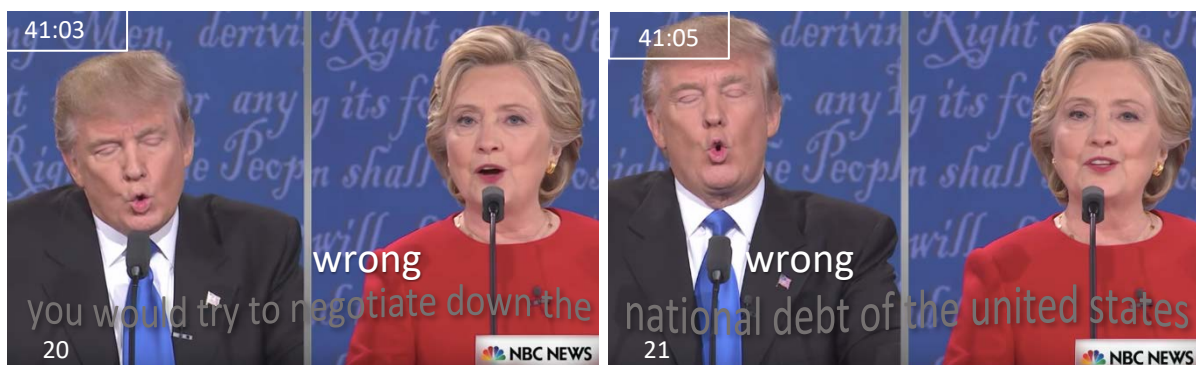


Figure 5: Difference in message length of Trump and Clinton (frames 20-21).

Frames 20 and 21 show a difference in conversational message length. Trump utilizes one short message: 'wrong', which he repeats twice, whereas Hillary aims to continue her more extensive rhetoric. However, since Trump's message length is shorter and more easily comprehensible, the attention of the audience is aimed at his interruptive sequence, as opposed to Clinton's longer message length (Simonton, 1994; Tusang and Dillard, 2000). This utilization of shorter messages, thus, allows Trump to enact more dominance and power within the social interaction. Moreover, one is also less prone to show signs of nervousness and hesitation in shorter messages, which is also more readily associated with higher power positions (Simonton, 1988). The frequency of Trump's production of shorter messages throughout his interruptive sequences indicates that he utilizes this tool to a larger extent, which, therefore, also has a positive effect on his status position within the social interaction. Thus, the adoption of shorter messages by Donald Trump allows him to establish more conversational ownership, which contributes to a higher status position in the interactive context, and enables him to enact more power and dominance over his opponent, Hillary Clinton.

3.2. Physical ownership

As much as the analysis of the presidential debates uncovered the abovementioned verbal indications of conversational ownership, which contributed to the enactment of power and dominance within the communicative interaction between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, the analysis of the interaction sequences also revealed that non-verbal mediated actions of physical ownership were particularly salient. These indications pertain to the physical modes such as facial expression, gaze, posture and gesture, which all contribute to the social discourse and the manner in which power is enacted through it. The understanding of these non-verbal actions, and their relevance to the enactment of power by Donald Trump is particularly relevant to the comprehension of the outcomes of the 2016 presidential debates.

3.2.1. Facial expressiveness

Facial expressiveness is a first lower-level mediated action of Trump's enactment of non-verbal physical ownership through the establishment of dominance and power during the 2016 presidential debates. The analysis revealed a high salience in facial expressions produced by both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. The characteristics of their facial expressions, however, were contrastive. Donald Trump's facial countenance was much more assertive and hard-headed as his facial expressiveness conveyed negative emotional affects, whereas Clinton's countenance was light and filled with indications of emotional amusement, as her facial expressiveness conveyed positive emotional affects. Figure 6 shows one representative sample from the second presidential debate pertaining to the contrastive facial expressiveness of Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Frame 22 already points to a significant finding pertaining to Trump's facial expressiveness during his interruptive sequences. Trump's eyebrows are slightly frowned, and the corners of his mouth are pointed downwards, conveying disagreement with Clinton's rhetoric. These facial features are a representative indication that Donald Trump conveys a large amount of facial expressiveness in his social interaction with Hillary during the presidential debates. Furthermore, Trump conveys even more facial expressiveness after he interrupts Clinton—as can be seen in frame 23. When Trump verbally interrupts Clinton during her two-minute speech time, and expresses his opinion, his eyebrows change from their lower and frowned position to a raised position, to show that he agrees with his own reasoning in contrast to his earlier facial expression of disagreement with Hillary Clinton. A similar facial expression is conveyed in frame 24, where Trump's second verbal interruption of the sequence is taking place. After Trump is reprimanded by the moderator for

interrupting Hillary Clinton the interruptive sequence has come to an end, and his eyebrows immediately get back into a still position (frame 25). Trump's facial expressiveness is, thus, prominently dependent on his eyebrow movements. Dunbar and Burgoon (2005) argued that high facial expressiveness is particularly favorable for males and allows them to manifest dominance and power within social interaction. Donald Trump, thus, establishes a higher status position within the interaction by utilizing his eyebrows as a means of high facial expressiveness.

Females, on the other hand, were argued to enact more dominance and power within their discourse when they conveyed little facial expression (Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005). Frames 22-24 indicate that Clinton's facial expression is still and lightly expressive of emotional affects. Clinton does not utilize her eyebrows in the manner that Donald Trump does, and is relatively good at keeping a straight face. One could, therefore, argue that Clinton, likewise, succeeds in enacting dominance and power through social interaction by keeping her facial expression fairly minimal. However, the analysis of the interaction sequences uncovered a pattern that Clinton expressed much more frequently during the presidential debates than Donald Trump did. Clinton was documented to be smiling a large number of times, and especially during Trump's interruptive sequences. Frame 25 shows Clinton smiling after Trump has verbally interrupted her for the second time in that particular sequence. Hillary Clinton moves her face away from the camera, as can be seen in frame 26, possibly in order to mask her smile, but it has already been recorded on tape. Argyle (1994) asserted that smiling was categorized as a feature of high facial expressiveness, and is associated with lower status positions within the social interaction for both men and women. The smiling could be associated with enjoyment or amusement but could also be an indication of nervousness or mockery (Argyle, 1994). Clinton's salient expressions of such enjoyment and/or nervousness overpower her inexpressive facial features at other moments within the social interaction. As a consequence, Hillary Clinton's actions are more readily associated with lower status positions, and allow Donald Trump to achieve even higher status perceptions, and greater dominance and power due to her implicit enactment of inferiority.



Figure 6: Contrastive facial expressions by Trump and Clinton (frames 22-26).

3.2.2. *Gaze retention*

A second lower-level mediated action of the enactment of dominance and power within the presidential debates is the manner in which Donald Trump does not direct his gaze toward the audience and the camera, but toward Hillary Clinton. The analysis of the debates found a salient pattern where Donald Trump's head is nearly constantly turned toward Hillary Clinton while he is verbally expressing himself. His head, body and gaze are all directed at Hillary Clinton, who is on the right, whereas the camera is right in front of him. This pattern was considered to be particularly interesting to the enactment of power and dominance since Carney, Hall and LeBeau (2005) found that mutual gaze and glaring point to larger manifestations of power and dominance than when one does not retain mutual gaze with those involved in the interaction. Moreover, Argyle (1994) argued that intense gaze and stare downs benefit higher status positions within a group. Figure 7 shows one representative sample of the pattern that was discovered of Trump's particular expression of gaze, which allows for him to enact dominance and to manifest higher status positions within the social interaction. The frames 27-33 show that Donald Trump continues to gaze at Hillary Clinton, instead of at the camera, during his full interruptive sequence. Frame 30 shows a slight disruption in his pattern, however, Trump regains his gaze within milliseconds. The intensity of his gaze allows Trump to enact power and dominance within the social interaction between the two opponents. Furthermore, the intensity of Donald Trump's gaze is augmented due to the objective that Clinton does, in fact, not return his gaze. As a consequence, Clinton is placed in a lower status position due to her incapability to retain mutual gaze, which causes her to come across as less self-confident and less committed to the cause (Simonton, 1988). Thus, the communicative actions of gaze retention and stare downs is particularly important in the analysis of Donald Trump's expressions as these allow Trump to manifest more power and dominance within the social interaction of the 2016 presidential debates.



Figure 7: Trump’s pattern of gaze retention with his opponent (frames 27-33).

3.2.3. *Open and Clinton-oriented body posture*

Open and directed body posture is a third lower-level mediated action that establishes a higher-level status position for Donald Trump within the social interaction, and allows him to enact more power and dominance over his opponent. Donald Trump's body posture has several characteristics that positively affect higher status positions. Figure 8 conveys a representative sample of the salient pattern of postural shifts by Donald Trump that allow Trump to enact dominance and power over Hillary Clinton. Frame 34 shows the intention phase of the interruptive sequence, milliseconds before Trump aims to interrupt Clinton's verbal discourse. Donald Trump's body posture is open and erect. His chest is expanded and his shoulders are relaxed. Carney, Hall and LeBeau (2005), Argyle (1988), and Carney, Cuddy and Yap (2010) argued that such body posture already points to the ability to enact power and dominance within interaction. It allows Trump to move his body around more freely (Mehrabian, 1981), and makes Trump come across as more confident and self-committed (Simonton, 1994). The postural shift that takes place between frames 34 and 35 points to further manifestations of dominance and power. Trump's posture changes from an open and erect body posture to one that is slightly rotated toward his opponent, Hillary Clinton. As Carney, Hall and LeBeau (2005) also asserted, such body postures that are oriented toward others who are involved in the interaction also manifest higher-power positions within the discourse. Donald Trump's postural shift from erect and open body posture to Clinton-directed body posture is, therefore, highly favorable for his position within the social interaction. Similar to gaze retention, Clinton-directed body posture indicates that that Trump is stronger and more powerful than Hillary Clinton (Argyle, 1988; Carney, Hall and LeBeau, 2005). Frames 36 and 37 show the retraction phase of the same postural shift, where Donald Trump moves back into his initially erect body posture. The analysis revealed that these postural shifts were highly salient in the interruptive sequences of Donald Trump during the 2016 debates, and indicate that Trump was able to enact large amounts of power and authority through this particular lower-level communicative action. Open and erect body posture and the postural shift into Clinton-oriented body posture, thus, indicate that Trump was able to manifest greater physical ownership within the social interaction.

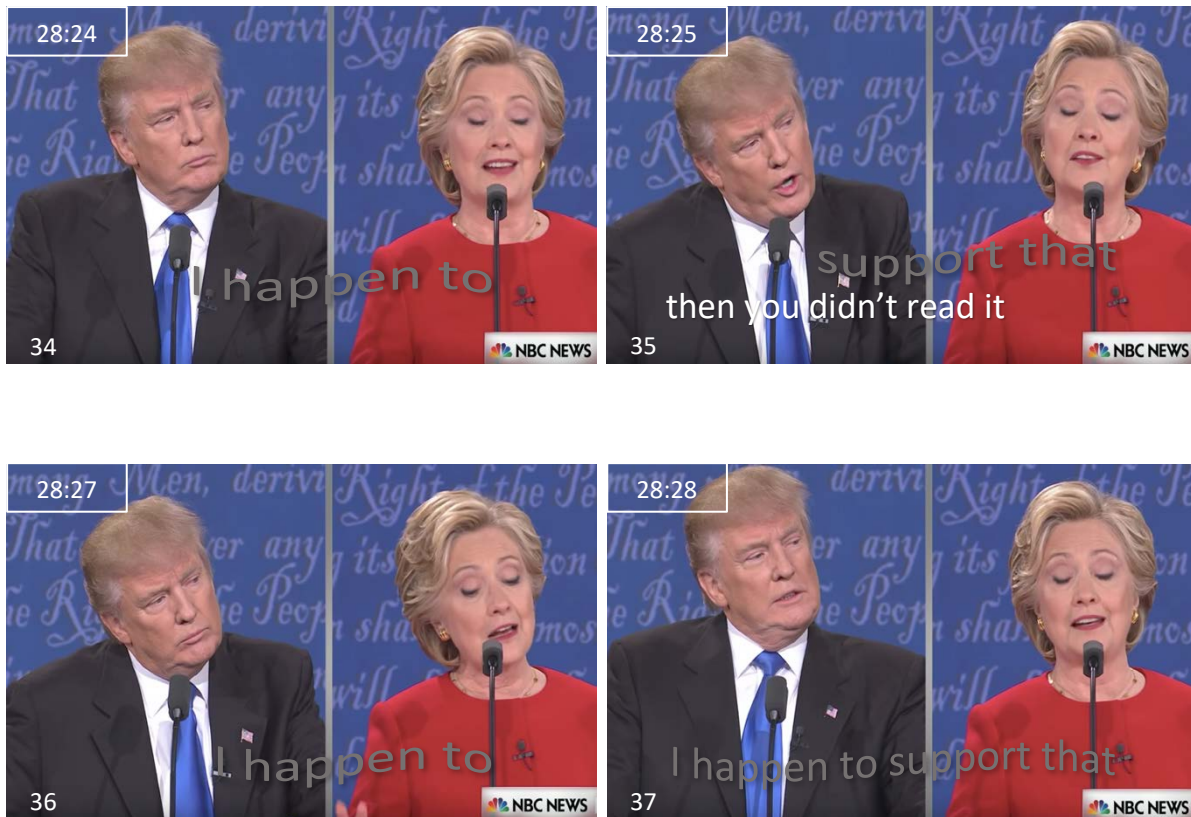


Figure 8: Pattern of postural shifts as conveyed by Trump (frames 34-37).

3.2.4. Gesture frequency

The last indication of physical ownership by Donald Trump is the utilization of specific gestures. Donald Trump is characterized to have a very particular set of gestures which he uses extremely frequently throughout the discourse. The particular gestures Trump uses predominantly function as beat gestures, which are usually used to emphasize certain words or phrases that they are connected to (Norris, 2004). Moreover, beat gestures are usually known to be repeated several times in a row (Norris, 2004). The utilization of beat gestures, therefore, already points to high frequencies of gestural use. The analysis of the interaction sequences uncovered that Donald Trump's application of gesture was salient, and particularly occurred during longer interruptive sequences. Shorter sequences, that consisted of one word or a short phrase, did not allow for many gestures to be generated, whereas longer interruptive phrases or repeated intentions to interrupt within one sequence granted more opportunity for gestural movements to occur. Figure 9 conveys part of one longer interruptive sequence in which Trump's expressions of gestures are highly salient, and functions as a representative sample for other interruptive sequences in which Trump's gestural use was also salient. The figure shows that Donald Trump utilizes beat gestures in a

way to elicit more consideration to the verbal rhetoric he is expressing simultaneously. The verbal rhetoric will be more coherent by applying beat gestures as these serve an additive function within the verbal discourse. Therefore, Trump facilitates the verbal comprehension process of the audience, and, in turn, establishes greater notions of leadership, dominance and power (Simonton, 1988). Frame 41, moreover, indicates that the beat gesture is not just repeated once, but four times. This frequency with which gesture is applied allows Trump to come across as more relaxed, and makes his body posture seem more open, which, thus, also points to indications of greater physical power and ownership (Carney, Hall and LeBeau, 2005).

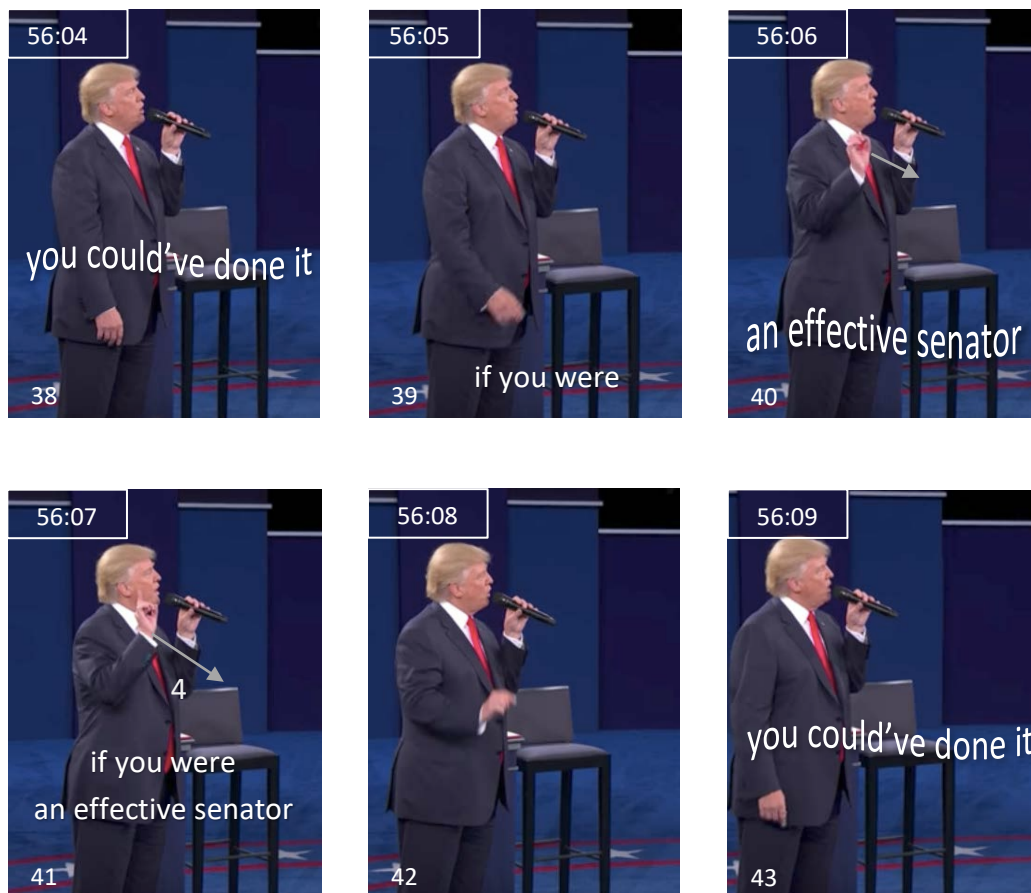


Figure 9: Trump's utilization of beat gestures (frames 38-43)

3.3. Spatial ownership

Finally, the last indicator of the enactment of power and dominance through the interaction between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump is the manner in which Donald Trump claims ownership of the space he is in and the objects that are accessible to him. The Multimodal Interaction Analysis (Norris 2004, 2011, 2015) does not solely restrict itself to analysis of the verbal and non-verbal communicative modes with regard to how they are physically expressed, but it also takes into account the environmental factors of the space that the persons involved in the interaction are located in, and how their proxemics relate to this spatial environment (Norris, 2004). As a consequence, Donald Trump's physical actions are also considered in terms of spatial ownership below.

3.3.1. *Claiming of the space*

The first indication of spatial ownership by Donald Trump during the 2016 presidential debates is the manner in which he claims the space around him by his extensive walking pattern. This walking pattern is solely expressed in the second presidential debate since this is the only debate in which the debate stands are absent, and the opponents are allowed to walk around to podium to address individual audience members who have prepared questions. As a consequence, the candidates are granted much more physical and spatial freedom during this second debate, which resulted in Trump being able to claim more space by means of his physical walking pattern. Trump's repetitive pattern of consistent movement around the space he is located in is demonstrated in Figure 10 below, which serves as a representative sample for other indications of such walking patterns. The frames demonstrate two mediated actions that allow Donald Trump to establish more dominance over the environment he is located in, and how the lower-level mediated action of this walking pattern also claims ownership over Hillary Clinton. Frames 44-50 convey that Donald Trump walks back and forth when he is in-between his first verbal interruption of the sequence and his second interruption, which take place in frames 44 and 50 respectively. This movement around the space allows Donald Trump to enact power and dominance as he is, as a manner of fact, expanding his personal territory, similar to expressions of dominance within the animal kingdom (Lorenz, 1966). However, the enactment of dominance is not solely achieved by acquiring more territory: While Donald Trump allows Clinton to continue her rhetoric, he moves closer to her (frames 45-48). When Trump intends to interrupt once again, he moves further away (frames 49-50). This behavioral pattern can be identified as an indication of the manifestation of dominance as it is similar to the enactment of dominance through Clinton-

directed body posture. This closure of proxemics between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton functions as a manner in which Clinton is subordinated to Donald Trump, due to the fact that Donald Trump has control over the size of this range between the two political candidates (Carney, Hall, LeBeau, 2005). Therefore, Trump's ability to claim territory and overpower Hillary Clinton through the lower-level mediated action of adjustment of proxemics establishes greater dominance and power.



Figure 10: Trump claiming the spatial environment (frames 44-50).

3.3.2. *Object handling*

The last indication of spatial ownership that establishes a higher status position for Donald Trump, and allows him to enact dominance and power within the social interaction are the lower-level mediated actions in which Trump claims his territory to an even further extent by the lower-level mediated action of object handling. The analysis of the interruptive sequences uncovered a salient pattern where Trump nearly constantly leans both arms on his desk as a manner to control the space he is in, as well as all the objects that are located within it. Leaning on the debate stand, since it is too big to be picked up or to be carried, is such an expressive manner to gain control (Carney, Hall and LeBeau, 2005). These efforts to control the objects within the environment, subsequently make Trump enact larger notions of dominance and power within the social interaction (Altman and Haythorn, 1967). Figure 11 shows that this pattern repeated itself across all three debates, and is not solely applicable to the debate stands that were used in the first and third debate (frames 51 and 53), but is also applicable when other objects are placed in Trump's immediate environment. Frame 52 shows that Donald Trump expresses similar efforts to gain control over the furniture when the debate stands are replaced by high bar-stools. The lower-level mediated action of closing proxemics, and leaning on the objects that are in his immediate environment, thus, embodies greater control, and makes Trump enact dominance and power within the interaction between him and his opponent, Hillary Clinton, during the 2016 presidential debates.



Figure 11: Trump's expression of control over objects within his environment (frames 51-53).

Conclusion

Several interesting conclusions are drawn from the Multimodal Interaction Analysis of the social interaction between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential debates. The present study argued that Donald Trump's unanticipated victory could partially be explained by analyzing the social interaction between Trump and his co-runner, Hillary Clinton. Trump's communicative actions were reasoned to have contributed to this success due to their inherent manifestations of power and dominance within the social interaction of the presidential debates. Donald Trump's frequent use of interruptive sequences during Hillary Clinton's speech time indicated that communicative actions linked to the enactment of dominance and power were most probable to be present during these interruptive sequences.

Multimodal Interaction Analysis of the interruptive sequences revealed that the main thesis statement proposed in this study was indeed correct. Donald Trump's expressive communicative actions naturally established power and dominance over Hillary Clinton, and provided Trump with more conversational, physical and spatial ownership. Verbal communicative actions, such as utilization of excellent vocal control, louder vocal amplitude and shorter message-length, established higher status positions for Donald Trump within the conversational interaction and enacted dominance and power through the nature of the interaction. Non-verbal communicative actions established both physical and spatial ownership for Trump. The former was achieved by means of the aspects of larger facial expressiveness, more eye-contact with the submissive, open- and rotated body posture and correct utilization of hand gestures. The latter was established by the expression of ownership over objects and space through the domineering utilization of the environment to a large extent. Furthermore, Donald Trump's expressive communicative actions were not solely found to enact notions of dominance and power within the discourse as it were several of Hillary Clinton's expressive actions that augmented Trump's higher power positions. Clinton's speech disfluency, high facial expressiveness and more closed body posture than Donald Trump enact lower level status positions within the discourse, and, therefore, make her seem less powerful and dominant. Clinton's communicative actions can, thus, be reasoned to have partially contributed to Donald Trump's dominance and power within the social interaction, and more broadly, his success during the 2016 elections.

These results demonstrate that power and dominance are powerful tools that are not solely reflected through discourse, but are enacted within it. The communicative actions that are inherent in social interaction establish and manifest interpersonal relationships and

differences in power between the actors involved in the social interaction. The present study elucidated that Trump's frequent use of the abovementioned actions manifested higher power positions within the discourse in comparison to Clinton whose communicative actions established different intents. The research revealed that this enactment of power and dominance is not embedded in spoken language on its own, as non-verbal communicative practices are also principal to the comprehension and analysis of social interaction. Discourse should, therefore, never be limited to verbal actions, as non-verbal practices similarly influence the manifestations of social relationships in human interaction. The present research has, thus, contributed to the general understanding of social interaction, and has elucidated that a variety of expressions of verbal rhetoric and non-verbal efforts can have considerable impact on power structures in political discourse. Thus, although Donald Trump's verbal rhetoric lacks in experience, informational content and substance, his indications of verbal and non-verbal conversational, physical and spatial ownership have contributed to his unforeseen triumph.

Discussion

The present study aimed to elucidate the verbal and non-verbal lower-level mediated actions by Donald Trump, which contributed to his enactment of power and dominance within the interaction between Trump and Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential debates.

Multimodal Interaction Analysis of the interruptive sequences by Donald Trump during Hillary Clinton's two-minute speech time uncovered the manners in which Donald Trump was able to manifest power and dominance within the social interaction, and revealed that several of Hillary Clinton's lower-level communicative actions also contributed to the creation of higher status positions for Donald Trump. The present study asserted that dominance and power are indeed enacted through social interaction, as Foucault (1980) reasoned, instead of solely being reflected within it. Furthermore, the findings of the analysis are in line with the Mediated Action Theory (Wertsch, 1991, 1995, 1998), which argued that mediational means and cultural tools cannot be viewed separately from the communicative actions that stem from the interactional context. Donald Trump's actions cannot be viewed separately from the means and tools he adopts in the generation of such communicative efforts.

Also, the findings demonstrated that non-verbal lower-level communicative actions are able to have equal effects on the enactment of dominance and power as verbal communicative actions do. Such findings are in line with both the Mediated Discourse Theory by Scollon (1998, 2001) and the Multimodal Mediated Theory by Norris (2013). The communicative efforts by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton were proved to be multimodal, and, therefore, similar analysis of different communicative situations should be considered primal in every research related to social interaction and social contexts in order to draw holistic and concrete conclusions about the underlying power relations between the individuals that are involved in the interaction.

Thirdly, Donald Trump's embodiment of dominance and power through the expression of several lower-level communicative actions supports the objectives Van Dijk (2001) proposed about the distinct difference between dominance and manipulation. Van Dijk asserted that manipulation was related to the deliberate exertion of control over another person, through which the submissive individuals could be coerced to execute particular actions. Dominance was asserted to be more of an implicit state of power, in which the individual is able to wield their dominance and power over others but does not necessarily have to adopt that power to deliberately incite individuals to undertake certain actions. The

findings demonstrate that the communicative actions of Donald Trump allowed him to create a higher status position within the interaction, and to enact dominance and power through his communicative actions. These actions might have contributed to a slight change in the perceptions of the American electorate pertaining to Trump's leadership capabilities. This was achieved by Donald Trump without directly coercing the American electorate to vote for him, which would be seen as illegitimate manipulation, but by doing so implicitly through the implicit channels of lower-level communicative actions. This indicates that the enactment of dominance and power through communicative social interaction is extremely powerful in establishing different power structures in said interaction, and could even have a legitimate manipulative effect on public perceptions of the individual who is expressing the communicative actions.

Lastly, the present research revealed that substance of verbal rhetoric is not predominantly important to manifestations of power and dominance within political discourse. As Chow (2016) indicated, Donald Trump's rhetoric lacks massively in substance. However, the present study has indicated that expression of lower-level mediated actions can contribute to Donald Trump's enactment of power and dominance over his opponent. Such manipulation of perceptions of political leadership ability by means of traits of dominance, strength and power is oftentimes referred to as "strongman politics" in which the (implicit) expression of physical representations of strength and intensity by politicians convince the public of their leadership competence (Chow, 2016). Substance and expertise are, therefore, considered to be less important in the perceptual framework of strongman politics. A study that was conducted by Choma and Hanoch (2017) supports this theory. They asserted that Trump support is uniquely correlated to two ideological beliefs: right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO). The acceptance of authoritative and legitimate power is central in both ideologies, and correlated to more favorable attitudes towards Trump in relation to Clinton (Choma and Hanoch, 2017). This indicates that the communicative efforts of Trump were more in line with RWA and SDO—and, therefore, also with notions of power and dominance—than the discursive efforts of Hillary Clinton. The actions themselves, therefore, suffice in the creation of higher status positions in political interactive contexts, and do not necessarily need to be supported by strong rhetorical arguments and political policies. Accordingly, the present research has contributed to the essential comprehension that political figures do not necessarily have to be experienced politicians or great debaters to be perceived as competent political leaders.

The main limitation of this study was mentioned earlier in the Methodology section of the present research paper. The extremely complex and extensive nature of mediated actions requires a similarly complex and extensive method of analysis to uncover the underlying structures of social interaction. It is practically impossible to analyze every single interaction between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton that was broadcasted during the period of the presidential elections since Multimodal Interaction Analysis takes into account a large variety of different communicative embodied modes, and the manners in which they relate to one another. Therefore, the conclusions that are drawn in this study are only applicable to a smaller number of interactive situations, which is when Donald Trump verbally interrupts Hillary Clinton during the 2016 presidential debates. Further analysis of different social situations could be conducted to further substantiate the findings of the present research. Also, the interference of the moderator was not taken into account in the present study, which could be relevant to analyze how Donald Trump responds to a third individual, who is not a presidential candidate, in the interactive context.

The findings of the present study, and the practices that are related to these findings as was mentioned above are relevant to a large variety of fields. Communicative interaction is nearly constantly evident in everything individuals do. Therefore, social interaction, and the roles that communicative actions play in the establishment of different power structures, are inherently important in a large variety of different studies from different fields. However, the research is particularly relevant to the field of American Studies as it elucidates what many scholars have missed during the presidential elections, which is the considerable important that expressions of dominance and power might have on status positions within interactive context, and how this might have contributed to the unexpected victory of Donald Trump as president-elect of the United States. Accordingly, the present study is also particularly important to the field of political science, as it has brought to light several of the primal strengths and weaknesses within political interaction that could either advance to triumphant political success or to lamentable political defeat.

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Appendix

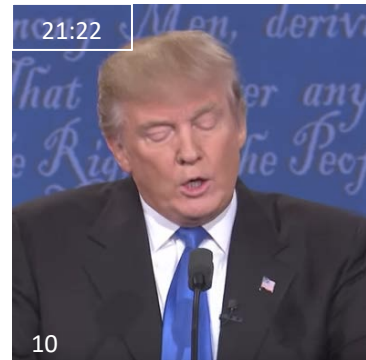
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1.1. Appendix: Transcription frames of conversational ownership

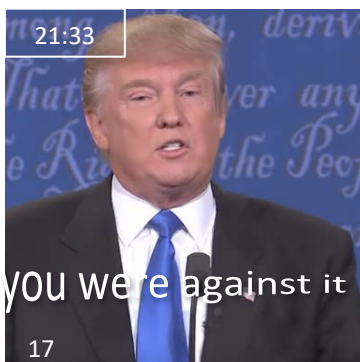
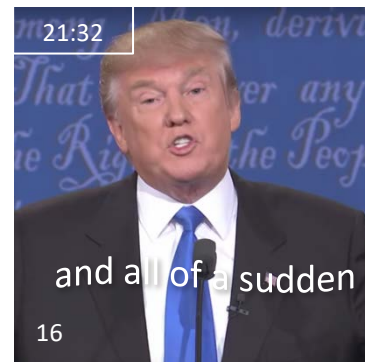
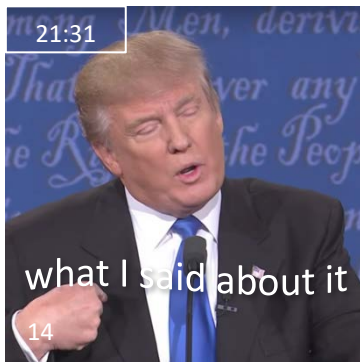
1.1.1. Contrast between Trump's vocal control and Clinton's disfluency (frames 1-7).



1.1.2. Trump's postural shift to enlarge vocal amplitude (frames 8-13).



1.1.3. Trump's postural shift to minimize vocal amplitude (frames 14-18).



1.1.4. Difference in proxemics to the microphone between Trump and Clinton (frame 19).



1.1.5. Difference in message length of Trump and Clinton (frames 20-21).



1.2. Appendix: Transcription frames of physical ownership

1.2.1. Contrastive facial expressions by Trump and Clinton (frames 22-26).



1.2.2. Trump's pattern of gaze retention with his opponent (frames 27-33).



1.2.3. Pattern of postural shifts as conveyed by Trump (frames 34-37).



1.2.4. Trump's utilization of beat gestures (frames 38-43).



1.3. Appendix: Transcription frames spatial ownership

1.3.1. Trump claiming the spatial environment (frames 44-50).



1.3.2. Trump's expression of control over objects in his environment (frames 51-53).

