Behind the smile: a study of British and American news presenters' non-verbal communication

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JYVÄSKYLÄN YLIOPISTO

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Suuri osa kommunikaatiostamme tapahtuu nonverbaalisen eli sanattoman viestinnän eri keinojen avulla. Tässä tutkimuksessa tavoitteena oli selvittää, miten näitä keinoja käytetään eri uutishuoneiden lähetyksissä yhdessä verbaalisen viestinnän keinojen kanssa. Tutkimuksessa keskityttiin erityisesti kahteen eri sanattoman viestinnän keinoon, hymyilemiseen sekä kulmakarvojen liikuttamiseen, mutta myös muut merkittävät tavat käyttää nonverbaalista viestintää otettiin huomioon.

Työn teoreettisessa osassa käydään läpi tutkimukseen liittyvät käsitteet ja tarkastellaan, millä tavoin nonverbaalinen viestintä voi vaikuttaa kommunikaatioon. Osassa kuvataan myös sitä, millaisia asioita tutkijat ovat huomanneet sanattomasta viestinnässä suhteessa mediaan.

Tutkimuksen empiirisessä osassa tarkastellaan neljän eri uutiskanavan uutistenlukijoiden tapoja hyödyntää nonverbaalista viestintää. Nämä uutiskanavat olivat Isosta-Britanniasta tulevat BBC ja ITV sekä amerikkalaiset CNN sekä CBS. Aineisto kerättiin osaksi nauhoitetuista lähetyksistä sekä osaksi internetlähteitä hyödyntäen. Tässä tutkimuksen osassa videomateriaali analysoidaan käyttämällä laadullisia tutkimusmenetelmiä ja tuloksia havainnollistetaan esimerkkien lisäksi myös materiaalista otetuilla tilannekuvilla.

Analyysistä kävi ilmi, että hymyilemistä tapahtui yllättävän vähän, mutta kulmakarvojen liikkeet olivat uutistenlukijoille tärkeä sanattoman viestinnän keino. Muita merkittäviä keinoja olivat muun muassa pään ja käsien käyttäminen puheen tukena.

Asiasanat – Keywords non-verbal communication, news

Säilytyspaikka – Depository

Muita tietoja – Additional information

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1. Introduction

Non-verbal communication is a concept that is vitally important when examining how people use different resources available to them in order to share meanings with and inform other people. Everyone uses a variety of non-verbal signals in their everyday speech, and often these signals are used unconsciously. In order to learn more about communication in general, also non-verbal signals need to be studied. How we use language and communicate with other people depends on a variety of factors including the place of origin, personality and the communicational background of people. In this study, the focus will be on patterns of non-verbal behaviour of people who are seen and heard by a wide audience. The people in question are news presenters.

The study conducted here focuses mainly on two different non-verbal signals that are commonly used in news broadcasting, the facial expression of smiling and the use of eyebrow movements. In the study I will be examining how these features of non-verbal communication are being used in the news media and why this might be the case. The study makes comparisons between newscasters from American and British news stations and the results will then be analysed with qualitative methodology. The aim of the study is to determine if there are consistencies in the data and what types of behaviours (if any) are typical to different groups.

Firstly I will be introducing the core concepts related to this topic and refer to past research data in order to see what has been studied before. Then I will give more detailed information on the particular features that are being focused on here, in other words on facial expressions and brow movement. I will move on to discuss non-verbal communication in relation to the media before presenting the actual results of my own study and discussing what these results might suggest. At the end I will also be suggesting areas related to this study that could be examined and studied further.

2. Literature review

2.1 Non-verbal communication

Before going into great detail about what gestures and facial expressions are, it should be determined what is actually meant when we use the term non-verbal communication. Non-verbal communication is a concept that has lately been widely discussed and still there is no one agreed-upon definition to what it actually entails. Non-verbal communication can be seen as the ways to convey meanings other than the use of verbal utterances. According to Dynel (2011), non-verbal communication (or NVC) can be defined in a broad sense and in a narrow sense. In broader definitions NVC includes all non-verbal signs that relate to informative processes, whereas in more narrow definitions it is seen as signs that relate closely to verbal language and can be found in interactive or communicative processes. Hartley (1999) also mentions two defining categories for non-verbal communication. In one, the different verbal and non-verbal codes or signals try to be classified into different communication systems. In the other, the functions of the signals are being classified.

The focus of non-verbal communication is often on different kinds of signals such as gestures, facial expressions, gaze, posture, bodily contact, spatial behaviour, appearance and even smell (Hartley, 1999:143). Which signals are taken into consideration by different researchers always depends on the context. Researchers have different areas of interest and therefore often study different signals. In order to understand these signals each of them have to be studied in detail, which means that to study all non-verbal communication in general would be quite a task. According to Turk (1985), non-verbal messages can also be a way to distinguish speaking from for example writing or telephoning. Turk also suggests that non-verbal signals tend to express personal attitudes about the discussed subject rather than factual information. People use all kinds of signals other than verbal utterances to communicate with other people, whether it be done consciously or unconsciously. What often interests researchers in non-verbal communication is the ways in which people in various situations use these signals and how they shape and affect

communication.

One important aspect of non-verbal communication is that often it is very hard to discuss it as a separate entity from what is called verbal communication. These two are very intertwined and criticisms have been made about discussing non-verbal communication as a separate concept. In discourse studies, researchers do not often even want to use the term non-verbal communication but refer to signals as being part of multimodality. For example, Knapp and Hall (2009) observe that separating the two concepts of verbal and non-verbal communication is practically impossible. They give an example of omonatopoeic words such as "murmur" which is a spoken word but not singularily verbal. The intertwinedness of these concepts is also taken into consideration in this study by examining not only non-verbal signals but also their contexts in speech. Makodia (2009:6) gives some interesting and enlightening percentages about the distribution of different ways of communication. According to him, research has showed that as much as 55% of communication is conveyed through body language such as eye contact, gestures and facial expressions. As for other means of communication, 38% is said to be conveyed in the voice of the communicator and only 7% of communication is conveyed in the actual words used.

One thing that is also crucially important when talking about non-verbal communication is to consider not only what kinds of signals are used and in which situations but also how these signals are interpreted by the people receiving them. We need to understand the ways in which the signals are actually received in order to understand non-verbal behaviour better. Knapp and Hall (2009) refer to this as encoding and decoding of signals. This fact is also relevant in the present study, since the verbal and non-verbal codes that presenters use are seen by so many people. These signals or codes may influence how people understand the news, which usually aim to present events in an objective and neutral fashion. With the use of sometimes unconscious non-verbal signals, the presenters may convey meanings that are not objective. Turk (1985) goes as far as saying that non-verbal messages or signs are done subconsciously by all but practised actors.

2.2 Facial expressions and gestures

Facial expressions have been found to be part of human interaction everywhere in the world. They have been studied for quite some time and already such people as Charles Darwin were interested in their uses. When studying faces, the emphasis is usually on expressions that convey different emotional states. Even though many facial expressions such as expressions of joy or happiness or of sadness are often thought of as being common to all people, the meanings of various expressions can differ between different cultures. The most studied facial expressions, according to Knapp and Hall (2009), are the six primary affects; anger, sadness, surprise, happiness, fear and disgust. Knapp and Hall (2009) also note that some researchers believe that the functions of facial expressions are actually to communicate with other people rather than just to show emotion. When dealing with facial expressions, researchers often also talk about kinesics, a term which refers not only to facial movements/expressions but to movements of the body as well.

It is also important to consider how these facial expressions affect those receiving the message. According to Swerts and Krahmer (2009), who also studied visual signs of presenters, variation in a speaker's face has been shown to have strong effects on how a certain message is interpreted. They also note that a speaker's face may give away information that is not expressed through words or sentence structure. Non-verbal communication and the use of facial expressions may, according to Swerts and Krahmer (2009), "qualify" a spoken message. This means that with the use of the face, the speaker may indicate whether a piece of information is important to the discourse, what his/her attitude concerning the subject is or if he/she is emotionally affected by the content. What this means is that studying the use of facial expressions is important, especially the facial expressions of presenters. Presenters might unconsciously qualify their speech with the use of facial expressions and consequently affect the way people interpret the news. One other important aspect related to the media or public speeches in general has been mentioned by Makodia (2009) about the difference between the use of non-verbal communication or facial expressions in everyday situations and in public speeches. According to Makodia

(2009:41), when speaking in public, bodily activity must be kept under control and used purposefully. What is interesting is to try to find out how well this is actually accomplished in public situations.

When discussing facial expressions, one of the most important and studied of them is the smile. Smiling is often related to the feeling of joy and is something that comes to us very naturally. Not to return a smile is often considered impolite and on many occasion, like with all non-verbal communication, we are not even conscious about smiling. However, there are also instances where we are required to smile without necessarily having a feeling of joy. In, for example, customer service situations or when taking a picture, we make ourselves smile consciously. It has been found that people can distinguish between these so-called fake smiles and real, unconscious smiles that convey feelings of joy or happiness. Choe, Wilcox and Hardy (1986), who studied facial expressions in advertisements, also noted that smiling is one of the most common facial expressions. They referred to the emotional expression viewpoint, according to which smiling is a major component of facial display associated with or caused by the feeling of happiness. There is also at least one another viewpoint that Choe, Wilcox and Hardy (1986) talk about considering facial expressions. This is called the ethological viewpoint and from this perspective, smiling occurs most in face-to-face interaction. The intent or motivation of the person smiling is, in this approach, seen as genuine friendliness or as a way of establishing relations with other people.

In addition to smiling and other facial expressions, it has been found that also pitch accents and other prosodic variables are used to highlight pieces of information (Swerts and Krahmer, 2009). However, highlighting can sometimes also be accomplished through the use of different kinds of bodily gestures. Makodia uses the term body language, which refers to these body movements or gestures in addition to sounds, verbal language or other forms of communication. According to Swerts and Krahmer, so-called beat gestures have been found to be prominent in particular. Beat gestures include for example eyebrow movements and movements of the

speaker's head or hand. Makodia (2009:48) also emphasizes that it is important for the speaker to focus especially on the eye, brow and lip movements. According to Makodia (2009), the speaker should be aware of the fact that movements of these three are responsive to the mood, feeling and emotional aspects of what is being said. From this we could draw the conclusion that hopefully by studying in particular the movements of the eyes, eyebrows and the mouth, we could find out more about what is actually meant by the speaker and how the speaker feels about certain topics.

2.3 Non-verbal communication on television

Television and the media in general have a great influence on our daily lives. According to Schaap (2009:2), the news on television is the most frequent and trusted source of information on current affairs. It can be seen as (and often is) a powerful tool for informing people. Schaap (2009:3) writes that generally speaking there are two opposing perspectives related to television news. In the optimistic perspective, it is believed that television news can enlighten viewers and increase people's knowledge and education. In the pessimistic perspective on the other hand, television news is seen as biased and as something that is used in order to keep the masses either quiet and controlled or to create destabilisation in the masses. Schaap discusses television news in relation to politics, but I think that these views could be used also when talking about television news in general.

Banning and Coleman (2009), referring to past research, found that studies often concentrate on the verbal ways of communication even when the medium of television is examined. This is rather surprising since television is a very visual source of information, when compared to for example radio broadcasting. According to Banning and Coleman (2009), it has been established that non-verbal signals are especially important in communicating information about affect or emotion. It is also interesting to take into account that studies have shown that moving pictures produce stronger responses in viewers than still pictures (Detenber, Simons, & Bennett, 1998 as cited by Banning and Coleman 2009). This suggests that television

broadcasts are particularly influential for viewers. Furthermore, research on non-verbal communication suggests that non-verbal signalling is at least as important or influential as the verbal content of a message since when verbal and non-verbal messages contradict, receivers typically believe the non-verbal signal (Richmond, McCroskey & Payne 1991 as cited by Banning and Coleman 2009). In layman's terms, this would mean that if a presenter's speech communicated one thing and his/her face another, the viewer would trust the signals of the face.

Another important aspect concerning non-verbal communication in relation to news broadcasting is that of the contexts in which presenters behave. According to Swerts and Krahmer (2009), visual signs or cues differ based on not only the informational importance of ongoing discourse but also with topics that have different emotional connotations. In other words the topics discussed are extremely influential. Swerts and Krahmer (2009) also mention that presenters may have different styles that they use according to the kinds of viewers they are addressing. Speakers in general adapt their communicative styles based on the situational context and other factors. Therefore, the general viewership of any given news station will affect how the presenters are instructed to behave and what styles of communication are seen as appropriate. Many news stations also broadcast for international audiences, which could further affect communicative styles of presenters. In addition, the reputation and the expectations that certain news stations have from the public could make a difference.

3. Data and methodology

3.1 Data

I chose to include news material from four different news stations. Since I wanted to make a comparative study between the United Kingdom and the United States, it seemed sensible to choose two stations from each country. The stations that I used in this study were BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), ITV (Independent Television), CNN (Cable News Network) and CBS (Columbia Broadcast System).

The first two were chosen to represent the British news stations and the last two their American correspondents. BBC and CNN as stations are extremely well known and can often also be referred to as prestigious not only in their own countries but throughout the whole world, so choosing these two made sense. ITV and CBS are perhaps not equally famous, but in a comparative study it was necessary to include various kinds of stations.

The actual data consisted of news broadcasts which varied in length and the broadcasting date. This is because acquiring some of the broadcasts proved to be somewhat difficult. Many full-length online broadcasts are only shown in the news stations country of origin, so in this case in the United States or in the United Kingdom. The data that I was able to gather consisted of news broadcasts recorded from television and of videos available either on news stations own webpages or on youtube.com. The broadcasts recorded from television were from the BBC World and CNN International, which means that they were directed at a wider audience and could therefore potentially differ from broadcasts directed at home audiences. This was something that had to be taken into consideration in the analysis. Also because of this I decided to include data from all the stations which had been made for national distribution.

The data included broadcasts by various presenters, both men and women. There was also variation in the physical position of the presenter, meaning whether they were sitting or standing and from what distance they were being shot from. There were also many instances where presenters or correspondents were outside the recording studio in places where news was actually happening. This could also effect the use of space and body language. In addition, there were instances where a presenter would discuss topics with another presenter. In terms of analysing non-verbal communication, this proved to be an interesting setting as well. Since it is natural for us to use non-verbal communication especially in interaction with other people, having more than one person present often can influence the ways in which meanings are shared.

3.2 Methodology

In my study, I decided to use a comparative perspective. What I mean by this is that the focus of the study was on comparing the different news stations and the two countries I chose to base my analysis on. The aim was to find similarities and differences between male and female presenters, countries and stations. Naturally the context inside of which the presenters were acting would also be also taken into careful consideration since news broadcasts often cover many different types of topics. By context I refer to especially the verbal contexts of the presenters, in other words the speech acts or utterances related to the non-verbal cues.

Because of the nature of the study and the comparative perspective, it was required that I use qualitative methodology. The instances of non-verbal communication would have to be analysed qualitatively in order to make sense of them. But in consideration of the fact that the amount of data had to be quite limited, no wider generalizations could be done. The analysis of this data could, however, shed at least some light on possible non-verbal communication patterns in news broadcasting in these countries. The data was processed in the way that I watched the broadcasts several times, making notes about what I could see. The focus in this study was to be on the expression of smiling and on brow movement, but other non-verbal communication would also be taken into consideration when necessary. Since I had no special face recognition software, it should be noted that total objectivity could not be achieved. However, as I said, to minimise the subjectivity I chose two non-verbal signals that are often quite easily observable. Also, in order to illustrate my observations and show what I meant by particular non-verbal signals, I decided to include snapshots from the video data.

3.3 Research problem and hypotheses

The main research problem in this study was to find out how and in what kinds of contexts are smiling and eyebrow movements used by news presenters in different news stations in the United Kingdom and the United States. Studying non-verbal signals in relation to the media is significant and important since news presenters are

people who have the potential to influence their viewers through their use of non-verbal communication. This particular topic is worth investigating because it could deepen our knowledge of non-verbal communication in news broadcasting and it might even back up some of the cultural knowledge that we have about these countries. In addition, non-verbal signals are something that have often not been studied comparatively even though they are nowadays recognised as being vitally important in all kinds of communication. Facial expressions of presenters may not only have an influence on the audience but also reveal what newscasters really think about the news they are presenting. Facial expressions and other non-verbal cues have been studied in relation to political bias in the news but this kind of research in which different British and American news stations are being compared is something new. Therefore one could say that there is a gap in the previous studies concerning looking at facial expressions of news presenters in general (e.g rather than related to politics) when they are speaking. Previous studies about facial expressions have usually been made either in other countries or focusing on political contexts like debates or presidential elections.

As news broadcasts are something most of us are used to watching, it is reasonably easy to make some hypotheses based on personal experiences on the subject. In this study I hypothesize that smiling occurs most commonly during greetings, goodbyes and when there are more than one news presenter present, in other words, when face-to-face interaction is involved. Another easy hypothesis to make is that smiling is present in humorous speech contexts. Eyebrow movement is something that of which it is harder to make hypotheses about, but based on previous studies on non-verbal communication, one could presuppose it to be important as a beat gesture which varies according to the verbal context.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 BBC and BBC World

When it comes to the British Broadcasting Corporation, three different news broadcasts were analysed. These were all from the year 2011. Firstly there was the BBC News at Ten from the 24th of August. The second broadcast was the BBC Weekend News at One on the 29th of August. The third and final broadcast was the BBC World News from the 7th of November. The first two of the broadcasts were roughly half an hour long each, and the analysed part of the World News broadcast, which was recorded from television, was roughly 50 minutes long. In terms of the division of the two different genders, most of the presenters in these broadcasts were male, but there were also some female presenters. The physical environment in which the presenters were situated varied from studios to different countries and circumstances. In addition, the angles from which the presenters were shot varied. Presenters were usually in a sitting or a standing position, but sometimes they were also walking as they were speaking.

Discussing the facial expression of smiling, it was found that smiling and laughing were used very little in the national broadcasts from the BBC. Especially in the broadcast from the 24th of August smiling was practically non-existent. In this broadcast, the main presenter also had live contact with another presenter through video, but even with the other presenter there, smiling between the presenters did not happen. Nor did it occur when the topic of the news was on a more positive note (good GCSE-results in schools.) In situations were smiling could have been expected to occur, such as in greetings and goodbyes, no significant facial expressions could be noted. Also at the beginning or at the end of the Weekend News broadcast there were no smiles from the presenter. In this broadcast, there was also interaction between presenters, but during the interactions in for example thanking the other presenter, no smiling could be seen either. The only time that a significant smile was noted was when a female presenter was reporting from a carnival in West London.

However, in the BBC World News broadcast the story was different. The whole

programme had perhaps more of a relaxed atmosphere compared to the others. In this broadcast the main (male) presenter smiled at the beginning of the programme and at the end of his part. He smiled when saying "Hello" to the viewers and when thanking the viewers for watching the programme. He also smiled when he presented that next the weather would follow and when he had briefly presented the latest headlines. Other presenters also smiled during the programme. The presenter (male) who gave the latest news from sports in "Sport Today" smiled before starting to speak and also when saying goodbye. There was also joking between the main presenter and a female presenter during which they both laughed and smiled at each other a lot. The topic of the joke was the fact that the female presenter, who delivered financial news, could not present anything positive about the global financial situation. Later in the programme the female presenter also made a joke about herself not being able to show the viewers the European numbers related to business (she ran out of time).

Eyebrow lift, presenter: Huw Edwards

When it comes to the use of eyebrow movements, in all of the analysed broadcasts they were found to be used extensively. In many cases brow lifts occurred at the same time when a presenter was stressing a particular word, syllable or a part of a sentence. No significant differences could be noted in the ways in which female and male presenters used eyebrow movement. Interestingly enough, it was also

discovered that on many occasions, eyebrow lifts or movements happened in accordance with a head movement. The head movements in question were usually nods. Eyebrow lifts were also used with words from different categories, but in most cases the words with which this happened were somehow important for the understanding of the main point of the sentence or verbal utterance. For example, when in the Weekend News they were discussing some negotiations in Libya, a presenter said "...those talks are frankly *not* really going very fast..." and used the brow lift with the word "not".

In addition, other movements of the body were found to be used quite extensively in the data. Movements of the hands and of the body in general (for example leaning forwards) were noticeable. However, it should be taken into account that the amounts of different types of movements varied for example based on if the presenter was sitting or standing. For instance, often in a standing position more general body and hand movements were present whereas if the presenter was sitting, there would be less turning and shifting of the body and less hand movement.

4.2. CNN and CNN International

Getting data for analysis from the American Cable News Network proved to be quite difficult. Full-length news broadcasts could not be found online from the station's own website nor were they available on youtube.com. Therefore, the data that I was able to gather consisted of daily podcasts and from an hour-long recorded broadcast that had been shown on television. The podcasts that were included in the analysis were the "Daily" podcasts from 23rd and 26th of September, 2010 and the "Anderson Cooper 360" podcasts from the 30th and the 31st of January, 2011. The recorded broadcast was from the CNN International's televised news broadcast on the 7th of November, 2011. All in all the broadcasts summed up to be around an hour and a half of data.

Smiling was not used at all in these particular broadcasts during greetings and goodbyes. However, smiling and laughing did occur when there was a heated conversation between interviewees in the CNN Daily podcast from the 26th of September. In this broadcast the female presenter started smiling when one of her interviewees referred to some people as "idiots" (see image below). After that the two men who were being interviewed started to argue about the discussed topic and the presenter kept on smiling until the end of this brief podcast. In the other Daily podcast there was also a situation where an interviewee made the presenter laugh by making a joke about people faking injuries in American football. However, even though smiling occurred in these situations because of interaction with other people, when presenters were talking to each other (rather than to interviewees) no smiles were exchanged. In addition, with some of the more light-hearted topics presented, such as the MTV Music Awards, smiling was also used. Somewhat surprisingly, in these cases the data was from the CNN International's broadcast, which had a British presenter.

Smiling, presenter: Kyra Phillips (on the left)

Probably the most prominent signal of non-verbal communication in these broadcasts was the use of head movement with stressed words or syllables. Brow lifts were also used but perhaps not to the same extent as was the case with the BBC. Brow lifts and head movements (often nodding) were also quite often used together for emphasis. Unlike in the data from the BBC, eyebrow movements were usually

very brief, in other words they were used usually with single words or syllables, whereas the BBC's presenters used them also with sentences or with parts of sentences. Brow lifts were used for example in such speech contexts as "...a full day of *deliberations*... ","...we take you to the *frontlines* of human trafficing..." and "...who lost a *sister*..." (brow movement with the italicised word). Also it seemed that brow lifts were actually used more with other words than verbs, which was again somewhat different from the data from the BBC.

When it comes to other forms of non-verbal communication, there was also some squinting of the eyes involved in these broadcasts. Especially in the Anderson Cooper 360 podcast from the 30th of January, the male presenter used a lot of squinting. The purpose of it seemed to be to signal irony or doubtfulness related to the topic being presented. The presenter was not afraid to give his own opinions in that podcast and squinting seemed to be a way to let the audience know how he felt. This was his own show and the section was called "the Ridiculist" which might explain the way he used these signals. One example of this was when he said "...the *real* work of the government was allowed to continue..." (squinting with the italicised word). Squinting was also used by some of the other presenters. Furthermore, there was some hand and body movement in the CNN's data, but it was not very prominent.

Squinting, presenter: Anderson Cooper

4.3 ITV

Regarding the acquiring of data from the ITV News, it was not as difficult a task as with CNN, since there was a decent amount available on youtube.com. The data chosen for this study consisted of three different news broadcasts from the year 2011, each of them roughly 30 minutes long. They were the ITV News at 5:30 am (also sometimes referred to as the ITV Morning News) on the 9th of August and on the 28th of July and the ITV News and Weather at 1:30 pm on the 19th of August. It should be noted, however, that with the ITV News and Weather at 1:30, a part of the broadcast was missing from youtube.com, but since the data was quite consistent, this was not seen as harmful to the conducting of the analysis. In the data there were both female and male presenters, but most of the presenters in these broadcasts were male.

The most prominent feature of non-verbal communication in this data was the use of brow and head movements. Both of these seemed to be present in all the various presenters' way of communicating, although there were some differences in the extents to which the presenters went. These differences could perhaps be explained by personal preferences or the personalities of different newscasters. In the data there was a variety of presenters and correspondents (perhaps more so than in the BBC's and CNN's data) which made it an interesting source for analysis. Brow lifts and nods or other head movements occurred usually with individual words but also quite often with longer parts of sentences. However, as far as I was able to decipher, no single word class was preferred over the others. What was interesting with this data, was that quite often the head movements that were used for purposes of beat gestures or stress were not necessarily just head nods but rather the head moved from side to side. This was something that was not as prominent in the other news stations' data. These head movements were sometimes used with a brow lift, but also individually.

Brow lift, presenter: James Mates

Like in the data from the BBC and the CNN, smiling was scarce in these broadcasts as well. There was only one instance where a smile was seen during greetings and goodbyes. This was the case with the female presenter on the 28th of July, who smiled as she said bye to the viewers and wished them a lovely day. There were also a couple of cases where a hint of a smile was noticed when the newscasters were discussing some of the lighter topics of the day. One example of this was when as the last story presented in the broadcast, a story on the UK's air guitar competition final, had been shown and back in the studio, the male presenter had a slight smile on his face. Even though there was a lot of giving over to other correspondents or presenters, no smiles were exchanged in these situations. This could be because of the serious nature of the topics, which included, for example, the massacre in Norway and political issues in Libya.

In terms of other non-verbal behaviour, some body and hand movement and squinting were noticed. Hand movement was used particularly when the presenters were standing (often at the scene, rather than in the studio) and they needed to clarify what they were talking about. Hand signals were used to refer to places but also sometimes as beat gestures, especially with one male presenter. This again could be explained by personality. In addition, with the Morning News there was a section in the broadcast in which the presenters had newspapers at their hands and they presented the headlines in each one. In this situation it was only natural that hands

were used to show the paper towards the camera. Body movement was also perhaps used more when the presenter was in a standing position. The aforementioned squinting occurred when the presenter was uncertain about what he had said. The uncertainty could be easily determined since the newscaster actually used the words "I'm not sure".

4.4 CBS

Data from the CBS consisted of four different news broadcasts, all of which were Evening News Online broadcasts from the year 2011. The dates of these broadcasts were the 30th of April, the 11th of March, the 13th of January and the 12th of October and each of them were about 20 minutes long. Again most of the presenters were male, but also several female presenters and correspondents were analysed. The data was quite easily acquired from youtube.com, where also the commercial breaks that these broadcasts had included had been conveniently taken out.

As regards the use of smiling, again like in the previous data from the different news stations, there was very little of it. No evident instances of smiling or laughing could be seen during greetings and goodbyes, nor did the presenters smile to each other during thanking and giving over to the other person. The only cases where slight smiling occurred was in relation to lighter news topics, which was similar to the ITV data. One example of a topic like this was that of a horse riding organization inside a big city helping teens by preventing them from joining gangs. In terms of the hypotheses presented before the conducted analysis, the lack of smiling in the different stations' broadcasts was something that was not predicted beforehand. In the CBS data, especially the greetings were said in a very hurried manner and from the greeting the presenter continued straight to the first topic of the day. There were a couple of instances where during the goodbyes again a hint of a smile could be seen, but these facial expressions were very subtle in nature. To illustrate what is meant here by the "hint of a smile", there is a still image from a broadcast.

Hint of a smile, presenter: Russ Mitchell

Consistently with the previous data from the different stations, also the presenters for the CBS used a range of head and body movements as well as eyebrow lifts. However, in this data, there were quite a lot of differences between the stations' individual newscasters. For example the female newscaster who was the main presenter in two of the broadcasts used a lot of brow lifts, whereas some of the male presenters used them scarcely. What these presenters had in common though, was that all of them used at least to some extent head movements for purposes of stress and/or beat. The aforementioned female presenter stood out from the crowd especially since many of her brow lifts lasted for longer periods of time (large parts of sentences) than the others'. This had more similarity to the findings from the British news stations' data than with the data from the CNN. However, since it was only noticeable with one of the presenters, this could again be linked to personality. Head movements were very often used with a brow lift and they consisted of not only nodding but all kinds of movement of the head.

Looking at the other features of non-verbal communication, hand movements were also reasonably often visible, especially when the presenter was in a standing position or when s(he) needed to indicate physical space. Hand gestures were used also for beat/rhytmic and emphasizing purposes to support the verbal utterances. Like already mentioned in the previous paragraph, body movement was also used. In terms of using the body to communicate, some presenters used sort of a slight

back-and-forth movement with their body, perhaps also to create rhythm.

4.5 Discussion

Considering the hypotheses made before conducting the analysis, the results of the study clearly showed many of them to be incorrect. Smiling was used very little in most of the data and especially during presenters' interaction with each other. It should be noted though, that often when having a discussion, the presenters were not physically in the same place but rather talked through video connection. This could potentially also have an effect on their use of smiling. Also with the greetings and goodbyes in these various broadcasts, smiling was used much less than what I had originally hypothesized. The lack of smiling could often be explained by the usually serious nature of news topics. However, even with some of the lighter topics, smiling was not always very visible. There was really only one hypotheses related to smiling that proved to be correct. That was that smiling was noticeable in humorous speech contexts.

It was hypothesized that eyebrow movements would be used in the data as beat gestures to support speech. This was true in most cases, but the extents to which the presenters went in using brow movements was often rather surprising. Eyebrow movements proved to be a feature of non-verbal communication that was particularly important, but also something that varied in length and between stations and individual presenters. There probably is no simple answer as to why this was. Since this varied between stations, it could be because of the different stations' code of conduct or it could just be a feature that depends on personality/personal preference. Generally speaking brow lifts were perhaps used for longer periods of time with the British presenters. In addition, brow movements proved to be used for more than just for purposes of beat or rhythm. They were also extensively used to signal important information, or in other words to stress syllables, words or even whole sentences.

It was also interesting to see that other non-verbal communication signals were often

very prominent in the data, one of which was the use of head movements. This was something that was consistent throughout the data, much like with the case of eyebrow movements. Head movement happened very often in accordance with the brow lifts and therefore was something that could not be ignored. Again this was something that varied a lot between individuals so it could perhaps be explained with personality. However, there was some indication that head movements were used more by the American newscasters, sometimes instead of brow lifts.

This topic could be investigated a lot further with several different approaches. It could be possible to find out more about the uses of non-verbal signals if there was more data involved in the study or more news stations. Also the focus of the study could be on different aspects of non-verbal communication or one could simply add other signals than what were analysed here. One could for example have a closer look at the speech utterances for variation in tone, stress and intonation. In addition, other facial expressions than smiling could be analysed, possibly with the help of face-recognition software. With such software it would be easier to maintain subjectivity and to notice smaller details in the presenters' behaviour. Finally, one could for example examine non-verbal communication of other people in the media than just news presenters.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to find out how the non-verbal signals of smiling and eyebrow movement were used by British and American newscasters. It was hypothesized that smiling would occur during greetings and goodbyes, in humorous speech contexts and when there was interaction between presenters. Eyebrow movements were hypothesized to be used mainly as beat gestures.

At the beginning I introduced some of the previous research on the topic, which suggested that non-verbal communication is a complex concept that can (and often does) include a wide variety of signals. Researchers seem to have somewhat differing definitions on what non-verbal communication actually entails. Also according to

previous research, non-verbal communication is often unconscious and can reveal people's true feelings on a given subject. Non-verbal signals were said to be one of the most important ways in communicating information on emotion. It was also found that in relation to the media, if the audience are given contradictory verbal and non-verbal signals, they tend to believe in the non-verbal. This means that how these signals are being used could have an important effect on how people receive and understand the news.

The data was gathered from recorded television broadcasts and from online sources, of which youtube.com became the most useful. However, not all news stations' had similar amount of data available online, which made the collecting of material at times difficult. The data was carefully examined and then qualitatively analysed. I gave examples of some of the speech utterances during which non-verbal signalling occurred and also used snapshots of the video data to illustrate what was meant by a particular non-verbal signal.

Discussing the results, the data suggested that smiling was not as prominent a feature in news broadcasting as I had originally imagined. Smiles were seen mainly in connection with joking and lighter news topics. Brow movements, however, proved to be a very important part of non-verbal signalling in news broadcasting, and were used not only for rhythm but also to stress and emphasize syllables, words or even longer speech utterances. Other non-verbal signals such as body and hand movement were also found to be an important part of the newscasters' range of ways to communicate.

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