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Television Advertising and Democratic Systems Around the World

A Comparison of Videostyle Content and Effects

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Political candidates and parties in most democratic systems face the fundamental problem of how to communicate with and persuade voters to accept their leadership. Political advertising, as the other chapters in this volume have established, has become important to many democratic systems because it provides a solution to this problem that also has the advantage of being under the direct control of the party and candidate. With news coverage or debate formats, the party or candidate cannot have total control of the message conveyed to voters. As we pointed out in the first chapter of this volume, political advertising provides this necessary control, allowing candidates and parties to determine the content and style of their messages and take advantage of modern mass-audience

channels (radio, television, Internet) to maximize the distribution of these promotional messages to potential voters.

Despite these fundamental advantages to political advertising (control and mass distribution), the roles of such messages, their content and styles, and their effects vary across democratic systems. In our earlier work, *Political Advertising in Western Democracies* (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1995), we discussed the various media, cultural, and political system differences that affect the role such messages play in the United States, Western Europe, and Israel. The chapters in this volume expand that application to include selected democracies in Eastern Europe, Russia, Central and South America, Asia, and Africa.

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With so many different governmental systems (presidential vs. parliamentary, as well as combinations), electoral systems (proportional, majority, and variations on these), media systems (public, private, and dual), and cultural features (collective vs. individual societies, for instance), it sometimes seems impossible to find any common ground upon which to discuss the political communication strategies that characterize such diverse systems.

Nonetheless, we suggest that there are many commonalities, as well as differences, in how democratic leaders use communication to solicit the support of their citizenry. Research across many different countries with diverse political, media, and cultural systems has allowed scholars to understand more fully the underlying strategies and tactics that allow communication to serve the unifying and legitimizing functions that are necessary for democracies to survive. In this chapter, we bring together some of these strategies and tactics that have been used across selected democratic systems and compare their content and potential effects on citizen attitudes toward political leaders and parties.

COMPARATIVE RESEARCH ON POLITICAL ADVERTISING

The overwhelming majority of research on political advertising has been conducted in the United States, where television spots are the dominant form of communication between candidates and voters (see chapter 3 earlier in this book; also Kaid, 1999b, 2004b). Although other democracies have often been accused of "Americanization" of their political television offerings, differences in media, political, and cultural systems impose some limitations on the adoption of American practices. For instance, as we pointed out in chapter 1, many countries impose limitations on or prohibit the purchase of time for political advertising, but the United States allows virtually unlimited purchase of time. Many other systems

provide free time on public channels to candidates and parties, but the United States has no institutionalized system for such free-time allocations. The results of these differences can be seen in the quantity of spots aired by candidates and parties. Although in many countries this free-time system may allot commonly 3 or 5 or 10 spots per candidate or party in an election campaign, the two major party U.S. presidential candidates, their parties, and independent groups supporting or opposing them in 2004 purchased time in the general election campaign for more than 300 spots, costing more than \$600 million (Devlin, 2005; Kaid, 2005; Kaid & Dimitrova, 2005).

However, despite the dominant role of advertising in U.S. campaigns and the large amount of research on it, researchers have begun to look at the role of advertising in other countries. The past two decades have seen an increased interest in research on the political broadcasts in other countries and on attempts to compare and contrast both the content and the effects of political advertising from an international perspective. Much of this research was done in studies inspired by those of the United States but by researchers who developed their own approach (see chapter 2).

COMPARISONS OF POLITICAL ADVERTISING CONTENT

Research on the content of political party and candidate broadcasts in the United States was summarized in chapter 3 of this book (see also Kaid, 1999b, 2004b), demonstrating that the content of U.S. spots is predominantly based on issues, such as the economy, foreign policy, health care, and education. Research on other countries individually and in comparative studies has led to similar results (Plasser, 2002). For instance, British party election broadcasts seem to be similarly focused on issues (Hodess, Tedesco, & Kaid, 2000; Johnson & Elebash, 1986; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1995; Kaid & Tedesco, 1993).

The importance of issue content in political broadcasts in France has also been validated (Johnston, 1991). However, the campaign spots of the two large parties in Germany have shown a stronger emphasis on candidates and their personal characteristics (Holtz-Bacha, 2000; Holtz-Bacha & Kaid, 1993; Holtz-Bacha, Kaid, & Johnston, 1994).

The concept of *videostyle* has been used frequently to describe the content of political spots. Videostyle refers to the verbal, nonverbal, and production characteristics that define how a candidate presents him- or herself to voters through political spot advertising (Kaid & Davidson, 1986; Kaid & Johnston, 2001). This concept has also been used to compare and contrast political television advertising across cultures (Kaid, 1999a; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1995), in analyses not just of issue and image components but also of the valence of the ads (positive or negative), the types of appeals made (logical, emotional, or ethical), and the extent to which partisanship is important in the advertising.

With that research as background, we have extended this research on the content of political advertising internationally, to include samples of television advertising in many countries around the world. Table 27.1 summarizes the results of our content analysis,¹ using the videostyle system applied to political advertising in a number of countries throughout the world. The individual countries, the election years, and the number of advertisements used in each country are shown at the top of the table.

An important feature to remember before looking at the specific category comparisons is the nature of the ads themselves and the samples used for analysis. As we noted earlier, one of the dominant features of American-style political advertising is the 30-second spot. Many scholars are critical of the 30-second spot for its typical oversimplification of issues and absence of candidates' specific policy proposals; still, many of the countries reported

here have adopted short spots as their standard. Some notable exceptions include British, French, and Spanish political ads. The British party election broadcast (PEB) standard is about 4 to 5 minutes, offers significant "opportunity" for candidate policy elaboration, and accomplishes many different objectives in a single PEB that might take several American ads to accomplish. Similarly, the French political broadcasts, known as "emissions," have traditionally been much longer than the American spots. The French emissions were generally somewhere between 5 to 15 minutes in 1988, but shorter formats were allowed in 1995 and in the 2002 spots used in the sample shown in Table 27.1. Spain also has a tradition of longer advertisements (3 to 4 minutes), although the most recent election witnessed the adaptation of the 30-second spot. Finally, the German development showed that spots became shorter over time, particularly when broadcast time had to be purchased. However, although scholars have generally noted that the longer spots provided a better opportunity for candidates to furnish more detailed campaign information, the "talking head," a flat production style that characterized the longer spots, was a deterrent to audience attention. Recent campaigns in Spain, France, and Britain alike have witnessed tremendous advances in production quality, with quick clips, music, and use of interesting cinematography. Nevertheless, the differences in length of some of the ads in various countries make the comparisons in Table 27.1 a little incongruent. However, general observations may be made from the data, offering much opportunity for comparison.

Issue or Image

Whether candidates focus on the issues or their image is probably the most widely explored content area of political spots. It is clear from Table 27.1 that the overwhelming majority of spot samples from the various

Table 27.1 Videostyle: Content and Appeals of Political TV Broadcasts Around the World (%)

Content and Appeal	U.S. 2004 (n = 170)		Greece 1996 (n = 76)		Germany 1994 (n = 52)		Russia 1996 (n = 36)		Britain 1992 and 1997 (n = 16)		Turkey 1995 (n = 9)		Poland 1995 (n = 81)		France 2002 (n = 10)		Italy 1992 (n = 41)		Israel 1992 (n = 60)		Spain 1996 and 2000 (n = 33)		Korea 1992 through 2000 (n = 138)		
	Emphasis of the ad																								
Issues	81	42	69	58	63	33	56	80	71	50	67	47													
Image	19	58	12	42	37	67	30	20	23	50	33	52													
Combination	0	0	19	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0													
Focus of ad																									
Positive	58	71	NA	72	69	89	93	90	85	58	91	82													
Negative	42	29	NA	28	31	11	7	10	15	42	9	11													
Dominant type of appeal^a																									
Logical	89	22	23	39	56	33	21	90	15	25	82	20													
Emotional	56	64	33	47	25	55	67	70	54	40	88	33													
Source credibility	16	13	4	14	19	11	12	40	31	35	49	67													
Combination			40																						
Political party emphasized	6	87	44	8	50	NA	4	60	7	7	27	NA													

Note: NA indicates not applicable.

a. In some countries, the totals sum to more than 100% because the appeals were coded as to their presence or absence in the ads; others show the dominant type of appeal in each ad.

countries indicate that issues are the dominant focus in spots. However, there are some notable differences in issue and image focus. If ranked in order of amount of focus on issues, the United States (81%), France (80%), and Italy (71%) lead the way, with at least 70% of their spots having issues as the dominant focus. Germany (69%) and Spain (67%) are close behind the leaders, with at least two thirds of their spots dominated by issue concerns. Britain, with a 63% focus on issues, is not too far behind the issue leaders. However, what the ranking appears to indicate based on the samples from the 1990s and early elections of the new millennium is that the "traditional" westernized democracies emphasize issues more than the "evolving" democracies. In a very interesting result, the bottom six countries on the issue ranking are Russia (58%), Poland (56%), Israel (50%), Korea (47%), Greece (42%), and Turkey (33%). Although the issue emphasis percentages for Russia, Poland, and Israel are not that far off those of the more westernized democracies, the grouping of the top and bottom six countries in this ranking is interesting. Although it is logical to expect that candidates and parties in these evolving states would spend more time discussing the issues relevant to moving their young democracies toward more stability, it is very possible that the candidates and parties found it more necessary to emphasize that they were the most capable individuals or groups to move the country forward. Thus, it may be interesting to see if this issue-image distinction continues as evolving democracies become more stable and, it is to be hoped, develop parties and candidates that have more long-term credibility with their electorates.

There are also many comparisons that can be made about the specific issues emphasized in the broadcasts. For instance, in the United States during the 1990s and through 2000, the emphasis on issues almost always meant an emphasis on domestic issues, such as the

economy, health care, and education. However, in 2004, only John Kerry retained this focus: Most of his spots addressed the economy (45%) and health care (48%). President George W. Bush, on the other hand, concentrated his largest percentage of television ads on terrorism and security (34%), and he discussed defense spending (22%) much more frequently than Kerry. In contrast, British PEBs in 1997 featured a mixture of domestic and foreign policy issues, with particular emphasis on Britain's role in the European Union. Likewise, in the French presidential campaign of 2002, although economic issues and children's concerns dominated, nearly half of the broadcasts mentioned international or foreign policy issues.

Positive and Negative Focus

Over many years, the United States' spots have been the most negative of any of the 12 countries analyzed. In fact, the United States and Israel have the distinction of being the two countries with the highest percentages of negative ads. A rank ordering of positive and negative content does not reveal any clear difference in the use of positive and negative ads among the stable or evolving European democracies or among the party- or candidate-centered democracies.

Five countries reached a positive advertising threshold of 85%. For example, Poland (93%), Spain (91%), France (90%), Turkey (89%), and Italy (85%) exhibited positive advertising rates well above the other countries in this study. Although these rates do not indicate that attacks do not occur in ads, they do indicate that the negative aspects of the spots are less dominant than the positive features. Three other countries grouped close together at around the 70% positive range: Russia (72%), Greece (71%), and Britain (69%). Considerably higher negative numbers are reported in Israel (42% negative) and Korea (11% negative).

As Table 27.1 shows, the German spots were not coded in a comparable method. The German coding did not dichotomize between positive and negative as a dominant ad emphasis but rather reported whether an attack was made in the ad instead of indicating whether the ad was negative or positive. On this measure, about two thirds of the German spots included some type of negative attack, whether or not the spot itself was predominantly positive or negative. Using that measure (whether an attack was made in the spot, even if negativity was not the major focus of the spot) would also increase the negative focus for several other countries. For instance, although most Greek spots were positive, 55% of them contained a negative attack on the other party or its candidate. The same was true in Turkey, where over half the spots contained some type of attack. This content analysis also fails to capture the magnitude of advertising buys for the negative ads compared to the positive ads in the various countries. For example, one thing that may increase the perception among U.S. voters that ads are so negative is the possibility that the negative ads get more exposure than the positive ads.

The overall totals in each country also mask differences between and among parties in some cases. In the United States in 2004, the overall totals show that 42% of the ads were negative and 58% were positive. In fact, only 34% of John Kerry's ads were negative, but Bush aired more than half of his ads (58%) with a negative tone. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that although a higher percentage of Bush's ads were negative, Kerry sponsored so many more total spots that he actually aired almost twice as many negative spots as did Bush over the course of the campaign (Kaid, 2005; Kaid & Dimitrova, 2005).

It is also true that more Kerry ads contained some kind of attack (71%) against Bush, even in ads that were classified as predominantly focused on Kerry's positive attributes. A similar differential occurred in the 2002 French

presidential race, in which 90% of all the broadcasts were, overall, positive, but Le Pen made some sort of attack against incumbent president Jacques Chirac in 80% of his broadcasts.

One other observation may be relevant about differences in negativity in ads in different countries. Although the candidates and parties in many countries in the sample exhibit some type of attack strategy in their political broadcasts, these attacks take many different forms. In 2004, American challenger John Kerry emphasized Bush's personal qualities and character in 40% of his attacks on the president. In contrast, the negative attacks featured in political broadcasts in Britain, Germany, and many other countries focused more on the failings of the opposing party than on the specific candidate. In 1997, a British Conservative Party spot accused the Labour party of being a party "without roots," and the Labour Party used emotional music and pictures to question the Conservative Party's record on health care and social issues. Neither party's spots focused on the opposing party's standard bearer, neither Tony Blair nor John Major.

Ethos, Logos, and Pathos Appeals

We also categorized spots according to whether the dominant type of appeal or proof offered in the ad was logical, emotional, or ethical, corresponding to Aristotle's original distinctions between logos, pathos, and ethos. Broadcasts that rely on logical proof use factual information and examples and often offer statistical data to substantiate their points. Emotional proof is characterized by appeals that use language and images to try to evoke feelings or emotions such as happiness, patriotism, anger, or pride. Advertisements that use ethical appeals or source credibility rely on good character to make their appeals, including information about the qualifications, integrity, and trustworthiness of the candidate or of someone speaking on behalf of the

candidate or party. When the average for all 12 countries for each appeal strategy was calculated, emotional appeals surpassed logical appeals as the most prominent proof strategies. The average percentage of emotional appeals for the 12 countries coded was 50%, compared to 44% for logical appeals and 27% for credibility appeals. The U.S. and French spots were the most likely to use logical proof, relying on this form of persuasion in 89% and 90% of their ads, respectively. Spanish spots also made frequent use of logical reasoning, which was used in 82% of their ads. Italian spots were the least likely to use logic as an appeal strategy to persuade voters. Logical appeals appeared in only 15% of Italian ads. Results from five countries (Israel, Germany, Greece, Poland, and Italy) reveal that logical appeals were used in 25% or less of their ads.

Emotional appeals were the most prominent when all 12 countries were considered. Spanish candidates used emotional proof more frequently than their peers in other democracies. Spain, with 88% for emotional appeals, far exceeds France, with 70%, the second highest country on the list. Korean ads were the least likely to employ emotional appeals. Emotional proof was the most dominant proof strategy for 8 of the 12 countries in this study. Spain (88%), Poland (67%), Greece (64%), Turkey (55%), Italy (54%), Russia (47%), Israel (40%), and Germany (33%) all used emotional appeals more than logical or ethical appeals. It is interesting that only France, the United States, and Britain were more likely to use logical appeals than emotional or ethical appeals.

Clearly, it is much more necessary for challenger candidates to establish their credibility; incumbents usually point to their past leadership successes as evidence of their credibility. However, source credibility proof was much less prevalent in the ads than logical or emotional appeals. Korea, the only Asian country in this cross-national comparison, was the

only country whose candidates relied on source credibility appeals (67%) more than either logic or emotion. It is likely that this is one area in which cultural differences may have played the greatest role in differences in spot content and style. Asian culture places greater regard on respect for the wisdom and value of those with age and experience. Such traditions signify cultural differences between Eastern and Western democracies and may suggest reasons for the greater reliance of Korean political ads on ethical proof (Tak, Kaid, & Khang, 2004).

Party- and Candidate-Centered Advertising

The use of political spots as a dominant form of political communication in modern democracies has given rise to the hypothesis that reliance on televised campaigns has resulted in the diminished significance of political parties. As a result, candidates in many of the democracies analyzed here are no longer reliant on political parties to create and shape their identity. Clearly, the overt role of the party in political broadcasts remains most prominent in Greece. However, the role of the party is not very pervasive in at least five of the countries analyzed in this study. The number of spots in each country of which the content focused primarily on the political party was generally quite small in Poland (4%), the United States (6%), Israel (7%), Italy (7%), and Russia (8%). However, in countries where broadcast time is allocated to parties, the party continues to play an important role.

Parties remain relatively strong in France, Britain, and Germany, where 60%, 50%, and 44% of their respective spots emphasized the party. The allocation of time to parties in France and Britain and the proportional allocation of time in Germany put the party at the center of politics in these countries. However, as is evidenced by the ad content, the candidate can emerge as the central figure of the ads despite the party's role in securing time. A

good example of this comes from Britain, where the candidate has developed into a more central character in the PEBs in the most recent election cycles. The party still remains important in the British system, but the candidate's qualities, leadership, and personal qualities have assumed a much more prominent role in the spots. "Blair: the Movie" was an example of a 1997 Labour PEB that focused directly on Tony Blair's personal qualities as the embodiment of the "new" Labour Party. Clearly the British system is balancing candidate- and party-centered interests. In the United States, the candidates have been deemphasizing the party and running campaigns as moderates for most of the last half century. Candidates campaign on the middle ground, emphasizing moderate platforms to appeal broadly to the less extreme ends of the Republican and Democratic parties. The increasing percentage of registered independent voters also points to a fairly large abandonment of the major parties in preference for issue politics. The generally low percentage of spots emphasizing the party may provide some evidence that spots are contributing to a declining emphasis on parties in democratic systems around the world, resulting in a more personalized campaign system.

COMPARISON OF POLITICAL ADVERTISING EFFECTS

Researchers and political observers have also been interested in the effects that exposure to political advertising has on the citizens in a democracy. How successful are political ads in helping citizens to form views of political leaders and parties? Of course, answers to such questions are complicated by the same types of political, media, and cultural differences that affect spot content. Individual chapters in this volume have recounted the results of research on advertising effects in individual countries where data on such questions exists.

Here we consider the results of research over the past two decades that provides some answers to advertising effectiveness in a comparative way.

Beginning with the 1988 U.S. election, which also coincided for the first time in many decades with the election of the French president, we have worked in cooperation with a number of colleagues in other countries to make some comparisons of advertising effectiveness using similar experimental techniques with similar measuring instruments.

These projects have involved experiments in conjunction with major elections in the respective countries. These experiments involved measurement of citizen attitudes toward major party candidates, exposure of these citizens to sample political advertising messages used on television by these candidates during each ongoing campaign, and then a postexposure measurement of attitudes and learning after viewing the advertisements. The studies in individual countries are reported in a number of specific papers and publications (Cwalina, Falkowski, & Kaid, 2000; Gagnère, & Kaid, 2003; Hodess et al., 2000; Holtz-Bacha & Kaid, 1993, 1996; Kaid, 1991, 1999a, Kaid, Gagnère, Williams, & Trammell, 2003; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1995; Kaid & Tedesco, 1999). Because these studies used similar methodologies and similar measuring instruments (a 12-item semantic differential scale² to assess attitudes toward candidates), we are able to analyze these studies across time to determine if exposure to political advertising has any common effects.

As shown in Table 27.2, it is clear that exposure to political television advertising does indeed affect the evaluations of major party candidates in a number of the countries analyzed. Effects data from experimental studies were available for seven countries (United States, 1992, 1996, and 2000; Italy, 1992; France, 1992, 1995, and 2002; Britain, 1997; Poland, 1995; Chile, 1997; and Germany,

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Table 27.2 Effects of Political Broadcasts on Candidate Images Across Countries

<i>Countries and Candidates</i>	<i>Pretest</i>	<i>Posttest</i>
United States, 1992 (n = 50)		
Bush	4.58	5.75 ^a
Clinton	4.42	4.58 ^a
United States, 1996 (n = 525)		
Clinton	4.51	4.59 ^a
Dole	4.48	4.34 ^a
United States, 2000 (n = 906)		
Bush	4.65	4.72 ^a
Gore	4.63	4.67
France, 1988 (n = 55)		
Chirac	3.50	3.35 ^a
Mitterrand	4.90	4.92
France, 1995 (n = 84)		
Chirac	4.23	3.99
Jospin	4.31	4.44
France, 2002 (n = 50)		
Chirac	3.43	3.58
Le Pen	3.21	2.59 ^a
Germany, 1990 (n = 171)		
Kohl	3.64	3.66
Lafontaine	4.57	4.68
Germany, 1994 (n = 202)		
Kohl	4.03	3.99
Scharping	4.31	4.44 ^a
Germany, 1998 (n = 207)		
Kohl	4.32	4.32
Schröder	4.45	4.68 ^a
Italy, 1992 (n = 53)		
Martinazzoli	4.49	3.59 ^a
Occhetto	3.86	3.86
Britain, 1997 (n = 106)		
Blair	4.30	4.43 ^a
Major	4.07	4.15
Poland, 1995 (n = 203)		
Kwasniewski	4.74	4.85
Walesa	3.76	3.98 ^a
Chile, 1997 (n = 120)		
Foxley (PDC)	4.08	4.03
Allamand (RN)	4.30	4.32

Note: Numbers reflect the summary mean of the 12-item semantic differential scale, measured from 1 (negative) to 7 (positive).

a. Indicates *t* test between pre- and posttest score is significant at $p \leq .05$.

1990, 1994, and 1998).³ These data demonstrate that political advertising exposure can significantly affect a leader's image rating. In almost every country, this is true for one and sometimes both of the candidates and leaders. However, sometimes the direction of the change is positive, and sometimes it is negative. In the United States in 1992, the spot exposure resulted in significantly higher evaluations for both George Bush, Sr., and Bill Clinton; in 1996, Clinton's ratings increased significantly after viewing, but Bob Dole's image score decreased. In 2000, the positive effect was only present for George W. Bush; spot viewing had no effect on Al Gore's rating.

The tendency for the spots to result in significantly higher evaluations of the candidate or party leader was also true for Rudolf Scharping in Germany in 1994, for Gerhard Schröder in Germany in 1998, for Tony Blair in Britain in 1997, and for Lech Walesa in Poland in 1995. In addition to the case of Dole in the United States in 1996, a negative change after exposure was present in France, for Jacques Chirac in 1988 and for Jean Marie LePen in 2002, and for Martinazzoli in Italy in 1992. After watching their television portrayals, respondents rated them lower than before. Only in France in 1995, Germany in 1990, and Chile in 1997 did the political spot exposure fail to produce a change in one of the candidate's image scores.

In addition to the overall effects of viewing television ads focusing on the images of political leaders, it is interesting to note that in many of the cases reported here there are some intriguing gender differences in reactions to the advertising. In an earlier book, we discussed differences found in several countries (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2000). For instance, women voters rated Bill Clinton (United States, 1996) and Tony Blair (Britain, 1997) much higher than they rated their opponents, Bob Dole and John Major. Overall, the gender comparisons across several countries suggest that "female voters are more likely to be

affected by exposure to political spots; and, when they are, the spots are more likely to result in higher positive evaluations for the candidates than is true for male voters" (Kaid, 1997, pp. 20-21).

CONCLUSION

Overall, then, there are some well-documented similarities among countries, in both the content and the effects of political advertising. Summary findings about content comparisons indicate that

1. Most countries concentrate the content of their ads on issues. Korea and Turkey are exceptions.
2. Political broadcasts across countries are overwhelmingly positive, not negative, in their focus. The United States is the notable exception.
3. Despite the emphasis on issues and positive claims, most leaders and parties rely on emotional appeals, rather than logical or source credibility proof, to make their points. Exceptions are France, Britain, and the United States, where logical appeals dominate. Korea is the only country where source credibility appeals dominate.
4. Most parties and leaders have deemphasized the political party in their ads. France, Britain, and Greece are exceptions.

Overall, the results provide a means for comparing the contents and styles of political advertising around the world. The results do provide some evidence of the often-lamented "Americanization" process, some of which is more often labeled "professionalization" or "modernization," but they also show some of the enduring similarities of democratic system values, such as the concentration on issue information. Many of the countries analyzed in the study are what we consider evolving democracies, or democratic states where major system characteristics have changed in the past few decades.

Among the interesting trends to watch over the course of the next few election cycles in each country will be those that develop for each of the variables reported here. If support for the “Americanization” hypothesis is to be achieved, media regulation and system differences will necessitate change. For example, for French ads to more closely resemble American ads, restrictions in content and paid formats will most likely need to be eliminated or at least liberalized.

Comparisons and generalizations about the effects of political advertising are, perhaps, more easily seen in these results. Although many countries still resist the conclusion that political advertising has an effect on election outcomes, our data suggest otherwise in many situations. Across several countries with different political systems, different media systems, and different cultural characteristics, it is still possible to see similar effects from political advertising. Exposure to political television messages during a campaign can sometimes increase, and sometimes decrease, the image of political leaders. These effects also appear to have identifiable differences according to the gender of the exposed citizen.

With so many countries adopting changes in their media and governmental procedures for elections, the coming years will provide new challenges for the study of political advertising. All indications are that political advertising will remain an identifiable and important media format for communication between political leaders and the citizens they seek to govern. Future research will also find that new channels of distribution for these messages are of major importance. Many political parties and candidates in many countries are already using the Internet to distribute their political messages. This new and developing medium will provide even more opportunities for candidates, parties, individuals, and interest groups who wish to communicate directly with voters.

NOTES

1. The content analysis procedures were applied to a sample of spots from 12 countries: the United States (170 from Bush and Kerry in 2004), France (10 spots from Chirac and Le Pen in 2002), Germany (52 spots from various German parties in 1994), Italy (41 spots from various parties in 1992), Greece (76 spots from various parties in 1996), Turkey (9 spots from four parties in the 1995 parliamentary elections), Britain (16 spots from major parties in 1992 and 1997), Poland (81 spots from various parties in the 1995 presidential election), Israel (60 spots from the Likud and Labor parties in 1992), Spain (33 spots from the Popular Party and the Socialist Party in 1996 and 2000), Russia (36 spots from the presidential election in 1996), and South Korea (138 spots from the two main parties in the 1992, 1996, and 2000 presidential elections). The categories developed for the content analysis followed the procedures set forth in prior studies of videostyle (Kaid & Johnston, 2001). Trained student coders completed the coding. In all cases, coders were native speakers of the language used in the spots. Intercoder reliabilities averaged +.84 across all categories for all samples.

2. The bipolar adjective pairs making up the semantic differential are qualified-unqualified, sophisticated-unsophisticated, honest-dishonest, believable-unbelievable, successful-unsuccessful, attractive-unattractive, friendly-unfriendly, sincere-insincere, calm-excitabile, aggressive-unaggressive, strong-weak, active-inactive. They were translated into the language of each country by native speakers of each language. Further explanation of the development, derivation, and use of this semantic differential scale to measure candidate image can be found in Kaid (2004a).

3. The samples for these experiments were drawn from young voters in each country and were tested as part of research projects at various universities that cooperated with the researchers during the national election campaigns in the individual countries. Details on the sample composition and characteristics can be found in the individual research studies cited in this chapter. The authors would like to thank the following individuals for their help in data collection and analysis for this project: John Tedesco (Virginia Tech University); Andrzej Falkowski and Wojciech Cwalina (Warsaw School of Social Psychology); Hans-Jörg Stiehler (University of Leipzig); Wolfgang Donsbach (Technische

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