

## POLITICAL ADVERTISING: HOW NEW AND OLD DEMOCRACIES MAKE USE OF IT

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### ABSTRACT

This study investigates for the first time the influence of democracy on political advertising comparing the spots on Albania and Kosovo with the ones in Greece and Italy. Politicians employ different techniques to shape their message according to the contexts at hand. One of them is democracy, the maturity of which highly affects political actors, media and citizens, which all represent the essence of political communication. By introducing a model of democracy influence on political advertising (D.I.P.A.), this research evokes an innovative approach largely supported by results. Findings clearly show that in emerging democracies spots are dominated by leaders. New and old democracies differ on videostyle or in the issue they use or the way how they try to persuade the citizens. On the other hand, the conflictual environment on new democracies did not generate high level of negative spots. This study shows that the post-authoritarian countries are still led by the individualization of the campaign whereas developed democracies make their political offer to the voters based on party identity.

**Keywords:** Political advertising, new and old democracies, political communication, political marketing, electoral campaigns, Albania, Kosovo, Italy, Greece.

### INTRODUCTION

One of the key missions of political advertising is to distinguish a candidate image or issue stand from its opponent, and it is best used in democracy where there is free political competition (Atkin and Heald, 1976). Political advertising has been a subject studied by a vast majority of scholars in several aspects such as issues versus images (Gross et al 2001), negative advertising (Pinkleton, 1997), videostyle (Kaid and Johnston, 2001) and electoral effects (Goldstein and Freedman, 2002). Surprisingly, all these components, until now, have not been explored in the light of another catalysing aspect such as the system where they find their best use, democracy itself. Thus, this study investigates for the first time the influence of democracy on political advertising by exploring each element that constitutes a political commercial.

The political communication system was investigated in the light of emerging and established democracies (Esser and Pfetsch, 2004; Voltmer, 2006), a perspective which scholars of political advertising did not develop. Therefore, a comparison of political advertising between new and old democracies is expected to stimulate a new area of research filling the perceived gap before mentioned. This would lead to scientific expectations and theoretical frameworks for the effect of democracy as a system in the way how politicians shape their messages through videospots.

The main theoretical argument presented here is that political establishment, media and citizens, key aspects of political communication, differ between new and old democracies. The consolidation of democracy leads the political actions toward consensual attitude (Linz and Stepan, 1996a). Responsibility and transparency are higher (Tavits, 2007) whereas the

political interference on independent institutions and political negative language decreases. Developing a democracy means also increasing media freedom and independence but also making citizens accept democracy as the main rule (Linz and Stepan, 1996b). As detailed later in the theoretical section, the process of shaping politics, media and citizens affects political communication and moreover political advertising. Drawing on this I argue that it is of the utmost importance to study to what extent political advertising, as a tool of political communication, interacts with democracy.

Political advertising could have similar features in the United States, Canada, or the United Kingdom but it is less possible to have the same shape as in new democracies such as in Russia, Montenegro, or Bosnia-Herzegovina, where other technique, political language, and strategy are used. The increasing interest about political advertising had several reasons which included the impact of political actions in citizens' life and the rapid increase of expenses in marketing politicians. Parties spend fifty to more than seventy five percent of the campaign funds on political advertising trying to persuade the voters through media messages (Kaid and Johnston, 2001).

In order to really distinguish the extent of influence of democracy on political advertising I analyzed different countries in two stages: when a democracy is transitional and when it is established. First this study aims to understand whether new democracies reflect in political spots the conflictual, authoritarian and populist atmosphere that usually dominates the path of consolidation. Moreover, investigating if economic and social needs of new and old democracies approach political advertising into two different ways could reveal practical changes between two groups. These essential issues will be best addressed by the main research question of how new and old democracies make use of political advertising.

The answer will be given by outlining the differences and similarities between new and old democracies, based on theoretical frameworks offered by some of the leading political communication researchers (Esser and Pfetsch, 2004; Gurevitch and Blummer, 2004). Furthermore I introduce here a model of democracy influence on political advertising (D.I.P.A), an approach grounded on the theories of political communication. Therefore the dual goal of this research is to develop the theoretical literature of the current field but also to support empirically and make the first step on investigating the effects of democracy on political advertising.

For this purpose, the current study investigated political spots (N=120) in new and old democracies using content analyzes method. As countries with emerging democracies, were selected the two Balkan countries Albania and Kosovo whereas as established ones Italy and Greece. These four countries can be clearly grouped as new or old democracies based on the definition given later. The findings will serve to test the theoretical model presented in this study but also as a new perspective for political scholars, communication experts, marketing strategists or political actors. This research will develop future expectations about key components that change between new and old democracies' political advertising.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The theoretical framework of political advertising's dependence on democracy is in its first steps, thus this study aims to contribute into a fairly unexplored territory. Nevertheless, many political communication researchers have established models of the comparative studies between democracies, building the basis for further focus on political advertising (Esser and

Pfetsch, 2004; Gurevitch and Blummer, 2004). After presenting the main literature on political communication, this study will develop a model which shows the link between political advertising and democracy.

Political advertising and political marketing are central aspects of political communication; therefore this study will first examine a broader relation, namely the one between political communication and the democratic process. To achieve common understanding, the different definitions of political communication can be simplified to the term 'political language' (Graber, 1981) but also to verbal, written or visual means that constitute a political identity or image (McNair, 1999).

The first relevant step in comparing political communication was 35 years ago by Blummer and Gurevitch (1975), who suggested that an international comparative perspective is crucial. Further, Graber (1993) asserted that without comparative research, political communication cannot be studied due to the fact that different countries have different contexts. This study argues that democracy is one of them. When analyzed in relation to democracy, political communication appeared to be different in several countries (Gunther and Mugham, 2000). The editors of several influential comparative studies Esser and Pfetsch (2004) pointed out that political communication depends more on what is called new and old democracies than on other issues. Investigating this path, we first focus on democracy and its definitions followed by political communication literature.

### **Grouping democracies**

It is neither easy to define what new and old democracy means, nor to agree to which one a country belongs. However, drawing upon Huntington's (1991) theoretical framework, there are three waves in which the transition to democracy occurred. In this study old democracies are considered those countries which belong to the first (1828-1926), second (1943-1964) or the beginning of the third wave (1974-1990) of democracy. On the other hand, as new democracies are classified those countries which changed from autocratic regimes during the end of the third wave (1990) or as some scholars argue in the fourth wave of democratization (Brown, 2000; McFaul, 2002).

Democracy is considered a system, as reported by Dahl (1971), which has at least: a) extensive competition for all offices through regular fair and free elections, b) a high inclusive participation when leaders are selected and where no social group is left out c) liberties such as freedom of press, thought, and demonstration. However, only free and fair elections do not constitute a consolidated democracy (Linz and Stepan, 1996a). Drawing on Linz and Stepan (1996b), a democracy is established only when people consider democratic principles and institutions as 'the only game in town'. In this perspective, Shin and Wells (2005) added that democracy involves the transformation of political institutions and cultural values.

### **Politics, media and citizens**

Established democracies have a long history of competition path in free elections and a different political culture from emerging democracies. This culture is crucial to understand how political messages are encoded (Gurevitch and Blummer, 2004). According to Gurevitch and Blummer (2004) the main significance about comparing two systems of political communication is to expose how political culture impinges on the language embedded inside

media messages. These authors noticed that the language and vocabulary of politicians in democracy is mainly different between consolidated and emerging democracies because of the roots of their political communication culture (Gurevitch and Blummer, 2004). A concept of dynamic interaction between politics, media and audience, (Blummer and Gurevitch, 1995), forms the basis of political communication which depends on the performance of each one of these actors (Voltmer, 2006).

There are several theoretical characteristics for new democracies. First, political establishment is moulded by political internal conflict, high level of division (Linz and Stepan, 1996a) and intolerance which is also reflected in political communication. During the transition from controlled-state to democratic system, the same individuals or parties that ruled previously are involved in the new developments (Voltmer, 2006). In contrast to an established democracy, the party system is shaped by political organizations that support autocratic elements into the government system (Klingemann and Hofferbert, 2000 in Fuchs and Klingermann, 2006). High levels of populism are a typical characteristic of leaders in new democracies, who use widespread support to constrain, distort or even suspend democracy (Wayland, 1999).

Consequently, all these characteristics might lead to specific tactics during campaigning and influence how political communication, marketing, or advertising is done in these emerging democracies. The weakness of the parties causes the increase of populism because they face few institutional obstacles on the way to the leadership of the party whereas strong parties obstruct the rise of these political actors (Wayland, 1999). With the modernization of the campaign, a weakness of the parties is seen also in established democracies (Farrel, Kolodny and Medvic, 2001; Gibson and Römmele, 2001; Plasser, 2001) thus more populist mavericks leading the political landscape by personalizing it.

Second, new and old democracies differ also in the media performance, the other pillar of political communication. The media in new democracies experienced essential political pressure, self-censorship, media bias (Krasnoboka and Brants, 2006) and often offer an extremely aggressive style, not because of the watchdog function but as an attempt to show their independence from political actors (Voltmer, 2006). Albeit the way to democratic consolidation, governments tend to control the media, especially TV, with methods similar to those used in the previous regime (Voltmer, 2006) whereas media in Western democracies have more autonomy and professionalism (Karlekar, 2006). Since media freedom reflects the level of democracy, its consolidation mirrors in the performance of the media. As Voltmer (2006) puts it “the way in which politicians package their message to voters is much a response to the demands and needs of the citizens as a function of the routines of the media” (p. 7).

In a conceptual perspective, values and political beliefs are converted into “mediating orientation” that has an effect on how citizens respond to political alternatives (Puntam, 1993). According to Voltmer (2006), voters react to the form, content, and quality of the message sent by politicians through the media. The response might be different because the authoritarian countries were not given the same time for historical evolution as developed Western democracies, such as the cases of post-communist societies in East Europe (Merkel, 1998). It is obvious that some emerging democracies need to have a major shift in their political culture in order to consolidate their democracy (Klingermann, Fuchs, Fuchs and Zielonka, 2006).

After collecting data for the concept of democracy in post-authoritarian countries, researchers elicited that their population perception was closer to autocracy rather than to democracy (Klingermann, Fuchs, Fuchs and Zielonka, 2006). Moreover, the authors asserted that established democracies need democrats to be built and that citizens make the difference between two levels of democracy. In the Fuchs and Klingermann (2006) reports, citizens of new democracies showed less civic engagement, less trust in others and less law-abidingness. Using gratification theory, studies indicated that the effects of political advertising are extremely conditioned by the political attitude of the voters (McNair, 1999). In addition, Kaid (2004) note that the cultural constrains combined with political and media system influence determine the extent and the speed to which democracies adopt political advertising as key feature of the political campaigns.

During electoral campaigns, citizens' perception is analyzed, and the new message is shaped often based on political marketing tools creating this way, a circle of information from politics to voters and via verse. This model of interaction between three actors outlined above, politics media and citizens is considered by Voltmer (2006) as a guide when analyzing political communication in different contexts and particularly suited for new democracies. Also theories of agenda-setting suggest that political agenda is set by the juxtaposition of these three key elements (Norris, 1999).

### **Political Marketing**

Emerging democracies experienced massive floating voters preference (Diamand, Linz and Lipset, 1995) where important parties vanished from political environment in several election processes (Klingemann, Mochmann and Newton, 2000). Having weak organization structures (Plasser, 2001), fragile identity (Voltmer, 2006) or ideology, parties in new democracies are likely to adapt typical marketing techniques to their campaign, to hire political consultants for expertise (Swanson, 2004) and to personalize the campaign. In his book "Key Concepts of Political Communication", Lilleker (2006) notes that political marketing is seen as the collapse of partisanship and as a rise of consumerism in politics, in Western and Eastern democracies. It expresses the use of marketing philosophy, tools, and concepts, within electoral campaigning, policy development, or internal relations (Lilleker, 2006).

Political marketing is one of the means of political communication as described in figure 1 (Maarek, 1995). By using marketing tools, politicians shape the message they want to communicate to voters and spread it out in the form of a public message or political advertising (Maarek 1995). Following Lilleker (2006), political advertising is defined as a "piece of communication, using a range of media, designed to garner positive feelings towards the sponsors" (p. 147). Clearly, when the level of democracy affects political communication, it may have the same impact on political marketing or political advertising. This paper links the theoretical frameworks built for political communication in democracy and deriving it to the influence of democracy on political spots.

### **Modernization of the campaign**

In an influential article Blummer and Kavanagh (1999) argue that the modernization of political electioneering and the dependence of politicians on campaign experts are features of the third age of political communication. Facing a decline of party identification and an unstable electorate, parties need to put more effort into convincing their voters, by adapting sophisticated models of political marketing (Voltmer, 2006) often referred to as

“Americanization” (Swanson and Mancini, 1996). These campaigns that emphasised the personality of the leader were studied in a comparative approach in many democracies (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 1995; Swanson and Mancini, 1996; Mazzoleni and Shultz, 1999). In established democracies the modernization of electioneering took place during several years having a partial adaptation, whereas new ones adopted it almost immediately and intact (Swanson, 2004).

According to Voltmer (2006) ‘Americanized’ campaigns suit the parties in emerging democracies since they lack effective communication departments. Several studies proved empirically that “Americanized” campaigning has been widely successful in new democracies (Espindola, 2006; Rawnsley, 2006). Moreover, Holtz-Bacha (2006) argues that new democracies show less resistance than old ones when adapting modern campaigning techniques. Thus, political advertising investigation is expected to prove that post-authoritarian countries have significant traces of “Americanization”, which is operationalized here as less focused in party identity, less issue oriented and targeting more the leader image.

From a theoretical perspective, Swanson and Mancini (1996) provided five characteristics of modern campaigns: a) personalization of politics, b) scientification of the political scene, c) detachments of parties from citizens, d) independent communication structure and e) making of the political landscape more spectacular. Although in lower levels, “Americanization” is expected also in the spots of established democracies because they experienced several social and political challenges (Gurevitch and Blummer, 2004). Scholars expressed their concerns about the detrimental effect of political marketing risking on turning politicians into “prisoners of that public opinion” (McNair, 199, p. 38).

A crucial concept in political advertising is the information they provide during a few seconds’ spot. The need for information is of paramount importance for citizens in transitional democracies (Voltmer, 2006). In her book “Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies” Voltmer (2006) also explains that after the fall of the regime in authoritarian countries, people face a high level of uncertainty whereas before they had high degree of politicization.

Voltmer (2006) points out that voters of transitional democracies might be extremely vulnerable to media messages and have a different reaction to the political messages compared to Western democracies, since the latter have a stable relationship between politics, media and citizens. This heterogeneous feedback toward political message juxtaposed with political marketing techniques potentially lead to distinctive features of political advertising. Therefore this study expects to find more information in political spots in emerging democracies.

Parties in new democracies face damaged party credibility from charges of corruption (Voltmer, 2006), thus political actors often try to avoid this reflection. The problem of corruption, could be a point of difference between two groups, in new democracies a major problem and in old ones a minor issue. Moreover, this study expects that the highly contested electoral campaigns (Espindola, 2006) and the conflictual nature of politics of new democracies (Linz and Stepan, 1996a), have an impact on political advertising, by making it more negative. Several researchers showed concerns about the increase in negative political spots, arguing that it discourages electorate turnout (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1997).

Democracy has a strong relationship with economy development (Diamand, Linz and Lipset, 1995) and as Lipset (1994) notes, the wealth of a country and its modernity are among the crucial preconditions for the stability of a democracy. Hence, post-authoritarian countries are expected to deal with basic issues like infrastructure, salaries, visa regime whereas Western developed democracies might be focused on issues involving further development such as emigration, reforms on education, health or tax system. Therefore, this study addresses also the difference between new and old democracies in the issues they focus. Economic development is connected further with the welfare of the citizens, issues followed by media and topics raised by politicians in their electoral spots.

### **Format of Political Advertising**

McNair (1999) argues that since the image and personality of a candidate can shape voting behaviour, so does political advertising. In order to analyze the political advertisement it is crucial to understand its categories and key features included in the codebook.

First, Devlin (1986, in McNair 1999, p. 106) envisages three categories for the association strategy: a) “Cinema verité” spots portray the candidate in real life in interaction with other people, b) “man-in-the-street” spots are used when endorsement for a politician comes from ordinary citizens, c) “testimonials” political ads show respected and famous personalities whom support the candidate. Another category is added by Jamieson (1992, in McNair 1999, p. 106) that is d) “neutral reporter” spot which invites the voters to make a judgement based on facts about a candidate or his opponent. These categories were inserted on the codebook created for this research and only the significant ones are shown on the results section.

Two of the most reputable scholars of political advertising, Holtz-Bacha and Kaid (1995), when studying spots in German elections, coded the political advertisements by their characteristics: a) for the dominant format (e.g., issue presentation, candidate statement), b) for the format of the production (e.g., studio presentation, testimonial) c) production technique (e.g., filmed outside), use of special effects and music. Results indicated that the parties were more images oriented and used more the format of candidate statement than presentation of issues.

What links their study to this one is that the spots of East Germany (with a previous dictatorial political culture) and the ones of West Germany (a democratic political culture) drew out differences in many aspects between them. Differences were noticed on how candidates were evaluated and political video spots comprehended, in two areas of Germany. The authors argued that the explanation could lay in the differences in political background.

### **Model of democracy influence in political advertising**

As the societies on the road to democracy are increasing there is a need for a clear path of comparison with established democratic systems in respect of political advertising. Based on the theories presented above this study aims to bring forward a model which integrates the main components of political communication ending up to political advertising. As elicited in the foregoing arguments, crucial factors which influence political advertising are different in rising democracies and consolidated ones creating the possibility to put the basis for theoretical models. The effect of democracy on other components of political establishment is better visualised in figure 2, developed by the author, which shows the ‘model of democracy influence on political advertising’ (D.I.P.A.). There are some boundaries that characterise this

model which can be applicable only when a) used in democratic systems b) during electoral campaigns and c) other components of the model interact with democracy and political advertising.

This model shows that the direct impact of democracy is on political culture, media and citizens. The effect is also vice-verse, affecting democracy consolidation or stability. The interaction between political culture, media and citizens consolidates and thus influences political communication. Moreover, the interaction of political communication with political marketing fosters political advertising.

Several studies proved that political advertising has a significant influence on citizens (Norris, 1999) whereas political spots are affected by citizens through marketing techniques and political communication system (Maarek, 1995). Further, through the message and the political language used in the political advertising, political culture is affected. In sum, this study argues that all components described in D.I.P.A. model, influence each other creating a pyramid from democracy to political advertising.

This model theorises that the democracy level affects all the other actors of this model including political advertising. This exploratory research does not intend to test every connection that this model presents but it rather examines the essential function of the top-bottom pyramid: to what extent democracy influences political advertising. In the future, other links which this study points out but does not develop can be further scrutinized. These “bridges” include the interaction between ‘political marketing – political culture’, ‘political marketing – media’ or ‘level of democracy – political marketing’.

The main question of this research is further explored in six different aspects of political advertising to measure it accurately. They probe attention on negative spots, issues, images, personalization of the spots, persuasion methods and videostyle. By investigating all these key elements of political commercials, each of them discussed in the theory section, I intend to give a full-argued answer to the main research question.

RQ1: Is there a difference between new and old democracies when using negative advertising?

RQ2: Are spots in new democracies more image-oriented than the ones in old democracies?

RQ3: Do the issues used in political advertising differ between new and old democracies?

RQ4: How new and old democracies persuade the voters through political advertising?

RQ5: Is the campaign more personalised in new democracies than in old ones?

RQ6: Do new and old democracies differ in videostyles?

## Method

The present study used content analysis to answer the research questions. This is one of the most applied methods to understand political advertising (Kaid and Holtz-Bacha, 2006). Using qualitative data this research can provide accurate results of the differences and similarities of political ads, which cannot be obtained by qualitative analyzes. In this study the data were analyzed in SPSS using chi square tests. Selection of the countries, parties, and sources were crucial on avoiding bias and other variable influence.



## Selection of countries

First, Albania and Kosovo were chosen because they can be considered beyond any doubt as new democracies but also because of my significant knowledge about their political campaigns. Although with different governments and flags, these two countries have the same language and similar culture and development. In this way the variable of cultural differences or geographical distance can be less influential in the outcome of political advertising as it would be if grouping Albania for example with Chile in new democracies. This study intended to take countries that are part of the same region and do not have extreme differences in national or political culture.

Albania started its democratic process in the beginning of 1990 and is still considered by European institutions as a new democracy in development (Bahiti and Shahini, 2010). As described also in the theoretical section, the political establishment was led in the last twenty years by politicians that had influence since the post-authoritarian regime, which might have affected the political culture.

Kosovo, the other Albanian region, actually the youngest country in the world, was ruled by Serbia until the war of 1999 and won its independence in 2008. Therefore, the political action is in the very first steps and its system is considered a fragile democracy (Holohan, 2005). Investigating Kosovo political advertising can be considered a unique case because it is one of the first studies on the first electoral campaigns in the history of this country. These two countries are not members of European Union (EU) and are in continuous monitoring from EU institutions as countries in developing steps.

Geographically close to these new democracies are two old ones: Italy and Greece. Although in the last years they faced significant economical (Greece) and media freedom problems (Italy), their democracy is considered consolidated (Papadopoulos, 1999). Italy began its democratic process after the Second World War whereas Greece in the middle of 1970's. Both these countries are part of the European Union meanwhile Italy is also part of G8, the top eight major industrialised democratic countries in the world (Hajnal, 2001).

Democracy has a symbolic meaning for ancient Greece and Italy (Rome) since it is the place where this system was born and later developed. All four countries have the same media system characteristics as described by Hallin and Mancini (2004), Polarized Pluralist or in other words the Mediterranean model. Albania, Kosovo, Italy and Greece appear highly fascinating to be observed in the perspective of new and old democracy having each of them its differences and unique elements.

## Sample

This research analyzed a total of 120 spots. There were several criteria for a spot to be selected. They must be official commercials published on the website of the sponsored party and shorter than four minutes. The sample contained 30 commercials from each country, which had been broadcasted in the elections of 2008-2009. This time frame was chosen to get the latest data of political advertising in these countries. One of the conditions was that half of spots had to be owned by incumbents and the other half from challengers in each country. This balance is used to avoid the bias that might come if the number of spots between incumbents and challengers would be different among two groups. The misbalance perhaps

would affect the negativity of spots, image and issues focus or other element of the commercials.

The political commercials were selected from the main official parties' website. The researcher counted the latest 15 commercials published in the incumbents' party website during the first the campaign in 2008-2009. If the first incumbent party had less than fifteen spots, the researcher selected other commercials from the second incumbent party (based on previous elections results) until the number fifteen spots was reached. The same procedure was followed for the challenger parties and for each country. This study does not focus on how many times or in which media channels these political videospots were broadcasted but just on how politicians in new and old democracies shaped their messages through political ads.

### **Coding**

The intercoder reliability was 0.92 calculated with Krippendorff's alpha. High agreement between coders has paramount importance when employing content analysis (Neuendorf, 2002). The codebook was created based on theories regarding to this topic and the on the key elements what this study wanted to investigate. This codebook and the table used in the result section were mostly influenced by Kaid and Johnston (2001). Several elements were recorded during coding process such as: the focus on issues or on images, which where the most stressed issues, which politicians applied more negative spots, appearance of leader, or spot's personalization by the candidate or party. Videostyle was another crucial aspect of the coding which analyzed the format of the spot, its music, and its background.

The category "tone" was divided in "positive", "negative" and "both". "Negative" ads were coded those spots which focused more on denigrating the opponent rather than putting values on the sponsor. "Positive" ads strengthen the image of the sponsor whereas with "both" were coded the spots which included assaults for the opponent and support for the sponsor candidate. Also with "direct attack" were coded the ads when the opponent was attacked directly by saying his name, surname, position or any other information that clearly shows who is the target. "Indirect attack" were coded there spots which did not have a precise target.

In addition, another important category in this study is the videostyle used in political spots. First, the "documentary" style is a format which describes a chronological story, usually the life of the candidate. The second format, "cinema verité" shows the leader meeting people. The "feature film" is a video production similar to a movie which has a storyboard. "Still images" spots are made of non-motion pictures. The fifth videostyle is "graphical" which includes all the spots that are made in its majority by graphical computer production. Next is the "man on the street" style, which shows ordinary people expressing their perception and thoughts about an issue or the candidate. And last is the "leader speaking" style in which the main candidate speaks to the camera or to the people.

### **Results**

RQ1: Is there a difference between new and old democracies when using negative advertising?

Albeit post-authoritarian countries theoretically are inclined to have a more intolerant and conflictual environment compared to old democracies they actually had more positive

videospots. In two out of ten commercials, new democracies candidates attacked their opponents. As shown in table 1, contrary to theoretical expectations, there are less negative advertisements in new democracies. Mixed messages, which were found in 10% of the commercials, contained attack toward the opponent and positive information for the sponsor. Seven out of ten political spots were used to improve the candidate's image and to bring positive feeling toward the sponsor.

On the other side, old democracies were slightly more negative in the political spots attacking in 28 % of the spots. More than one (13%) in ten commercial were mixed with negative and positive messages whereas 58% of the videospots were totally positive. In total, old democracy' political ads contained 8 % more negative messages than the ones in emerging democracies. For most researchers these results might sound surprising which show that old democracies do more conflictual campaigning using more negative tone in the political message. Despite the diversity noted above, the chi square test showed no significant difference between emerging and established democracies when negative advertisements are examined.

RQ2: Are spots in new democracy more image-oriented than the ones in old democracy?

The orientation toward image or issues has been one of the most studied areas in political advertising (Kaid and Johnston, 2001). Although populism and individualism are expected to be more influential in new democracies, these countries were less image oriented compared to developed democracies (table 2). 48 % of the commercials were focused on issues, both in new and old democracies. Some spots had mixed stressing both the image and the issue, an element observed more often in new democracies. Again data shows that new and old democracies do not change when using image and issues spots.

RQ3: Do the issues used in political advertising differ between new and old democracies?

The findings support the expectations based on theory that the differences in economy and country development influence political advertising. The chi square test showed significant difference between the two groups about the use of issues (table 3). New democracies heavily stressed on social problems in the political ads in 42% of them ( $X^2 = 6.541$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In developed democracies social issues were a second hand subject and were used in only 30 % of the spots.

Moreover the opposite situation is when talking about economics. Politicians in new democracies focused on economic issues in two out of ten commercials (21%) whereas campaigns in established ones used economical topics in 37% of the spots. This difference can be explained by the dissimilar contexts and priorities that these two groups have. Emerging democracies possibly have crucial needs for social service meanwhile developed democracies facing economical instabilities give their rational choice for economical issues like taxes, banks or salaries.

Each of the main issues were divided into smaller subjects to create a base for better understanding on the topics mostly used in political ads. As expected, new democracies are concerned about corruption making a significant difference when compared to old democracies ( $X^2 = 5.886$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The second topic where chi square found significance was the education ( $X^2 = 3.840$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). New democracies did focus more on the system of education often promising reforms and investments in this sector. The most significant difference was found in the topic of infrastructure ( $X^2 = 18.033$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ), such as building roads, schools, hospitals, and water supply systems (table 4). New

democracies focused significantly also in the employment ( $X^2 = 4.093$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and the visa issue ( $X^2 = 5.217$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). On the other side established democracies were more likely to change from new democracies when stressing their traditional values and history ( $X^2 = 3.927$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

RQ4: How new and old democracies persuade the voters through political advertising?

Table 5 shows that post-authoritarian democracies based their spots on past achievements ( $X^2 = 12.102$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and future promises ( $X^2 = 9.600$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .01$ ). New democracies consider information as an important element when creating a videospot. Results suggest that the new democracies commercials contain more detailed information when compared with old democracies ( $X^2 = 4.518$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ).

Emerging democracies use the information in order to offer voters more rational arguments. In addition chi square test showed that Albania and Kosovo were more rational in their spots ( $X^2 = 13.393$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ) compared to Italy and Greece which produced more emotional advertisements ( $X^2 = 12.063$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The information given in new democracies campaigns was further developed on offering solutions for the issues they raise. Albeit “solution” element is more often noticed in emerging democracies, the difference is not significant.

RQ5: Is the campaign more personalised in new democracies than in old ones?

“Modernization” or “Americanization” produces more personalized campaigns focusing on the candidate rather than on the party. As assumed in the theoretical section, post-authoritarian countries are more likely to adapt “Americanization” techniques due to fragile parties’ identity and a decline of party identification; therefore there is a tendency of personalization of the campaign by the leaders. This expectation is supported by the findings of this study.

First, new democracies focus on candidates rather than on parties. The leaders appear twice the amount of time compared to their peers in developed democratic systems. Despite old democracies having more image ads, the time they use for the leader appearance is lower than the one for spots in new democracies. This element confirms the expectation of more individualism and personalization of the campaign by the main candidates which is also a technique of “Americanization”.

Graphic in figure 3 shows that advertisements of old democracies emphasise more the role of the party. Chi square test confirm that the difference is highly significant ( $X^2 = 12.862$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ) when using image ads. Videospots in old democracies highlight both the image of the party and the candidate in the same commercial, thus creating more balance between them. The “double – image” is rarely used in post-authoritarian countries.

Leaders in new democracies appear almost in two out of three commercials (58%) and once each three seconds. Politicians in established democracies are present in one out of three commercials (35%), once each ten seconds, creating this way a significant difference ( $X^2 = 9.631$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Candidate’s names in new democracies spots are mentioned 23 % more than in old democracies.

Second, the party symbol, the logo, is applied more rarely in new democracies with a mean of 5, 5 seconds per spot. On the other hand old democracies use the party logo almost three times more often, with a mean of 14, 62 seconds per spot. Moreover the name of the party is

mentioned more often in old democracies with a significant change ( $X^2 = 17.778$ ,  $df = 5$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Emerging democracies avoid mentioning the name of the party in six commercials out of ten. Alternatively, old democracies emphasise the name in 61% of the political spots.

Third, politicians in both groups usually attacked the opponent directly by mentioning his or her name, or position. What personalizes the campaign is that the attack of new democracies was focused on the opponent candidate rather than in the opponent party, a significant change compared to old democracies spots ( $X^2 = 4.368$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Table 6 shows that old democracies use negative commercials to assault opposite parties, a method rarely applied by post-authoritarian politicians ( $X^2 = 7.703$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Italy and Greece attacked their opponents mostly on their issues rather than on their image ( $X^2 = 4.289$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ ). Moreover the spot assault is significantly different on the reason why is done. New democracies attack their opponents because of their characteristics ( $X^2 = 7.511$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .01$ ) whereas old ones attack because of opponents issues stand (table 7).

RQ6: Do these two groups differ in video style?

Personalization of the campaign can be clearly noticed also in the videostyle chosen for the political spots. The data from 120 commercials confirmed that the new and old democracies communicate differently with the public through political ad format ( $X^2 = 23.282$ ,  $df = 7$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Politicians in post-authoritarian countries used more the “leader speaking” style which emphasizes the role of the candidate by describing his or her qualities, experience or vision about different issues (table 8). “Leader speaking” was used in 38% of new democracy commercials whereas developed democracies applied this format just in 13% of the ads. The most applied style in Italian and Greek commercials were graphic advertisements overruling with 30%. This style was used in 12 % of Albanian and Kosovo political spots.

An interesting fact is that 5% of new democracy spots contained information about leaders’ life since birth, introducing them to the public. This format categorised as “documentary” had no single use in old democracy videostyle. In addition, new democracies used “man on the street”, ordinary people supporting the leader, in 13% of the political spots whereas old democracies just in 3% of them. The interesting division of ads in videostyle confirms the expectation that new democracies put much more stress on the role of the leader compared to old democracy by broadcasting ‘the leader talking to the people’.

Despite the different style between two groups of democracies they have the same trend on the musical style or its personalization. Figure 4 shows that the most used music is a sound repeated in most of the spots but not created specifically for the campaign. However both groups had musical products created just for the campaign but the difference was not significant.

An important element in creating a style of a commercial is its length. Political spots in Albania and Kosovo resulted shorter than the ones in Greece and Italy. New democracy countries had a mean of 41 seconds per spot whereas established ones have 63 seconds per spot or 54% longer. Nevertheless the chi square test showed that the difference is not significant. I argue here that new and old democracies differ significantly in the videostyle whereas in music personalisation and length of a spot the change is not scientifically relevant.

## DISCUSSION

This study examined the connection of democracy with political advertising by seeing the differences and similarities in new and old democracies. Results suggested that new democracy spots are more personalized by the leader weakening the role of the party during a political campaign. Hence new and old democracies changed significantly in many aspects such as issues, information they provide, leader appearance or videostyle they choose.

Actually, these findings created the first empirical data to support D.I.P.A model presented in the current article, which suggest a path of interaction of democracy with political advertising. Literature served as a base to create the expectations which connected the theory with the outcome of the quantitative results. The main surprising result not consistent with the theory was that the conflictual environment in new democracies did not generate more negative spots.

The “Americanization” of the campaign was seen more often in new democracies by personalizing every aspect of it. Politicians in emerging democracies were the point of reference in a majority of political spots. They mostly talked in person to the public during the commercials, described their lives to the voters, and showed their past achievements or future promises. Politicians in developing democracies tried to avoid the name and the image of the party within a spot. These findings suggest that new democracies are mostly focused on leaders and old ones on parties, based on the evolution of democracy as a crucial variable.

The development of a country along with democracy proved to be essential on influencing the issues used on political spots. Drawing upon D.I.P.A model political advertising can be also affected by the citizens and the problems they face. Hence, the significant difference noticed here can be explained by the difference that these countries have in economy and democracy progress. The implication of this research contributes to understand better contextual variables which influence political advertising. Albeit the present study can be used for further investigation on this area there are some limitations to be addressed. First the geographical selection of Balkan countries might differ in outcome from other parts of the world and thus the extent to which these findings can be generalised needs further confirmation. Second, the countries selected especially in the old democracies category have national characteristics that might affect the results.

In Greece, during the elections of 2009, the economic crisis was the headline of political language which might influence the issue focus. In Italy the personalization of the campaign by the actual Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi, might have increased the real use of image spots in established democracies, filling the gap expected from the theory. Third, advertisements were analysed only during two year elections in four countries. The extension of this time-frame in some years or decades might confirm or not, the main outcomes of this research. And last, this study explored only TV political spots therefore political advertising in posters, billboards, newspapers or radios would made wider the understanding of D.I.P.A model.

In conclusion, the notion of democracy influence on political advertising was drawn through the whole study and supported by the results. This is an important step toward further exploration of political spots in democracy. In the future several elements can be scrutinized such as the difference in language use between leaders, the use of populism, or the effects of voters in new and old democracies. This study aimed to open a new perspective on political

advertising and to bring forward the use of theoretical expectations as powerful tool for political consultants when campaigning in new or old democracies.

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## Apendix

Table 1.

*Negative and Advertisement in New and Old Democracies*

Type of spot	New Dem	Old Dem
	(N=60)	(N=60)
Negative	20%	28 %
Positive	70%	59 %
Mixed	10%	13 %
Total percentage	100%	100 %

Table 2.

*Image vs. Issues in New and Old Democracies*

Focus on	New Dem	Old Dem
	(N=60)	(N=60)
Image	37%	44 %
Issue	48%	48 %
Both	15%	8 %
Total percentage	100%	100 %

Table 3.

*Fields of Issues*

Focus on	New Dem	Old Dem
	(N= 90)	(N= 79)
Social issues *	38 Spots	24
Economical issues	19	29
Political issues	15	18
Other *	18	8

Note: A political spot can be focused in more than one issue.

\*  $p < .05$

Table 4.

*Issue Focus*

Style	New Dem	Old Dem
	(N=98)	(N=62)
Corruption *	8 Spots	1
Abuse of power	7	6
Salaries	4	5
Health	6	1
Education *	14	6
Taxes	4	8
Employment*	17	8
Foreign affairs	3	4
Environment	8	11

Infrastructure ***	20	2
Emigration	0	2
Visa *	5	0
Traditional Values *	2	8

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 5.  
*Focus of Image*

Focus on	New Dem (N= 65)	Old Dem (N=24)
Past achievements *	19	4
Experience	6	1
Abilities	4	2
Character	8	5
Future promises *	28	12

\*  $p < .05$

Table 6.  
*Target of Negative Spots*

Message target	New Dem (N=24)	Old Dem (N=43)
Opponent candidate*	13 Spots	10
Opponent party **	2	13
Opponent issue*	9	20

Note: Some spots were focused in more than one element.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$

Table 7.  
*The Purpose of Attack*

Message target	New Dem (N=33)	Old Dem (N=34)
Opponents characteristics**	9 Spots	3
Opponents issue	10	18
Opponents affiliation	3	1
Opponents performance	11	12

\*\*  $p < .01$

Table 8.  
*Videostyle*

Style	New Dem (N=60)	Old Dem (N=60)
Documentary	5 %	0%
Cinema verite	15%	22%
Feature film	7%	17%

Still images	3%	8%
Graphics	12%	30%
Men on the street	13%	3%
Leader speaking	38%	13%
Other	7%	7%-
<b>Total percentage</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100 %</b>

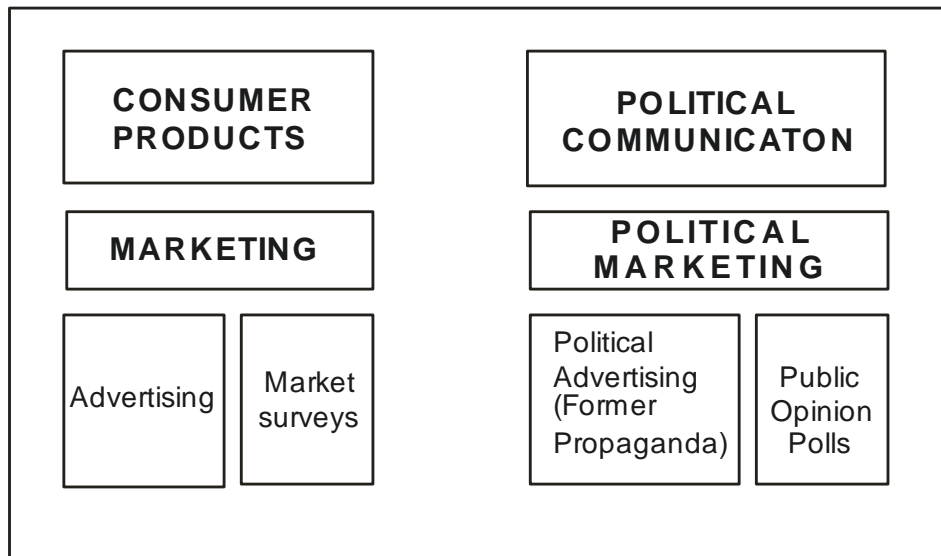


Fig 1. Commercial and political marketing: two parallel strategies. (Maarek, 1995)

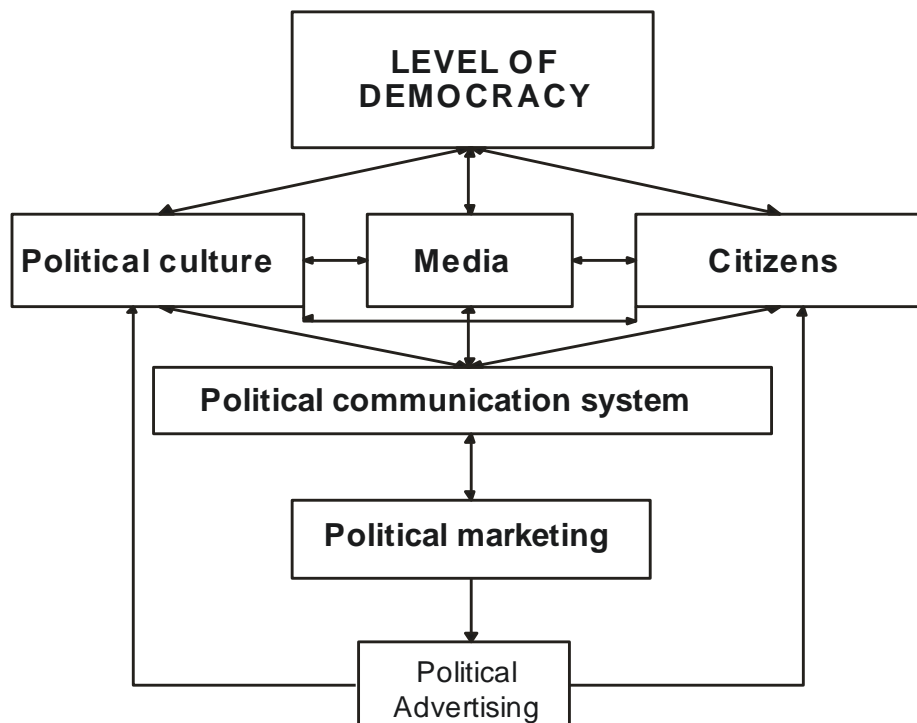


Fig 2. Model of Democracy Influence on Political Advertising

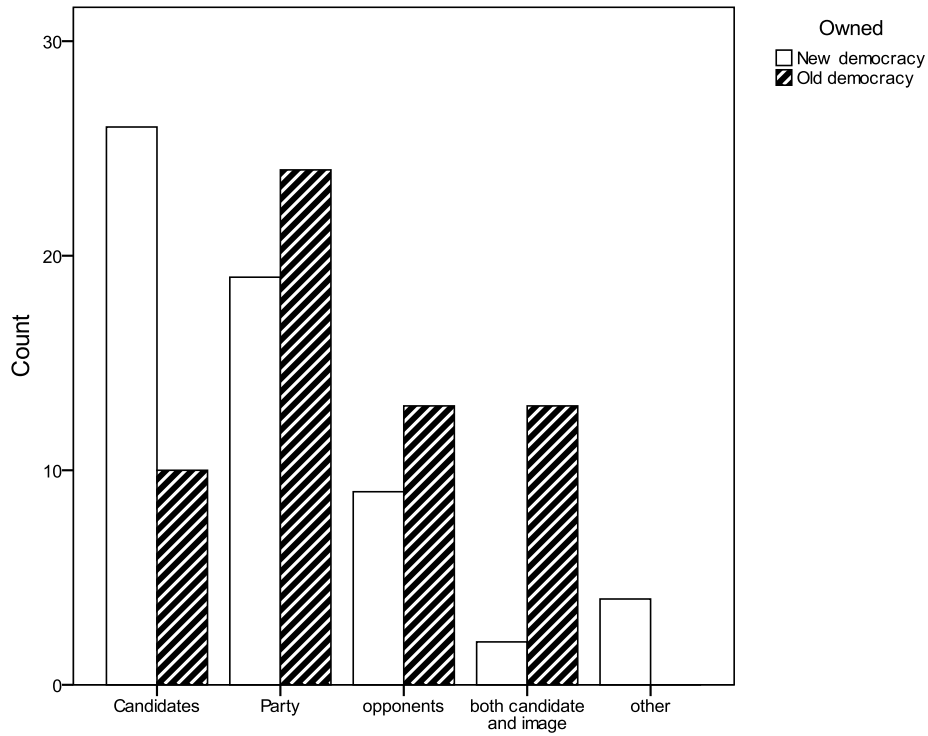


Figure 3: Focus of the image

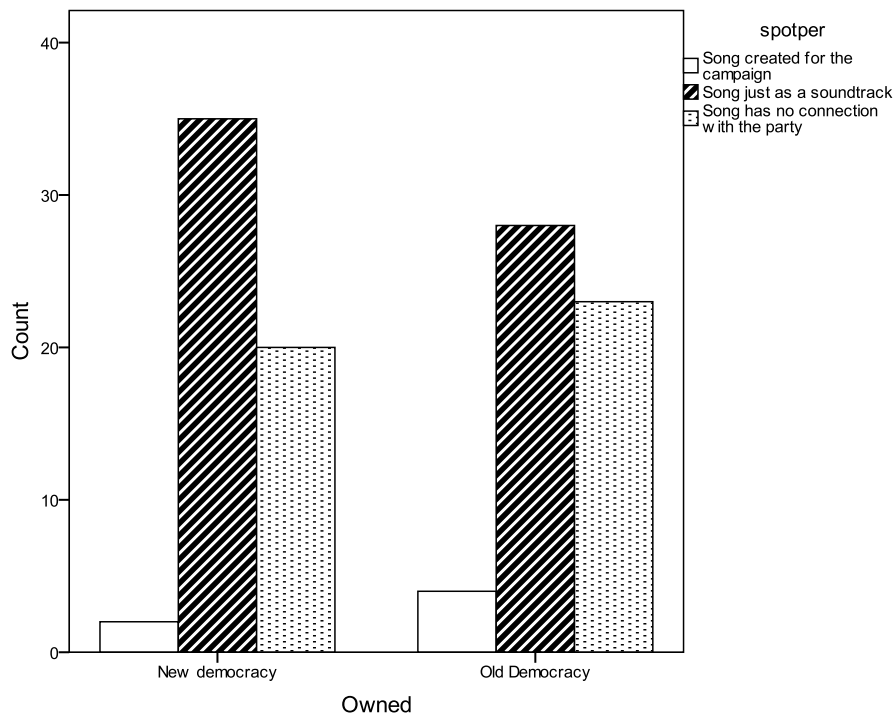


Figure 4: Personalisation of the music