

political communication

The Rhetoric of Greek Political Advertisements

Anastasia VENETI & Stamatis POULAKIDAKOS,
National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Introduction

Television is a crucial mediator in the relation of the politicians with the public (Diamond & Bates, 1992, p. 5). In this context, TV political advertising is integral of every political campaign. This specific usage of TV helps to create a TV-constituted political reality, being but one of the possible versions of the actual everyday political reality (Demertzis, 2002, pp. 210-222). The resulting communicational environment influences the wider field of politics, setting the notions of visibility and attention as the emerging priorities of the political scene. This results in establishing the media as a necessary, critical interface between politics and the citizenry- and since the media are suffused by an ascending commercial logic, this logic is being further inserted and embodied within the political sphere, stressing the communication element in politics.

The dynamic of political advertising is crucial for the candidates as it gives him/her an opportunity for complete control of the content and the form of the message they wish to convey to voters (Kaid & Davidson, 1986, pp. 1-2). Furthermore, political advertising techniques are nowadays so sophisticated that can serve various aims, such as information diffusion, increase candidate's publicity or oppose the rival candidate. Televised political advertising is based on codes and symbols to help audiences interpret the message. In his analysis of film, Nichols (1981) argued that ideology is present in the codes and symbols used in the film. Audiences are able to interpret these codes and images because they rely on how culture and their own experiences have taught them to "read" these images. The purpose of this paper is to examine the TV political advertisements as for their morphology and content. This analysis provides us with an understanding of the ways televised political advertising has changed and evolved over time.

With the use of the Videostyle technique, which was first outlined by Kaid and Davidson (1986), we analysed the TV political ads of the 5 biggest Greek political parties from the national elections of 2007 and 2009. Videostyle is a tri-component model according to which the "videostyle" of the

candidate is composed of the verbal content, the nonverbal content, and the film/video production techniques used in political ads. According to Kaid and Davidson (1986) "*the techniques, strategies, narratives, and symbols that a candidate decides to use in television advertising make up a candidate's "videostyle"*" (p. 13). In a way, this concept comes close to the concept of "presentation of self" that Goffman (1959) presented in his study of interpersonal communication. The verbal content element of videostyle focuses on the semantic characteristics of the candidate's message. Both sound and printed messages are important elements of the communication strategy. Most commonly, verbal content in an ad is characterized as issue versus image, negative versus positive, explicit or implicit values of the candidate e.t.c. Nonverbal content basically provides us with "a frame of reference for interpreting what is said verbally" (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1989, p. 9). All of the nonverbal categories of communication are important, and in politics some are used intentionally to set the stage for what will be said. Sometimes, nonverbal content conveys things that verbal elements cannot (Burgoon, Buller, & Woodall, 1989).

Last but not least, the production component of Videostyle helps us evaluate how the candidate and its consultants structure and construct both messages and images for voters. The camera, the production techniques are all important in the construction of the message. According to Millerson (1972), the rhetoric of production can be as persuasive and stimulating to the imagination as written persuasion. Environmental factors such as music, lighting and other interact with the language to provide an understanding of the situation presented (Knapp & Hall, 1992). Therefore, it is a combination of factors used in television and film production that guides the viewer through the narrative of a film, or a political ad. "*A premise about videostyle as a way of analyzing political ads is that the use of certain production techniques is not haphazard or accidental but rather designed with a particular effect or message in mind*" (Kaid & Davidson, 1986, p. 30).

Finally, what makes the use of the Videostyle typology important is the fact that its consistent use by numerous researchers has made it possible to make comparisons across

various dimensions and to see how production styles of ads have changed, how negative advertising has evolved, and how rhetorical strategies have been altered. Moreover, it allows us a cross country analysis, talking into consideration the changes that have been made on the typology in order to meet the needs of each political culture.

Methodology

We conducted a content analysis of all televised political ads from the 2007 and 2009 Greek general elections. The total number of ads analyzed was 97 (N=97). We used content analysis as our method of analyzing these 97 political spots. The unit of analysis was the individual political spot. The ads obtained for content analysis covered the campaigns of the five most important political parties: the conservative party of New Democracy, the socialist party of PASOK, the communist party KKE, the left wing SYRIZA (coalition of the radical left), and the right wing nationalist LAOS (People's Orthodox Alarm). The spots were analysed using the programme SPSS 17. The credibility of the data input by the two coders was tested using the North, Holsti, Zaninovich and Zinnes coders' reliability test $R = 2(C1, C2) / C1 + C2$, having as minimum level of credibility 70%.

To apply the videostyle concept to the political ads, a written coding frame and codebook were developed to represent various aspects of the verbal, nonverbal, and television production components of videostyle. The coding categories included are based on the Videostyle typology. Nonetheless, they have been refined in order to reflect the diversities of the Greek political culture.

A copy of the codesheet is contained in the Appendix?. What follows is a short review of the categories applied for the purposes of this research. In the verbal content category, we have used the following content components:

Primarily is the issue or image focus of the spot. During the first studies on political advertisement, there was no distinction between issue or image spots. That was mainly because at that time, political advertisements were basically issue focus while the image constituted an additional element. Product of time and with the development of technology, the image acquired a particularly powerful presence in political advertisements. The change towards this new tactic was related with a tendency of imitation of the American techniques, but mainly with a widespread opinion that supported that the voters comprehend more easily the image spots rather than the issue ones (Papathanasopoulos, 1997, p. 178).

In their majority, issue ads are related either with the presentation of policies in various issues such as foreign policy, welfare state etc. With the use of thematic advertisements, the parties can target specific population groups. According to Samara's (2003) findings, "*the issues presented are basi-*

cally de-ideologised" (p.78). Appeals to such issues do not originate from a political ideology, rather from the media and the party's agenda setting.

On the other hand, image ads are not limited in representations of candidates' characteristics. They often project the history of the party, its work as well as the picture of its charismatic leader. In lots of cases, the picture of the leader of the party functions as its representative. This personification becomes in cases where the leader is considered a "powerful weapon" for the party, so that it builds its communication round this person. Contrary to the American candidate focus system, in the Greek party focus system dominates the party. Nevertheless, there is a decreasing tendency of the focus on the party as the image of the leader functions metonymically as for the image of party (Diamadopoulos, 1993; Haralabis, 1989; Metaxas, 2008).

Moreover, there are components which emphasize on the focus of the content of the spot, such as: focus of the spot, which is either candidate positive or opponent negative. If attacks were made in the ads, the ads were coded for the purpose of the attack and for the techniques used in making the attack. Another component, the dominant content of spot is used in order to examine more closely the spots that did not focus on candidate images, and therefore grouped according to whether they stressed partisanship issues e.t.c, components related to the thematic categories that are stressed in the spots as well as to the virtues of the political leaders.

In addition, there are those components which stress on the focus and the orientation of the negative spots. What is a common ground here is that usually those that use more the aggressive strategy are those who claim for the power, contrary to those that possess it and wish to maintain it (Trent, 1995). The negative ad aims mainly at the sentimental influence of the viewer-voter. It sometimes aims to create feelings of fear, so that it deters the voter to select the particular candidate. The use of fear is drawn so that it mobilises phobic reflexes of the voter for the negative repercussions in case the opponent wins.

Another important category of verbal components is related to the rhetoric and the discourse used in the spot. As far as the rhetoric is concerned, there are six basic categories that have been developed in order to analyse the TV political advertisements: Hortative discourse which urges the viewers towards specific behaviours, legal discourse which is the formal language that pays respect to the laws and the state, the bureaucratic/technical discourse which is used to present detailed plans, the negotiative/ clientelism discourse which is direct or indirect reference to the promises made to specific target groups. Finally, there is the emotional /sentimental discourse which aims to arouse the sentiments and the informational discourse which informs the viewer of the candidate's policies. Research of former elections has demonstrated the protagonistic role of informational, hortative and emotional discourse (Samaras 2003).

Finally, the types of appeals or evidence were identified according to Aristotle's traditional categorization of types of proof: *logos*, *pathos*, or *ethos* (or logical, emotional, or ethical) (Iliou, 2002). Logical appeals use facts to make the ad's point, including the possible use of statistics, arguments and examples. Emotional evidence includes the use of language and images meant to evoke feelings or emotions such as happiness, pride, patriotism, or anger. Ethical appeals or source credibility relies on good character to make its appeals, including the qualifications of the candidate or of someone speaking on behalf of the candidate. As Samaras (2003) showed in previous elections in Greece, there was a prevalence of the emotional appeal of the spots.

In the nonverbal content categories, we included components such as: the candidate's appearance (if a certain candidate does appear in the ad), the overall (of both the candidate and other people taking part in the spot) eye contact, facial expression of all participants, body movement of participants, fluency, rate of speech, pitch, and dress. Finally, all of the advertisements were coded for the dominant speaker in the ad, indicating whether the candidate or someone else was the major person delivering the message. The increasing use of image ads is related to the elaborateness in the application of this non verbal content as well as to the sophisticated new technology of production techniques. Nowadays, the pictures that are created are so much elaborate and persuasive that they decisively organize our experiences and our comprehension. We now produce spectacular and stimulating pictures that can sell equally well a product and a public person (Dyer, 1982, p.95; Ramone, 2001, p. 34-39). Advertisements present images that resemble reality, offering spectacular delusions. Furthermore, with the use of special effects, they extract viewers' attention. In general, the voter-viewer creates images in his/her brain even if s/he is exposed in the automatic reports. These images are produced by the interaction of the messages that the viewer receives along with his own process of consumption of the message.

Finally, the television production content categories included the presence of music in the ads and the presence of various techniques of production such as cinema verité, candidate head-on, and special production or animation. The ads were also coded in terms of the staging and the dominant camera angle used. The analysis of the format of the spot was based on the following categories: documentary, video clip/music video, testimonial: they often constitute a convincing form of ethical proof, particularly when done by a respected or famous individual, "man-on-the-street" spot in which ordinary citizens appear to give spontaneous endorsements either in favor of the candidate or against the opponent, introspection: a candidate reflects on a problem, issue, character concern, or other campaign topic, question and answer/confrontation, opposition focused and issue dramatization: Issue dramatizations tell a story that points up a candidate's or opponent's position on an issue concern.

Our main research question stemming from the theoretical background we presented is: Do the main verbal, non-verbal and production characteristics of political advertisements of the 2007 & 2009 elections differ depending on the election period and the political party implementing them in its advertising campaign? This research question leads us in making several work hypotheses, that will need to be tested in order to answer our main research question. First we expect that subjects highlighted by the spots come from the media agenda setting, as demonstrated by Samaras (2003). In addition, because of the increasing importance of the party leaders for the Greek political reality, we assume that parties "build" their image around their leader more in the 2009 elections, than the 2007 ones. Regarding negativity and positivity of the spots, we attest that the negative ads will be the ones of the government's opposition parties. As regards the rhetoric of spots, we suppose that emotional, informational and hortative discourse to be more often used than technical and legal ones. As far as the appeal is concerned we expect a prevalence of emotional appeal over logical and ethical ones. Finally, regarding production characteristics, we expect that the parties will be using various techniques (music, cinema techniques, and computer graphics) in order to promote their messages more easily and make the spots more pleasant to the viewer.

Presentation of Results

a) The elections level

As we discussed before, the current research implements the videostyle analysis of political ads (having modified it in order to fit in a better way to the Greek political reality) in order to examine their characteristics in terms of content and structure, both in the more general level of television political advertising in Greece, and as regards similarities or differences stemming out of the ads within the parties' communication strategies between the 2007 and 2009 general elections. We should note here that the majority of television ads come from the two biggest parties in Greece, New Democracy and PASOK, having together 68 out of the total of 97 ads. In addition, we have to stress out that, because of the limitations of the current paper in terms of its length we present the most important- in our opinion- results of our research and not all of the characteristics that were included in our coding protocol.

Beginning with the comparative characteristics of the elections (independently of specific political parties) one can observe that in both election periods the majority of ads was oriented towards a presentation of a specific issue, a certain thematic that engages society, rather than the presentation of a more general image of a certain party or candidate (58.5% and 65.9% of ads in each election period, see Appendix B, Table 1).

An important difference between 2007 and 2009 political ads seems to be the emphasis on the party rather than the

party leader. From the data analysis we conducted, the cross tabulation of the elections to the identity of the political spot, gave us a statistically significant relationship ($p < .05$), meaning that the recent elections (of 2009) appear to have brought a significant change in the way a single spot emphasizes either on the party or on specific candidate. In 2009 spots the focus on political party has overwhelmed the emphasis on the candidate (75% against 22.7%), whereas in 2007 spots their percentages are rather balanced (45.3% and 47.2% in favour of the candidate), a fact that makes us reject our second work hypothesis, on the increasing relying of the political spots on the party leaders (see Appendix B, Table 2).

Another important element regarding the discourse and the mechanisms of persuasion of the political ad, is the logical, emotional or ethical appeal used by the spot. Emotional appeal appears to dominate over the other two categories in both elections (57% and 58.2%), followed by the logical appeal, which is notably increased in the 2009 elections (see Appendix B, Table 3). This finding confirms our working hypothesis on the prevalence of emotional appeal in political spots.

Another aspect of the ads, which is worth commenting on, is their subject orientation. That is, the issues they promote the problems they appear to comment on. We encoded 20 different content categories (see Appendix A for details), which reflect the content of Greek political discourse, as they constitute the main issues politician have to deal with in Greece. In this case too, there were statistically significant differences (p value $< .05$) between the two electoral periods. Whereas in 2007 civil rights (10.5%) and unemployment (9.5%) appeared to be the most frequently mentioned “problems” of reality, in 2009 ads, the state’s economic deficit (12.4%) and the financial issues in general (increase of income (9.5%), taxes (9.5%), reform of the welfare state (10.9%)) have taken over appearing as the most common ones, a development justified by the emergence and promotion by the media of the economic recession since the end of 2008 (see Appendix B, Figure 1). This result confirms our first working hypothesis.

To end with the comparison of the general characteristics of spots between the two electoral periods, we will refer to the format of the spot. In the 2007 general elections the most common category of spots was the opposition focused ones (34%), followed by the video clip format (22.6%). Even though this trend is turned completely upside down in the 2009 elections, video clips outdo opposition focused ads with 43.2% compared to 20.5% (see Appendix B, Table 4), our statistical test doesn’t show any significant relationship between the election period and the spot format.

b) The parties level

Coming to the parties’ level of analysis, in order to track significant trends in their communication strategies, we will start from the positive or negative focus of the spot. Within

this rationale one can observe an orientation towards positive spots- or at least spots with positive elements- for all parties in 2009 ads, with the exception of New Democracy (further on referred to as ND), which moved towards the opposite direction. Therefore our statistical analysis demonstrates a significant relationship between the parties and the focus of their spots (p value $< .05$). The decision of ND to adopt a more negative rhetoric in the spots for 2009 elections, as compared to the ones of 2007, even though in both elections was the government party, comes in direct contrast to the one of PASOK (the other big party), which follows the opposite trend. The paradox of the government adopting an “oppositional” (and thus more negative) discourse through its spots, and the opposition to adopt a “governmental” approach in presenting its ideas, comes as a result of the political climate of the period before the 2009 general elections. The government of ND appeared to be in a constant crisis, having lost the European elections of June, whereas the gallups showed a constant lead of PASOK between the voters. Therefore, the government party decided to “act” as opposition and tried to deconstruct the promises of the- at that time- opposition party (for details see Appendix B, Figure 2). A fact that makes us reject our hypothesis on the negative focus of political ads of those who seek to claim government.

In addition, as far as the focus of negativism is concerned, the trends observed differ between the parties (statistically significant relationship). We observe that the two big parties (ND, PASOK) whenever they adopt negativism, they use it to “hit” another party, which practically means to hit each other. In this way they try to achieve two aims, a direct and a more indirect one. First and most obvious, is the deconstruction of their main opponent’s arguments, and second- and less obvious- is the depreciation of the smaller parliamentary parties (KKE, SYRIZA, LAOS), by seeking to create a polarization within the citizens-voters. On the other hand smaller parties, when they prefer negativism in their spots, they either “hit” directly the two big parties, or they criticize all other parliamentary parties (a rationale followed by the communist party KKE in 2009 pre-electoral period) (for more details see Appendix B, Figure 3).

Another important characteristic of the political discourse and its implication through political spots is the rhetoric of the spot. The categories used in our case are hortative, legal, technical/bureaucratic, negotiative, emotional and informational. Emotional, informational and hortative rhetorics are the conquering characteristics in the spots we examined, followed by negotiative and legal rhetorics. ND in 2007 appears to “prefer” negotiative rhetorics (“what we gave people as government”, 32.5%) followed by informational rhetorics, giving data on various issues confronted by its government (27.5%). The same party in 2009 seems to ground its discourse almost equally on hortative, emotional and informational discourse (25.9%, 29.6% and 29.6%).

PASOK from the conquer of emotional rhetorics in 2007 (40.4%), chooses a more balanced between hortative, emotional and informational discourse in 2009 (22.9%, 31.4% and 31.4%), a fact that can be justified by its dynamic demonstrated through its victory in the summer 2009 European elections and the gallups conducted until 15 days before the October 2009 general elections. Within the smaller parties we can observe the – in general – dominance of emotional and hortative rhetorics in 2007 elections (50% both for KKE, 37.5% both for SYRIZA, 44.4% and 22.2% for LAOS), a situation slightly changed, because of the change of rationale in SYRIZA ads, which moved towards technical and informational rhetorics (22.2% and 27.8%) (for more details see Appendix B, Figure 4).

The Greek political system is party-central, meaning that the major political actors are political parties. Within these parties, and towards the promotion of their ideas, of equal importance are their leaders, who act in many cases as main carriers and promoters of their parties' ideologies and programmes. The importance of political leaders varies also, because of the ideological orientation of the political party. For example the communist party- because of its ideology- doesn't promote its general secretary. Through our analysis we examine the role of political leaders within the political spots in two different levels, the one of their physical appearance and the one of the description by other persons or words in the spot of certain virtues they incorporate. From our table (see Appendix, Figure 5) we can see that ND draws more heavily – compared to other parties – on the virtues of its leader in terms of presenting his virtues. As a matter of fact in the recent 2009 elections, the total binding of ND's leader name (Kostas Karamanlis) to the party took place, by the placing of the name of the leader right above the logo of the party in the end of almost every political spot. Additionally, PASOK seems to adhere more on its leader (George Papandreou) to build its image throughout the 2009 campaign spots, than in 2007. LAOS appears to bet steadily on the image of its leader, while SYRIZA, because of intra-party problems, didn't support rhetorically its leader (or to be more accurate, its head in the recent elections).

As far as the physical appearance of the party leaders in the political spots is concerned (see Appendix, Figure 6), political parties don't seem to bet that much on a television appearance of their leaders through the spots, not because they don't in general bet on their leaders image, but mostly because they utilize them in different ways (appearances in debates, live appearances and contact with citizens, interviews). In this sense ND leader appears only one time in 2007 and four times in 2009 commercials, though his virtues are mentioned quite often in the party's spots. Therefore our working hypothesis on the promotion of party leaders through the political spots is being confirmed on one hand (the presentation of virtues of the leader), but rejected on the other (the physical appearance of the leader in the spot).

Finally, we will test our working hypothesis on production techniques, music, computer graphics, cinema techniques, which are used both to aesthetically improve the spot and promote its messages in a more efficient way. As we can see in Figure 7 (Appendix B), political parties make use of special techniques to “escort” their messages. Most popular appear to be music and computer graphics, followed by still images and in more rare occasions by other cinema techniques (montage, super-imposition etc.)

Conclusion

Concluding, we could argue that using the Videostyle analysis of television political ads we tried to build an overview of the communication techniques followed by the spots of political parties in the last two Greek general elections (2007 and 2009).

On the electoral level of analysis, the most important findings are as follows:

- There is an important difference concerning the emphasis of the identity of the political spot. In 2009 spots the focus on political party has overwhelmed the emphasis on the candidate whereas in 2007 spots their percentages are rather balanced.
- In both electoral periods, emotional appeal appears to dominate, followed by the logical appeal, which is increased in the 2009 elections.
- The subject orientation of the spots is significantly different in the two electoral periods. Having been influenced by the economic crisis fixation of the media, the 2009 spots focus on the economic recession, whereas, in 2007, there seemed to be a balance between economic-oriented and social-oriented spots.

By unfolding the communication strategies of the political parties, we have noted significant trends on the party level of analysis. To begin with, the decision of ND (governing party until the elections of 2009) to adopt a rather negative rhetoric in the spots of 2009, whereas PASOK (the opposition party) followed the opposite trend. This “paradox” of the government adopting an “oppositional” discourse, and the opposition to adopt a “governmental” approach in presenting its ideas, comes as a result of the political climate of the period before the 2009 general elections. In this context, we can also examine the preference of the two big parties in certain types of discourse. ND, in its attempt to deconstruct the promises of the – at that time – opposition party PASOK, adopted a negotiative rhetoric followed by informational rhetoric. PASOK, preferring emotional rhetorics in 2007, chooses a more balanced strategy using hortative, emotional and informational discourse in 2009. Within the smaller parties, there is a dominance of emotional and hortative rhetorics in 2007 and 2009 elections. This was slightly changed for SYRIZA in 2009, which moved towards technical and informational rhetorics.

Last but not least, it is important to mention that both ND and PASOK relied heavily, as far as their campaigns were concerned, on the virtues of their leaders. Though, their physical appearance on the spots was minimal, ND binds its spots with its leader's name, by the placing of the name of the leader right above the logo of the party in the end of almost every political spot, while PASOK was based on its leader to communicate its renovated image.

Of course, many more things need to be presented, such as specific non-verbal characteristics of the spots (dominant speaker, setting of spot, dress of the candidates taking part), or specific production characteristics (length, production style, camera angles), which because of the limitations of the current paper could not be analyzed, even though they were examined.

Dr. Anastasia VENETI, Department of Mass Media & Communication Studies, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

Stamatis POULAKIDAKOS, Research Fellow, Department of Mass Media & Communication Studies, National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

E-mail: anastasia_veneti@yahoo.com

Abstract

The trend of present-day politics is towards its "aestheticization". Advertising is the most visible "tool" of popular political communication and television is its key "prophet". Hence, modern political communication employs the potentialities of TV in order to achieve its objectives in a highly effective manner.

Nowadays, the TV political advertisement has an undisputable role both in the electoral outcome and as a mediator between the political parties and the voters. The aim of this paper is to contribute further on the discussion regarding the function, the content and the morphology of the TV political advertisement.

Based on the tri-component model of Kaid and Davidson (1986) "Videostyle", the authors have conducted a survey on TV political advertisements of the Greek General Elections of 2007 and 2009. By using content analysis based on a coding frame, adapted to the above mentioned typology, we attempted to examine TV political ads as for their morphology and content as well as to trace current trends and changes that have occurred in the field of political communication.

Keywords

Political advertisement, Greek general elections, videostyle, content analysis

Résumé

La tendance de la politique actuelle est vers d'une « aestheticization ». La publicité est l' "outil" le plus évident de la communication politique populaire dont la télévision est son « principal prophète ». Par conséquent, la communication politique moderne utilise le potentiel de la TV afin d'atteindre ses objectifs d'une façon efficace.

De nos jours, la publicité politique télévisée a un rôle indisputable non seulement dans les résultats électoraux mais aussi comme médiateur entre les parties politiques et les électeurs. Le but de ce document est de contribuer à la discussion concernant la fonction, le contenu et la morphologie de la publicité politique télévisée.

Basé sur le modèle tri-composant de Kaid et Davidson (1986) « Videostyle », les auteurs ont mené une recherche sur les publicités politiques télévisées des élections générales grecques de 2007 et de 2009. En employant l'analyse du contenu basée sur un ensemble de codage, adapté à la typologie mentionnée ci-dessus, nous avons essayé d'examiner les publicités politiques télévisées par rapport à leur morphologie et leur contenu et de tracer les tendances et les changements qui se sont apparus dans le domaine de la communication politique.

Mots-clés

Publicité politique, élections générales grecques, videostyle, analyse du contenu.

Bibliography

Burgoon, J. K., Buller, D. B., & Woodall, W. Gill (1989). *Nonverbal communication: The unspoken dialogue*. New York: Harper & Row.

Demertzis, N. (2002). *Political communication. Risk, publicity and the internet*. Athens: Papazisis.

Diamadopoulos, Th. (1993). *The party phenomenon*. Athens: Papazisis.

Diamond, E. & Bates, S. (1992). *The spot: the rise of political advertising on TV*. The MIT Press.

Dyer, G. (1982). *Advertising as communication*. Athens: Patakis.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Haralabis, D. (1989). *Cliental relations and populism. The extra-institutional consent in the Greek political system*. Athens: Exadas.

Iliou, F. I. (2002). *Aristotle's Rhetoric*. Athens: Kedros.

Kaid, L.L., & Davidson, D.K. (1986). *Elements of videostyle*. In L.L. Kaid, D. Nimmo (Ed.), *New perspectives on political advertising* (pp. 184-209). Illinois: Southern Illinois University.

Kaid, L.L., & Johnston, A. (1991). *Videostyle in presidential campaigns: Style and content of televised political advertising*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

Knapp, M. L., & Hall, J. A. (1992). *Nonverbal communication in human interaction* (3rd ed.). New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.

Kodiadis (Ed.), *Is there a crisis of the Greek political system?*, (pp. 45-51). Athens: Papazisis.

Metaxas, A.I.D. (2008). Changes of power in the Greek political system. In X. Millerson, G. (1972). *The technique of television production*. New York: Hastings House Publishers.

Nichols, B. (1981). *Ideology and the image: Social representation in the cinema and other media*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Papathanasopoulos, S. (1997). *The power of TV*. Athens: Kastaniotis.

Ramone, I. (2001). *Silent propaganda. Masses, television, cinema*. Athens: Polis

Samaras, Th. (2003). *TV political advertisement*. Athens: IOM.

Trent, J.S., & Friedenber, R. V. (1995). *Political campaign communication*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.

APPENDIX A

Codesheet

Verbal components

Type of Spot

Image

Issue

Focus of spot

Candidate-positive

Opponent negative

Negativity focus

Against specific politician

Against specific party

Against two biggest parties

Against all parties

Without specific target

Negativity orientation

Attack on the opponent's personality

Attack on the opponent's views

Attack on the opponent's consociations

Focus on the opponent's qualifications

Focus on the opponent's actions

Negative reference to party identity

Attack on opponent party

Emphasis of identity of political spot

Emphasis on the party

Emphasis on the party identity of the candidate

Emphasis on the candidate

Rhetorics

Hortative discourse

Legal discourse

Bureaucratical/technical discourse:

Negotiative/ Πελαταιακή discourse:

Emotional / Sentimental discourse:

Informational discourse:

Dominant Contents of Spot:

Partisanship

Candidate or party Issue Concern

Vague Policy Preference

Specific Policy Proposal

Personal Characteristics of Candidate

Appeals to Groups

Thematic categories presented in the spot

Int'l/foreign affairs

Military/defense spending

Unemployment

Deficit/balance budget

Crime

Concern for children

Expensiveness

Other social policies

Environmental concerns

Health care

Probs. with immigrants

Taxes

Welfare Reform

Education

Civil rights/affirm. action

Infrastructure

Agriculture

Virtues of political leader

Honesty/Integrity

Toughness/Strength

Warmth/Compassion

Competency

Performance/Success

Sincerity

Presence of Appeals

Logical

Emotional

Ethical/Source Credibility

Non-verbal components

Appearance

Appearance of own candidate

Appearance of opponent

Appearance of both

No one appears

Dominant Speaker

Candidate

Government Official
 Anonymous Announcer
 Non-government Celebrity
 Spouse or Family Member
 Combination or Other
Candidate or opponent Sound
 Sound-on/Candidate
 Sound-over/Candidate
 Sound-on/ opponent
 Sound over/opponent
Setting of Spot
 Formal Indoors
 Informal Indoors
 Formal Outdoors
 Informal Outdoors
 Combination
 Not Applicable
Candidate or other participant Dress
 Formal
 Casual
 Varied

Facial Expression of candidate or participants

Smiling
 Attentive/Serious
 Other

Eye Contact with Viewer

Almost Always
 Sometimes
 Almost Never

Body Movement of Candidate or participants

Never
 Moderate
 Frequent

Candidate Speaking Rate

Slow
 Moderate
 Fast

Candidate Voice Pitch

Monotone
 Pitch Variety

Production components

Length of Spot

15-30 Seconds
 60 Seconds
 2-5 Minutes

Format of Spot

Documentary Style
 Video Clip/Music Video
 Testimonial
 Introspection
 Issue Statement
 Opposition Focused
 Issue Dramatization
 Quest/Answer/Confrontation
 Other

Production Style of Spot

Cinema Verité is designed to provide the viewer with a “slice of life,” to appear to portray a realistic and naturally occurring event as it is happening

Slides w/Print/Voice-Over
 Candidate Head-On
 Other Speaker Head-On
 Animation or Special Prod.
 Combination

Presence of Music

Computer Graphics
 Slow Motion
 Fast Motion
 Reverse Motion
 Freeze-Frame
 Split Screen
 Superimposition
 Montage
 Stop Motion
 High Angle
 Straight-On
 Low Angle
 Movement/Combination
 Tight (Head and Shoulders)
 Medium (Waist Up)
 Long (Full Length)
 Combination

**APPENDIX B
 TABLES & FIGURES**

Table 1

Type of spot depending on election period

		Type of spot			Total
		Image	Issue	Both	
Elections	2007 general elections	18 34,0%	31 58,5%	4 7,5%	53 100,0%
	2009 general elections	15 34,1%	29 65,9%	0 ,0%	44 100,0%
Total		33 34,0%	60 61,9%	4 4,1%	97 100,0%

Table 2
Identity of spot depending on election period

		Identity of political spot				Total
		Emphasis on party	Emphasis on political identity of candidate	Emphasis on candidate	Not applicable	
Elections	2007 general elections	24 45,3%	1 1,9%	25 47,2%	3 5,7%	53 100,0%
	2009 general elections	33 75,0%	0 ,0%	10 22,7%	1 2,3%	44 100,0%
Total		57 58,8%	1 1,0%	35 36,1%	4 4,1%	97 100,0%

Table 3
Type of appeal of spot depending on election period

		Logical, emotional or ethical appeal ^a			Total
		Logical appeal	Emotional appeal	Ethical appeal	
Elections	2007 general elections	20 25,3%	45 57,0%	14 17,7%	79
	2009 general elections	22 40,0%	32 58,2%	1 1,8%	55
Total		42	77	15	134

Figure 1

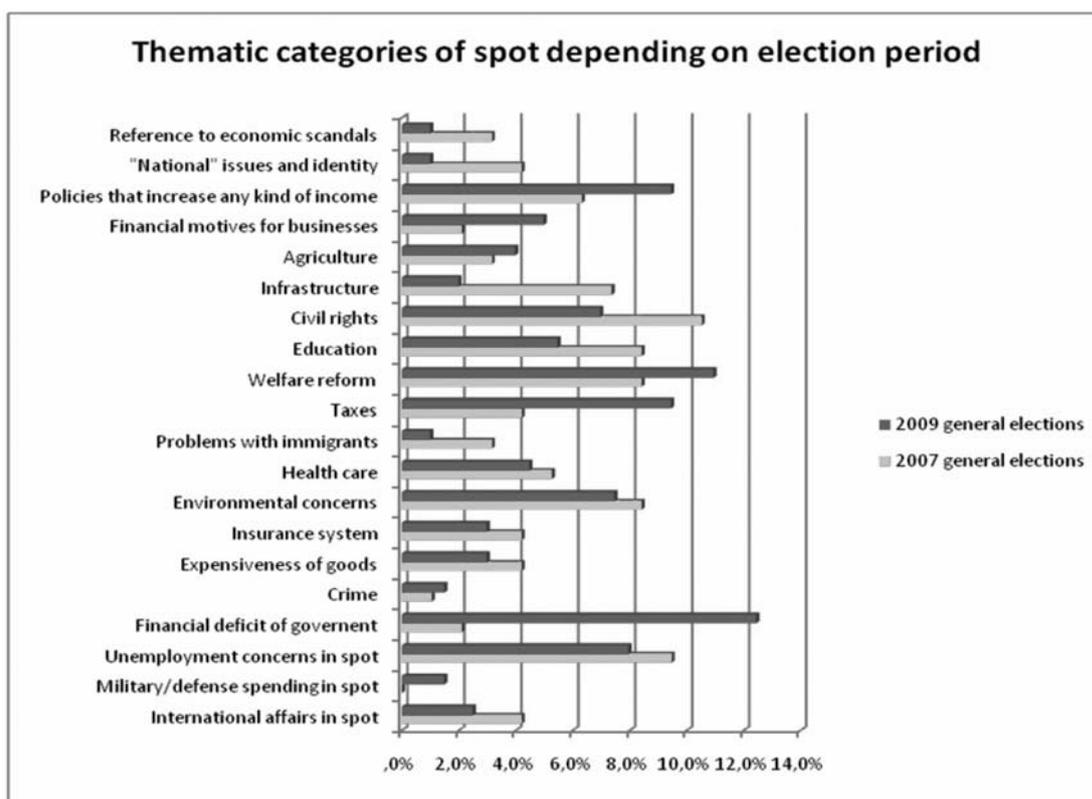


Table 4

Format of spot depending on election period

	Format of spot							Total
	Video Clip/Music Video	Testimonial	Introspection	Issue Statement	Opposition Focused	Issue Dramatization	Quest/Answer/Confrontation	
2007 general elections	12 22,6%	10 18,9%	2 3,8%	7 13,2%	18 34,0%	3 5,7%	1 1,9%	53 100,0%
2009 general elections	19 43,2%	4 9,1%	3 6,8%	7 15,9%	9 20,5%	0 ,0%	2 4,5%	44 100,0%
Total	31 32,0%	14 14,4%	5 5,2%	14 14,4%	27 27,8%	3 3,1%	3 3,1%	97 100,0%

Figure 2

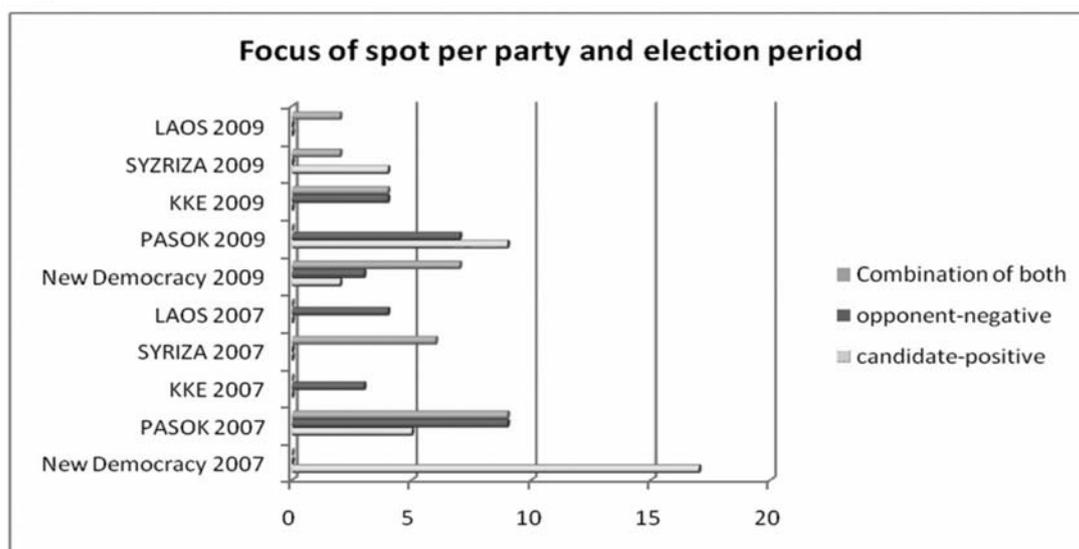


Figure 3

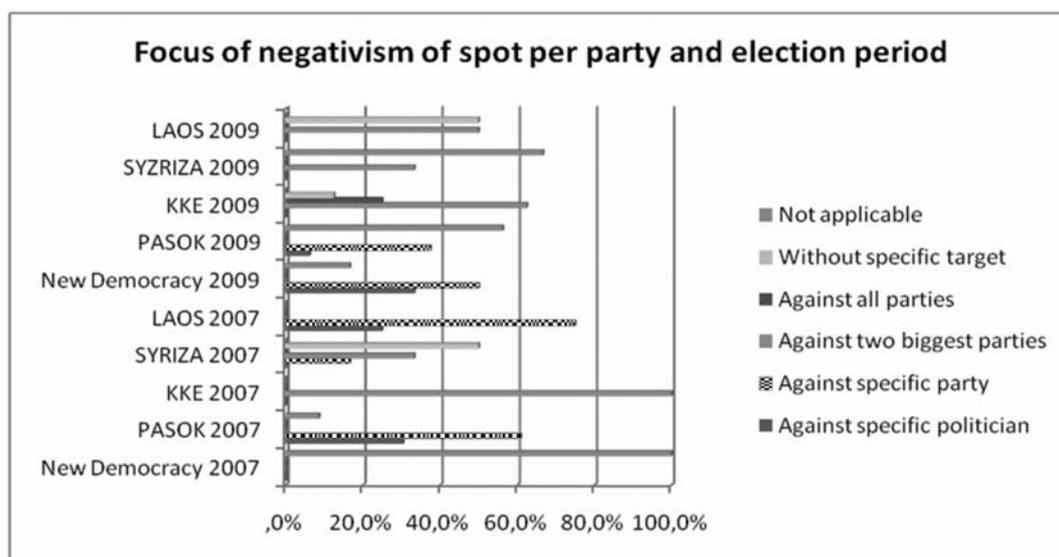


Figure 4

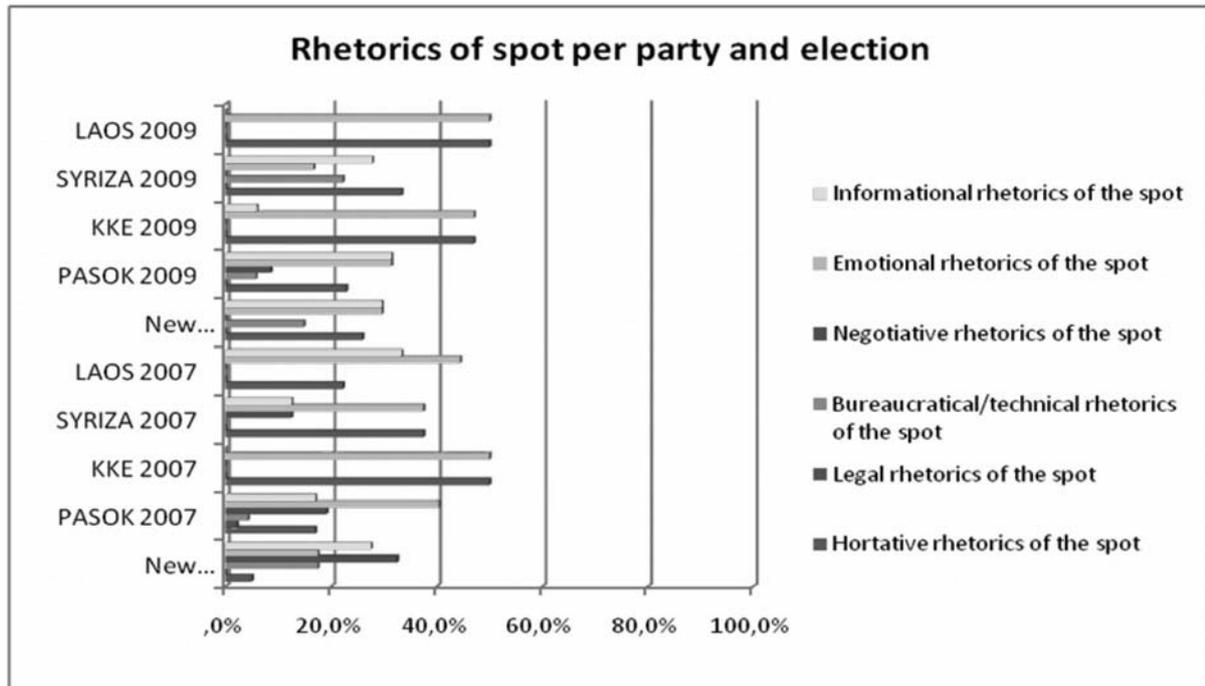


Figure 5

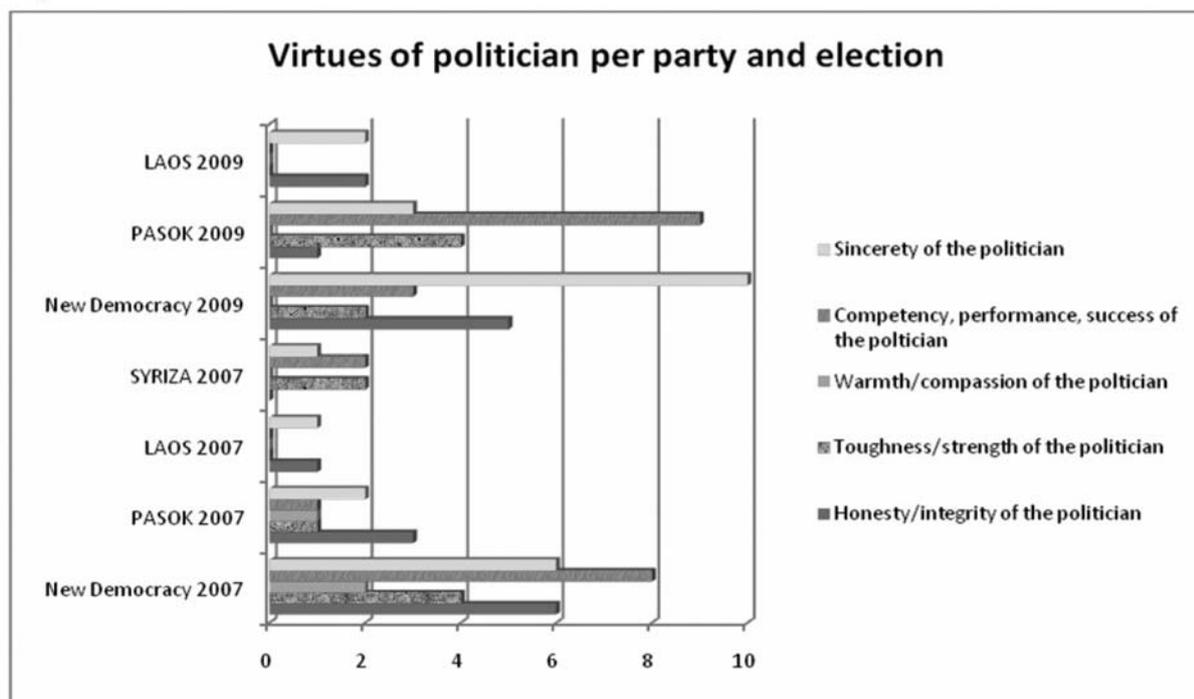


Figure 6

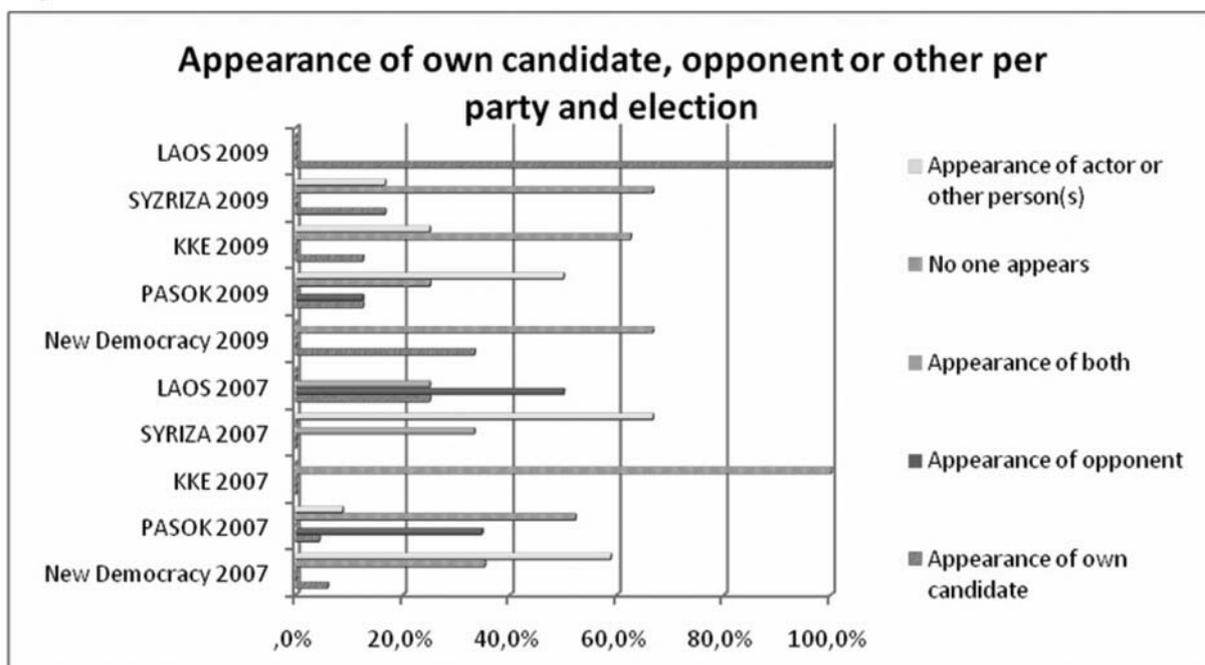
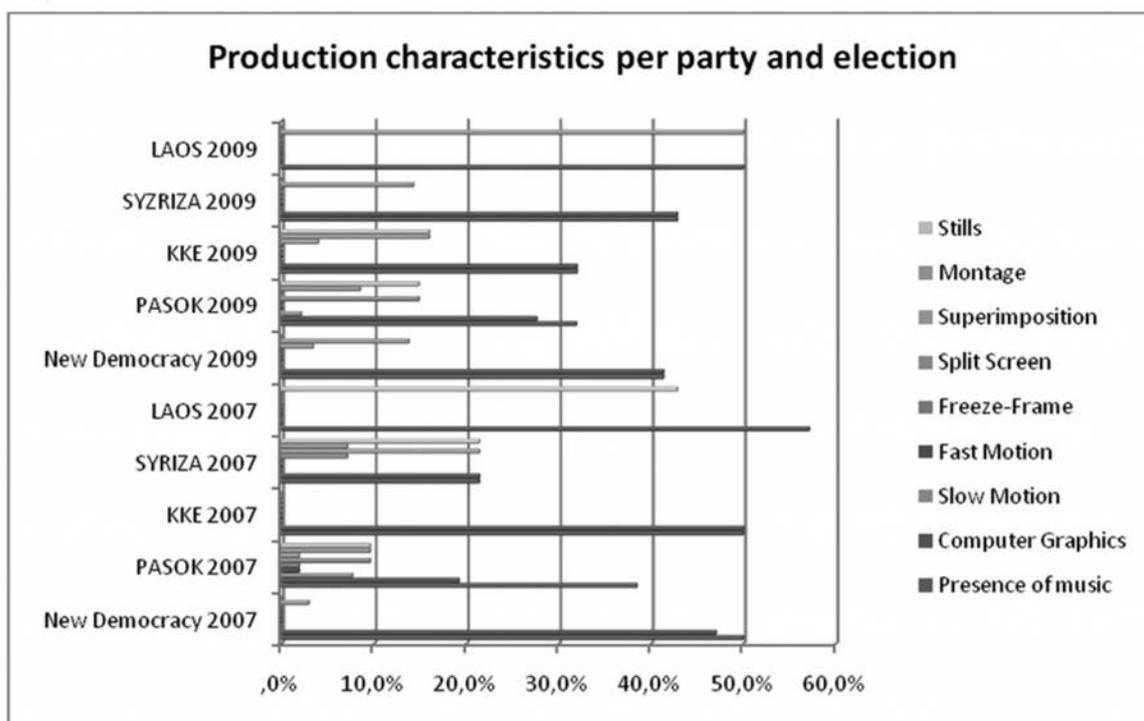


Figure 7



Copyright of Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication / Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare- RRJC is the property of Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.

Fonte: Revista Romana de Jurnalism si Comunicare, v. 5, n. 1, p. 27-38, 2010. [Base de Dados]. Disponível em: <<http://web.ebscohost.com>>. Acesso em: 17 dez. 2010.