

Political Communication in New Zealand: A Study of Political Party Advertising in the 2008 General Election

Ashley Murchison
University of Otago

Paper submitted for the New Zealand Political Studies Association Conference
University of Auckland 2009

Abstract

Political advertising plays a fundamental role in enabling political parties to communicate with their constituents. This communication process is intensified during elections when parties seek not only to inform, but to persuade potential voters. Advertising subsequently becomes a particularly potent campaign tool, and it is for this reason that parties employ a number of techniques aimed at ensuring that their desired message and image is presented. This study examines political parties' use of unmediated print advertising as a communicative tool in the 2008 New Zealand general election. It presents the findings of a content analysis conducted on billboards, pamphlets and newspaper advertisements relating to the party vote that appeared during the campaign period. In examining the tone, use of issue and image statements, prevalence of group targeting, and use of ethos, logos and pathos appeals, it was possible to identify the prominent textual and presentational techniques employed by parties in their advertising. These results provided the basis for further analysis of how these techniques reflected the wider campaign strategies of individual parties in the 2008 election. This not only offers an interesting commentary on the use of print advertising in the election, but enables a deeper understanding into how parties use certain statements and appeals in an attempt to communicate and connect with voters.

Introduction

The question of how political parties communicate with voters is one frequently asked by academics. Its relevance becomes all the more pertinent during periods of electioneering when the voting populace is deemed to be more receptive to political messages. However, the answer to this question is by no means straightforward. Indeed, there exists a plurality of media by which parties can articulate their messages. One such medium, and one that remains an area of frequent interest, is political advertising. However, while scholarly inquiry into this topic is expanding, it is overly restricted to television advertising and campaigns in the United States. This study hopes to help fill what still remains a large gap in the existing literature by undertaking a content analysis of print advertising in the 2008 New Zealand general election. Despite the growing emphasis on televised advertising, the function of print material still remains relevant as evidenced by the large sums of party campaign expenditure that continue to be spent on such advertisements.¹ Consequently, it can be assumed that parties continue to place considerable importance on print advertising as a communicative tool.

In considering how parties communicate with voters, this study postulates two fundamental questions. First, what techniques did parties use in their political advertising in order to convey their desired message? Second, what do these techniques tell us about the parties' overall campaign strategies? Drawing on previous studies, several textual and presentational techniques are identified, including tone, issue and image statements, group targeting, and ethos, logos and pathos appeals. The first section of this paper provides an overview of the prominent literature on political advertising, outlining some of the previous research that has been conducted both worldwide and in New Zealand. It is evident that much existing research fails to systematically investigate the plurality of techniques used in political advertisements, particularly in the area of print advertising. It is this failing which has served as the impetus for the development of a more comprehensive (but by no means exhaustive) framework for content analysis of print advertising. The second and third sections outline this framework, and present a summary of the findings on the techniques individual parties used within their advertisements. Expanding on this, an interpretive discussion of these

¹ A concise summary of total expenditure on print advertising during the 2008 election has not yet been collated. However, individual breakdowns of party expenditure are available at *Elections.org.nz*. These breakdowns illustrate that parties continue to allocate a significant quantity of their overall campaign expenditure to print advertising. For example, while National spent a total of \$998,254.34 on television and radio broadcasting, they also spent \$559,112 on the production and publication of billboards alone.

findings is presented in the fourth section, explaining how the techniques used are reflective of the parties' overall campaign strategies. This also provides an opportunity for a generalised commentary on the effectiveness of the parties' political advertising in the 2008 election.

An overview of political advertising

Role of political advertising

Political advertising assumes a pivotal role in facilitating communicative exchanges between the governors and governed in a democratic system. This communication process is particularly heightened during periods of electioneering as parties actively seek to inform and present their messages to potential voters. However, effective political advertising has the capacity to do more than purely inform. It also has the ability to persuade, and to shape and reinforce perceptions, which can ultimately influence a voter's choice at the ballot box (McNair 2003: 96; Benoit 2007: 42). When we refer to political advertising, we are essentially considering the:

...communication process by which a source (usually a political candidate or party) purchases the opportunity to expose receivers through mass channels to political messages with the intended effect of influencing their political attitudes, beliefs, and/or behaviours (Kaid 1981: 250).

Despite frequent criticisms about the intentions and influence of political advertising, it has to be acknowledged that it assumes a fundamental and necessary role in facilitating information exchanges between parties and voters (Scammell & Langer 2006: 765). Political advertising is a valuable communicative tool as the content produced is controlled exclusively by the parties, rendering it free of mediating media influences, interpretations and biases. For this reason, as articulated by Robinson, political advertisements:

...yield a visually rich source of evidence about the behaviour, thinking and motivation of political parties; the affinity parties feel they have with voters; the extent to which voters' needs have informed party priorities; myths and histories shared between parties and voters; leadership offerings; and the threat parties sense from their competition... (2009: 77).

Consequently, political advertisements offer the clearest evidence of how parties seek to strategically present themselves and their policies to potential voters (Scammell & Langer 2006: 764).

An expanding field of research

A significant proportion of current research is focused on the United States, and is centred on television and newspaper advertising, with few studies focusing specifically on billboard and print advertisements such as posters and pamphlets.² An overview of the existing literature also highlights a growing appreciation of the value of systematic investigations into advertising content (Joslyn 1980; Johnston & Kaid 2002; Scammell & Langer 2006). One of the more commonly recognised and duplicated frameworks for this form of analysis is the ‘Videostyle’ framework developed by Kaid and Davidson (see Kaid & Davidson 1986; Kaid & Johnston 2001). Although this was formulated specifically for analysis of televised material and contains categories unique to this medium, the categories pertaining to tone, issue and image statements, group targeting, and type of appeal are transferable to print advertising, and provide a useful starting point for identifying techniques utilised in political advertisements.

Similar frameworks for analysis have been employed in New Zealand research. However, we once again find that these studies predominantly centre on investigation of newspaper and television advertising. These studies can be categorised into those that provide more generalised descriptive overviews of advertisements, and those that undertake a more rigorous analysis of content. In the former category, Robinson has made a significant contribution to descriptive analyses of televised advertising and communication during election campaigns, focusing on their relationship to party strategy and party vote objectives (see Robinson 2003; 2007). Her more recent work on the 2008 election does extend beyond televised advertising, incorporating discussion on billboard and newspapers advertisements (Robinson 2009). Nevertheless, the more interpretive nature of her work fails to highlight in detail the explicit advertising techniques used, instead focusing more on generalised themes for discussion. Others have undertaken content analyses of newspaper advertising, and subsequently have been able to provide a more systematic overview of prevalent techniques (Hayward & Rudd 2004; Rudd et al 2007). However, while useful, these studies are limited due to their sole focus on newspaper advertising. Furthermore, their discussion centres predominantly on the themes and tone of advertising rather than the visual characteristics of the material.

² However, studies of advertising outside of the United States are becoming more common. Kaid & Holtz-Bacha (2006) contains studies of political advertising in the United Kingdom, United States, Mexico, Italy and other various countries, while Kaid et al (2003) provides a comparative study of televised spots from 12 countries.

Subsequently, a review of the existing literature on political advertising in New Zealand highlights two issues. First, there is very limited discussion on the use of specific advertising techniques. Second, there exists little detailed analysis of billboard and pamphlet advertising. Studies on this form of advertising in New Zealand tend to lack an analytical framework (Roberts 2003; 2007; Pearse 2000; Cousins & McLeay 1997). Consequently, this study attempts to comprehensively investigate a multitude of advertising techniques used in a plurality of print media. In doing so, I draw on a study conducted in Denmark by Kjeldsen (2008). The strength of Kjeldsen's research is that its analysis expands beyond the traditional focal point of televised advertising, and instead provides unique insight into the different techniques used in print advertising. It also expands beyond traditional classifications of advertising techniques, choosing not to focus on areas of tone or issue and image statements, but on the visual components of advertisements instead. The study investigates the presence of what is termed visual topoi in advertising, looking at visual content topoi (what is shown) and presentational topoi (how it is shown), and how these are strategically utilised (Kjeldsen 2008). My study draws on elements of this research, acknowledging that the selection of particular forms of topoi is an important consideration. For that reason, a detailed analysis of advertising techniques in order to understand party strategy should ideally extend beyond the basic investigations into tone, image and issue statements and use of appeals, and should indeed incorporate analysis of visual components of advertising.

Techniques used in advertising

Based on the work by Kjeldsen, and drawing on the abovementioned literature on political advertising, an outline of common advertising techniques can be produced. The first of these techniques is the use of positive, negative and mixed tones in advertising. Positive advertisements are those that focus on the policies, positions or characteristics of the party sponsoring the advertisement. Conversely, negative advertisements are critical of competing parties' features, and can be explicit or implicit in nature (Hayward & Rudd 2004: 44). An advertisement can directly attack another party by specifically mentioning the name, or it can infer an attack by criticising policies associated with another party without mentioning that party by name. Mixed advertisements contain elements of both positive and negative tones, although one can be more prominent than the other. Essentially the tone of an advertisement is used to differentiate a party from its competitors.

The use of issue and image statements is another common technique. Issue statements are defined as statements that refer to policy positions or preferences and general issues of public concern, while image statements concentrate on the quality or characteristics of a candidate or party (Johnston & Kaid 2002: 282). Advertisements can contain both issue and image statements; however, one can be more prominent than the other. Additionally, group targeting is a strategy frequently employed, and can occur through either textual or visual references. In this content, textual references are used to draw a specific group's attention to the advertisement. Visual references (such as photographs) serve a similar function, yet can be more implicit in nature, aiming to appeal to certain demographics in a way that enables the viewer to feel some form of identification with the party and its policies. Textual appeals to ethos, logos and pathos are also utilised in advertising. Ethos appeals are ethical appeals, and are statements which refer to the character and/or qualifications of a candidate or party. Logos appeals correspond with appeals to logic and consist of statements that use logical arguments, facts or statistics in order to present a message. Finally, pathos appeals involve appeals to emotion, and generally involve text that utilises language aimed at inducing feelings or emotions such as fear (Kaid et al 2003: 12).

A less frequently discussed advertising technique is the use of presentational forms of logos. This is what Kjeldsen refers to as 'topoi of documentation'. This category consists of "appeals that seek to persuade by giving an impression of visually proving or establishing something without doubt" in an attempt to appeal to the rational senses (2008: 141). Commonly identified presentational appeals to logos include the use of lists, official documents and signatures (Kjeldsen 2008: 141). In essence, the strategic function of presentational appeals to logos is to create the illusion that "political choices are more a matter of empirical fact and calculation than of vision and deliberation" (Kjeldsen 2008: 143). Thus, the decision is rational, based on clear choice, not emotion.

Kjeldsen also presents another category or technique, which he refers to as 'topoi of emotion'. We can classify these as presentational appeals to pathos. These are defined as visual representations that aim to stimulate a set of desired emotions in the voter, and usually entail the use of particular images (of symbols and so forth) or photographs (2008: 143). The type of photograph (whether portrait, staged or documentary) is also strategically important. A portrait shot generally presents a candidate or group of candidates in a very generic way. A staged shot presents candidates in a "way which makes it obvious that it does not seek to

appear either natural or realistic”, while in contrast, a documentary shot aims to present the candidate and situation as realistically and naturally as possible (Kjeldsen 2008: 146). The strategic importance of this relates back to how a party wants its candidate to be perceived, whether it be personable or authoritative.

Methodology

The above mentioned techniques provided the basis for the development of a content analysis framework. Content analysis was selected as the methodological approach for this study as it enabled the systematic coding and quantification of techniques, and permitted the identification of trends both within and across political parties’ advertising. A total of 81 advertisements were utilised in this study, and analysis was restricted to unmediated visual forms of advertising, which included billboards, (non-addressed) pamphlets and newspaper advertisements. Finally, the study focused on only major and minor parties, thus limiting its analysis to advertisements produced by the Labour, National, Act, Green, New Zealand First, Jim Anderton’s Progressive, Māori and United Future parties. However, for the latter four parties very few party vote advertisements appeared. Accordingly, while their advertisements have been included in the analysis, the findings produced and subsequent discussion of the parties’ strategies is necessarily limited.

Only material focused on soliciting the party vote was coded, excluding advertisements produced for candidate or Māori electorates. Newspaper advertisements were collected from the four main metropolitan newspapers: *The New Zealand Herald*, *Dominion Post*, *The Press*, and *Otago Daily Times*. In terms of other material, pamphlets and billboard images were obtained directly from parties, internet searches, and the Hocken and New Zealand Parliamentary libraries. Therefore, all reasonable efforts were made to access and obtain copies of all generic party vote material produced by the eight parties throughout the campaign period. Each advertisement was divided into two units of analysis. The headline text was analysed as an individual unit, and then the advertisement as a whole was analysed as a separate unit. Based on these units, a coding scheme and set of coding rules was developed (see Appendices A and B).

Analysis of headline text

The headline text consists of the most prominent text on the advertisement, and any subheadings that follow on from that text. It is generally located at the top of the advertisement, and seeks to attract the viewer’s attention and articulate the basic message that the advertisement seeks to present. The headline text and subheadings of each advertisement were coded according to whether they contained issue and/or image statements, whether they referred to a specific group, and whether they made appeals to ethos, logos and/or pathos (see Appendix C for examples of the latter appeals). The targeting of specific groups was coded according to the presence of explicit references to a particular group such as families. However, texts that did not name a specific group but contained an image that, in conjunction with the text, appeared to appeal to a particular demographic were also coded in this category.

Analysis of whole advertisement

When analysing the advertisement in its entirety, several elements were coded. First, I investigated the presence of presentational forms of logos, coding the use of lists, documents and candidate signatures. The prevalence of detailed text within the overall advertisement was also coded (see Figure 1 for an example).

Vote for more than just a change of government – vote for a government of change.

Some people think that by voting ACT they can't expect Labour getting back in. Not so. Voters wanting a change of government have two choices – ACT or National. Either vote will help change the government. But you want more than that. You want a government of change. And it can be achieved in this election. Polls show Rodney Hide will win the seat of Epsom, and because of the ACT does not need to pass the threshold. This means that:

- every Party Vote for ACT will count against the government
- every Party Vote for ACT brightens the future of New Zealand.

New Zealand is at the crossroads. The country desperately needs a major change in direction. ACT leader Rodney Hide is leading a team of talented and dedicated individuals willing to serve their country.

But Rodney needs your help to get as many of them as possible into the next Parliament. A 10% party vote for ACT will secure 12 MPs.

So it's vital that this election you be the difference – ACT seat!

Do You Want To Change The Government?

Party Vote ACT

ACT New Zealand promises that if you give us your Party Vote we'll help create a sustained economy. An economy that will see average wages boosted by around \$500 a week over time. An economy that will be more attractive to business, and create a New Zealand that is attractive enough to bring our children back.

Don't believe we can do that? Look inside and examine our 20 proven policies. Policies with a difference. Policies that represent a realistic, practical and principled plan that will work.

The only one who says the next government is going to deliver the real benefits of these things and exclude ACT policies. And that's ACT. It's there, with the numbers, to hold the next government to account.

John Key may feel he needs to keep many of Labour's poor policies to win over Labour's voters. That weak approach won't help New Zealand beat Australia. It won't grow your household income. And it won't bring our families home.

Health: How MP, ACT New Zealand?

I want to be back in Parliament to stand up for the important issues that make a difference to ordinary people's lives, like decent health care. New Zealand needs to be able to afford things like the waiting period removal stage 1 users to make sure New Zealand gets the positive changes it really needs for its children's sake and yours.

To do that, and to get Rodney Hide, Sir Roger Douglas, and other hard-working ACT MPs into parliament, you need to give ACT your Party Vote.

To get the positive change of direction New Zealand needs, it's vital that ACT's Party Vote leads to as high a seat as possible.

How do we get there?

1. Every seat we win in Parliament is a seat we need to win. We need to win seats in the North, the South, and the Bay of Plenty. We need to win seats in the North, the South, and the Bay of Plenty. We need to win seats in the North, the South, and the Bay of Plenty.

2. Give your Party Vote to ACT. This is absolutely critical. Only by giving your party vote to ACT can you put pressure on the next government to do what's right for New Zealand.

3. Your electorate-wide vote will affect the total number of MPs your party gets. Your electorate vote just determines the mix of party MPs to elect to Parliament. You should let the candidates you think would best serve your electorate.

4. To change the government, you vote Party Vote for either National or ACT.

5. To change the direction of New Zealand, you need Party Vote ACT. The National/ACT split will make all the difference in the world for New Zealand. To make the positive changes that the country needs, it's vital that the ACT lead is as high as possible. Give us your party vote and we will deliver on our 20 policies and all their benefits.

ACT WITH BALANCE OF POWER = CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT + CHANGE OF DIRECTION

CONSERVATIVE PARTIES: National 45%

LABOUR: Labour 30%

ACT: ACT 10%

OTHER: Other 15%

Give ACT the balance of power to change the government and change the direction of New Zealand for the better.

ACT

ACT New Zealand, PO Box 91651, Newmarket, Auckland, Phone 09 912 8830, www.act.org.nz

Advertisement to Mark Newman, 172 Beach Road, South Shore

STRANGE BUT TRUE - the best way to get a strong National government is not to vote National at all. It's to give your Party Vote to ACT!

ACT

Figure 1: Example of an advertisement containing detailed text.

Second, I coded for presentational forms of pathos. The categories used in this study's content analysis included the use of photographs and graphics, and whether these images were of candidates, people, symbols or other miscellaneous objects. Photographs containing candidates, both on their own and with other people, were coded according to whether they were portrait, staged, or documentary in format. The presence of a campaign slogan was also coded. This relates to the use of generic 'tag lines' within party advertising, like the "Choose a Brighter Future" slogan used by National. Finally, the overall advertisement was coded according to whether it was positive, negative, mixed, or neutral in tone (see Appendix D for examples). The overall tone of an advertisement was determined by assessing the tone of the headline text, and then scanning briefly the content of any remaining text in the advertisement. Advertisements coded as neutral were those which made generic statements, such as 'Party Vote Greens', which could not be coded according to tone. The analysis of election advertising according to these categories enabled a systematic breakdown of the different textual and presentational techniques used by political parties.

Summary of findings

The findings produced by the content analysis provided significant insight into the techniques favoured by parties in their advertising, and enable some interesting observations to be made about the election campaign as a whole. While a large quantity of data was produced, it is only possible to provide a brief overview here (see Table 1 for summary).

The overall tone of campaign material was positive, with no wholly negative advertisements being used throughout the election. Out of 81 advertisements, 59 were positive, 17 were mixed and five were neutral. Six of the eight parties produced predominantly positive campaign material. The Green, Progressive, Māori, and United Future parties used only positive tones across all their advertising, while National and New Zealand First produced only three and one mixed advertisements respectively. The majority of mixed advertising was produced by Labour and Act (see Figure 2 for an example).

Overall, the campaign advertising was predominantly issue focused, with 49 advertisements containing prominent issue statements. The dominant themes were New Zealand-owned assets and law and order, although these references were not made by all parties. All statements pertaining to law and order were made by either National or Act, and statements

regarding kiwi assets were made by Labour, Progressives and New Zealand First. The economy was only explicitly mentioned in six advertisements despite the economic recession being a topical issue for discussion among the media and public throughout the election.

Technique	Summary of use
Positive tone	Overwhelming use of positive tone by all parties.
Negative tone	No use of negative tone by any party.
Mixed tone	Minimal use, with the majority of mixed advertisements being produced by Act and Labour.
Issue statements	Frequent use by all parties except the Māori Party. Labour emphasised health, the economy and New Zealand assets, while National focused on health, education and law and order. There was significant variation amongst the issues covered by minor parties.
Image statements	Regular use of image statements by all parties except the Progressives. The most prominent theme was trust, used predominantly by Labour.
Group targeting	All parties, with the exception of United Future, targeted specific groups. Families were the most frequently targeted demographic, with Labour, National, Greens, Act and Progressives all making appeals to this group.
Ethos appeals	Minimal use of ethos by all parties, and utilised most frequently by Labour. Trustworthiness of character was the dominant recurring appeal.
Logos appeals	Infrequent use by all parties of logos via headline text, and used most regularly by Act. Also infrequent use of presentational forms of logos with the exception of lists.
Pathos appeals	Substantial use of pathos through both text and presentation by all parties. Dominant appeals were to patriotism, fear and security/safety. Presentational appeals to pathos occurred predominantly through the use of photographs.

Table 1: Summary of advertising techniques used by the parties.

LABOUR

- KiwiSaver**
- Working for Families**
- Cheaper doctor visits**
- 20 hours free preschool**
- Raised trainee minimum wage**

NATIONAL

- Voted against it**¹
- Voted against it**²
- Voted against it**³
- Voted against it**⁴
- Voted against it**⁵

IN WE THINK THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.

CHECK THE FACTS: ¹ 21 May 2007, Hansard. ² 13 Dec 2005, Hansard. ³ 14 Aug 2007, Hansard. ⁴ 24 Aug 2004, Hansard. ⁵ 23 Jun 2001, Hansard.
 Authored by Mike Smith, 70 Rongopare St, Wellington

Figure 2: Example of mixed tone and use of antithetical juxtaposition.

Within individual party advertising, there was significant variation amongst the issues upon which specific parties focused (see Appendix E for a complete list). The findings highlight that while the two larger parties, Labour and National, focused on more generic areas such as education and health, the smaller parties had a tendency to target more specific and ‘niche’ policy areas such as the Emissions Trading Scheme and food quality. A total of 25 advertisements from across the parties contained image statements in the headline text, with Progressives the only party to not make such statements. The most prominent theme was trust, occurring in seven advertisements. These statements were heavily monopolised by Labour who made such statements consistently (in five advertisements). National and the remaining minor parties utilised image statements to a lesser extent, and overall, there was less thematic consistency in the statements utilised in their advertising.

Group targeting in advertising was achieved through a variety of methods, including through text, images and the production of specifically targeted pamphlets. All parties, with the exception of United Future, utilised such techniques in an attempt to target specific groups. Families were the most frequently targeted, with Labour, National, Greens, Act and Progressives all either producing specific pamphlets, mentioning in text, or using images aimed at appealing to this group. Children were the most common demographic used in photos. The senior demographic was also a common target with National, New Zealand First and, to a lesser extent, Progressives aiming to appeal to this group.

In terms of appeals to ethos, logos, and pathos, the former two were used less frequently. A total of 17 advertisements utilised ethos appeals. Trustworthiness of character was the most frequent appeal, occurring on 12 occasions. Labour made trust appeals in seven advertisements, and National in three. United Future used ethos appeals across all material, drawing attention to itself as the party that listens on one occasion, and stating its trustworthiness on two occasions. The remaining parties employed such appeals either sporadically or not at all. Textual appeals to logos were also minimal, with only 14 advertisements making such appeals in the headline text. Act used logos in five advertisements, Labour, National and Greens in two, and Progressives and United Future in one each (see Figure 3 for an example). Both the Māori Party and New Zealand First did not utilise logos appeals in the headline text of their advertisements.



Figure 3: Example of logos appeal through use of statistics.

In terms of presentational forms of logos, there was no real creative application of this technique. The overwhelming use of these came through the use of generic lists to present basic information. Beyond this, National was the only party to incorporate signatures in its advertising, and Act was the only party to produce a proper ‘mock’ document (in the form of a redundancy letter) that aimed to actually attract attention rather than just present basic information. Finally, pathos appeals were frequently utilised, with a total of 51 out of 81 advertisements using such appeals in the headline text. The following emotional appeals were most common: patriotism (occurring in 15 advertisements), fear (12), security/safety (12), hope (11), desire for change (9), and frustration (6). However, the frequency of these appeals, in particular patriotism, is not highly indicative of the core themes dominating the election campaign. I argue this because appeals to the likes of patriotism were heavily monopolised by one or two parties.

In terms of presentational appeals to pathos, photographs were the most common form of appeal. There was also overall a heavy reliance across the parties on the presentation of candidates. While many of the parties utilised standard headshot portraits of candidates, in particular leaders, National was unique in the sense that they relied heavily on the use of documentary shots of Key interacting with members of the public. The Greens were also unique in that they produced a wide variety of photographs, and selected to use images of children and nature, rather than their candidates. Finally, there was minimal use of symbols and graphics throughout the advertisements analysed. The most notable use of symbolism

was in New Zealand First's use of the New Zealand flag. Figure 4 provides an example of using presentational appeals to pathos.

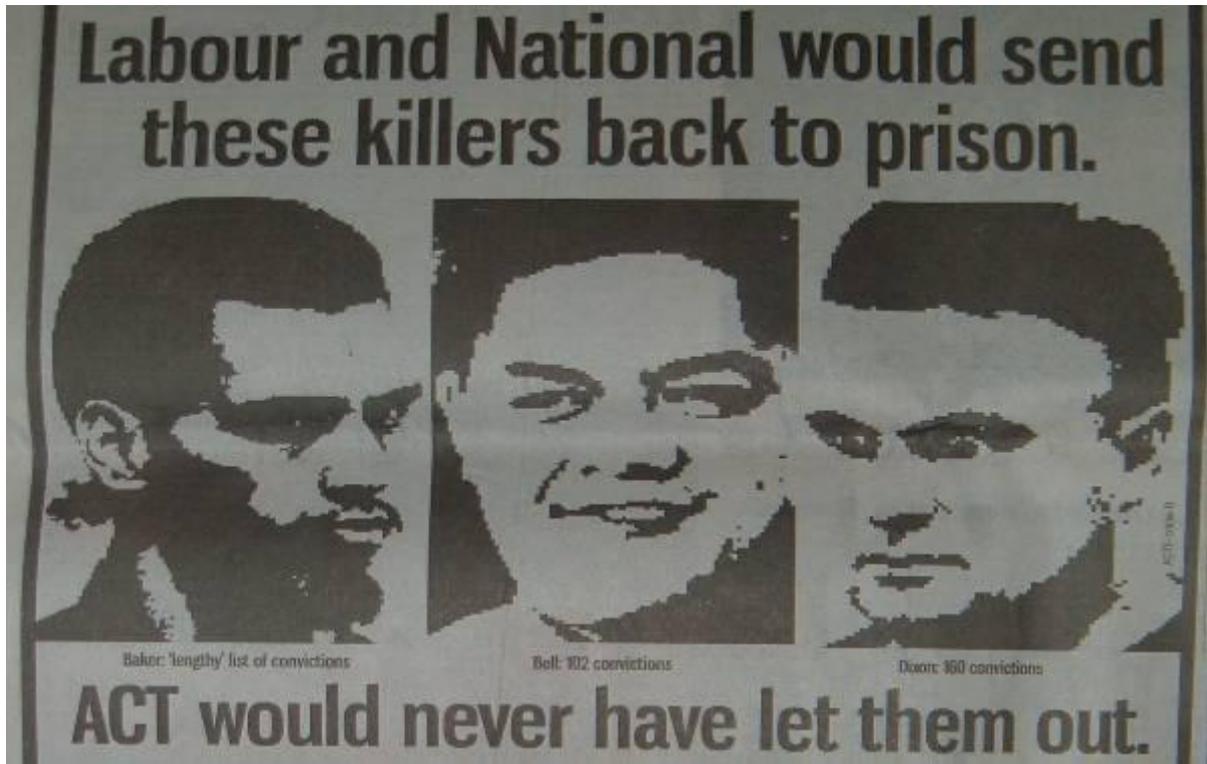


Figure 3: Example of pathos appeal through use of image.

Advertising and party strategy

The context of Election 08

The 2008 election campaign was not particularly enthralling. While the 2005 election was a close contest between the two major parties, 2008 seemed, for the most part, a foregone conclusion from the outset. There was a prevailing sentiment from both the media and public that it was time for change, and that National would provide that change. Throughout most of 2007 and 2008 National was consistently outperforming Labour in opinion polls, and Clark was trailing behind Key in the preferred Prime Minister rankings (Craig et al 2009: 1). Subsequently, the election outcome was essentially as predicted, with National gaining 44.9 per cent of the party vote, and signing confidence and supply agreements with Act, United Future and the Māori Party.³

³ Labour maintained reasonable levels of representation, securing 34 per cent of the party vote. All of the parties, with the exception of New Zealand First, were successful in gaining parliamentary seats. New Zealand First's Winston Peters lost his Tauranga electorate, and the party failed to reach the required five percent party vote threshold.

The overwhelming shift in opinion towards National was hardly surprising. Labour was nearing the end of its third term in government, having been in power since 1999. By the announcement of the election in September, there were frequent criticisms that Labour had become stagnant and was out of touch. This was coupled with claims that the Government had become too socially intrusive in people's affairs.⁴ This image of Labour was in stark contrast to the perception of National's leadership. Having only been elected as the leader of National in November 2006, Key was perceived as a youthful fresh face, and was certainly positioned as a symbol for the change touted by so many commentators. Labour's response to this was to try and reframe the debate towards one about trust and experience, a strategy elaborated on later in this chapter. Consequently, much of the election appeared to centre on a contestation between the two leaders of the major parties. This emphasis on personalities was further exacerbated by the fact that the prevailing poor economic climate limited the parties' capacities to make significant election promises, resulting in very little major policy announcements being made. It is also worth noting that the 2008 election was unique in the sense that the Electoral Act was superseded by the (since repealed) Electoral Finance Act 2007 (EFA). It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the EFA in great detail; however, one key change should be noted. The original Electoral Act specified that political advertising produced during the three month period leading up to voting day was attributable to campaign expenditure, while the EFA extended this regulatory period to 1 January 2008, therefore effectively extending the 'formal' campaign period. Consequently, this resulted in much confusion surrounding what material actually constituted political advertising.⁵ It is essentially these factors that contributed to an incredibly un-enticing election campaign, which was generally reflected in the parties' political advertising overall.

Labour

Labour's advertising was a reflection of their campaign platform of trust and experience. Their selection of slogans such as "This One's About Trust" and "Your Future: Only Safe with Labour" explicitly echoed this theme. However, the use of other advertising techniques

⁴ Many of these criticisms occurred as a result of Labour supporting the Green Party's initiation of the amendment to Section 59 of the Crimes Act 1961 (Vowles 2009: 2). Labelled the 'Anti-smacking Bill', this legislation was framed by media and those on the right as a threat to New Zealand's democracy. Frequent claims were made that the legislation was removing the 'right' of parents to use minor forms of physical discipline (such as a smack) for parental correction.

⁵ Robinson (2009) provides further discussion on this issue, highlighting the confusion surrounding whether communicative tools such as policy documents, websites and letters produced by Members of Parliament were to be considered political advertising.

sought to reinforce and solidify this message more implicitly. The production of both positive and mixed tone advertisements was a two-pronged strategy. The positive material aimed to shift the debate away from a desire for change by arguing that in times of economic uncertainty trustworthiness and familiarity were important leadership attributes. However, merely arguing that they were more trustworthy than National was on its own insufficient as a strategy. For this message to resonate with voters, there had to exist uncertainty about the credibility of National. It can be argued that the use of mixed tone advertising sought to achieve this objective. Labour's use of antithetical juxtaposition in several of its pamphlets was a method of providing voters with an identifiable contrast between 'good' and 'bad', drawing attention to the two parties' voting records on what were some rather popular policies amongst New Zealanders. Furthermore, rather than making generic statements about these policy stances, they aimed to appeal to the 'rational' aspect of voting by referencing these statements to their original sources. This technique, an appeal to logos, was an attempt to add validity and legitimacy to their statements, which served to posit the advertisement not as an attack against National per se but rather as a mere statement of fact.

The prominence of image statements and pathos appeals to trust throughout the advertising again reflected Labour's campaign strategy. Labour heavily utilised statements and appeals pertaining to Clark's leadership strengths and experience, as well as Labour's policy achievements. These techniques, while aiming to bolster the perception of Clark and Labour, were again an attempt to generate uncertainty about and distrust towards Key and National. The heavily reliance on pathos appeals to security and support, coupled with occasional appeals to fear, sought to further reinforce this argument. It can be argued that, in playing on voter concerns about economic security and support, Labour sought to encourage voters to opt for safe leadership rather than the unknown. Their emphasis on the quality of the leadership potentially explains their minimal coverage of issues in their material. While a broad range of issues were mentioned, there was negligible detailed text, reflecting the notion that the party saw the election as a contestation between personalities rather than policy. However, those issue statements made on more than one occasion (health, annual leave, New Zealand-owned assets, and the economy), did serve to reinforce the strategy of positing themselves as a party of security and protection.

Labour's emphasis on the aforementioned issues also illustrates that they were aiming to appeal to a broad voter base. This is further validated by the fact that the findings

demonstrate that Labour placed minimal emphasis on directly targeting specific demographics. In both the 1999 and 2002 elections, Clark and the party communicated a message of being able to empathise with ordinary New Zealanders by producing advertising that showed Labour interacting with their target groups (Robinson 2007: 184). However, by 2005 their strategy de-emphasised the party's more personable connection, and instead promoted the virtues of Clark's leadership (Robinson 2007: 185). This was also the case in 2008. Although Robinson highlights that Labour's 2008 televised opening night address offered images of their target groups, the print advertising failed to significantly reflect this (2009: 80).⁶ Much of this relates to Labour's positioning as a 'catch all' party, where its fundamental goal is to appeal to the 'mainstream' populace in the voter market. The only visible targeting in Labour's advertising was the specific production of pamphlets aimed towards families and tertiary students. The former constitutes a rather generic voting demographic, while the latter was an attempt to capitalise on the success gained from the student vote in 2005.⁷

In terms of presentational appeals to pathos, the overwhelming use of headshot portraits of Clark reinforces the notion that the party's emphasis was on promoting the quality of the leadership. Furthermore, the selection of standard portrait shots can be seen as a strategic move to convey a sense of authority and certainty; concepts that tied in with Labour's overall campaign theme. It was only in the final week of the campaign that Labour produced newspaper advertisements containing a more naturally staged photograph of Clark. However, again this new image still served to reinforce the message that she had the strength to see the country through the economic crisis (Robinson 2009: 81). Consequently, the lack of imagery overall meant that Labour's advertisements were aesthetically unappealing, although this was marginally mitigated by their effective use of lists as a form of presentational logos. The use of checklists to contrast Labour and National's voting record made the information accessible to the everyday voter. In this regard, Labour's attempt to provide a clear visible distinction between itself and its opponent could be deemed, from a presentational perspective, successful.

⁶ The target groups identified throughout this 12-minute opening address included women, parents, children, factory workers, seniors, Māori, and Polynesian people (Robinson 2009: 80).

⁷ In 2005 Labour (successfully) targeted the tertiary student vote by pledging to remove all interest from student loans.

Overall, the techniques employed by Labour created consistency when it came to promoting the theme of trust and Clark's leadership. However, where the advertising failed was in its inability to highlight in detail any distinguishing policy, which realistically was necessary for Labour to be strategically successful. Additionally, for a party that emphasised their leadership, Clark was rarely visible in their print advertising. The complete absence of photographs of Clark and candidates interacting with constituents did little to diminish accusations that Labour had become impersonal and out of touch with everyday New Zealanders.

Finally, it is interesting to note that, in conjunction with their theme of trust, Labour produced a 'Keep it Kiwi' billboard (Edwards 2009: 14). From a strategic perspective, it could be assumed that this billboard was produced with the intention of appealing to patriotism while simultaneously generating fearful undertones about National's potential to sell off state assets. Therefore, it could be perceived as reinforcing the contrast of trust and distrust. However, the distribution of this billboard almost seemed to exist as a parallel campaign (or a sub-message as described by Robinson 2009: 80-1.), given it differed significantly in design from the other advertisements, and contained no actual explicit textual reference to trust.

National

National's strategic aim was to run a simple and positive campaign, with the purpose of differentiating the party from its more conservative history (Edwards 2009: 14). This was subsequently reflected in the tone of their advertising, which predominantly centred on promoting National's attributes rather than attacking Labour. The positive focus and optimism of the campaign was further reflected in their choice of slogan, encouraging voters to "Choose a Brighter Future." Effectively, their intention was to build on existing sentiments of frustration towards the incumbency and the growing mood for change (Edwards 2009: 14). However, while National used statements about being 'ambitious' in conjunction with emotional appeals to frustration, fear and hope, their use of such techniques was sporadic, and failed to cohesively tie in with the overall theme of change.

As with Labour, the National campaign was heavily centred on Key as party leader. The minimal use of ethos appeals, particularly in relation to Key, highlights an interesting element of the party's strategic approach to marketing the leadership. He was at a disadvantage in comparison to Clark who had nine years of leadership experience. National essentially had

two options: to attempt to outbid Clark's experience by matching it with statements of their own or to de-emphasise the issue altogether. Based on the findings, it can be argued that the party adopted the latter strategy. National appeared to avoid buying into Labour's framing of experience, as evidenced by the lack of ethos appeals about Key's own personal credentials.

Instead, National's advertising illustrates that the party attempted to mitigate Labour's attacks on Key's inexperience by framing him as a leader that voters could personally identify with. They achieved much of this through the use of visual techniques in their advertising. Key was frequently presented in photographs interacting with constituents in a natural environment. Furthermore, the images were heavily focused on presenting him with children, reinforcing the perception that, behind the politician, he was an 'everyday family man' (Edwards 2009: 15). This, in conjunction with the use of Key interacting with 'ordinary' New Zealanders, further emphasises National's strategy of aiming to appeal to a broad voter base through their advertising. They also attempted to appeal to the senior vote, a likely attempt to attract disenchanted New Zealand First voters. Additionally, the use of Key's signature in some of their advertising serves to reinforce the idea that National were attempting to create more of a solid connection between Key and voters. It can be argued that, as a generic symbol of commitment, it may have also been used to generate the perception that Key could be trusted despite Labour's claims otherwise.

While accusations have been made that National ran a policy free campaign (see Edwards 2009: 14), the findings illustrate that the party emphasised its issue stances more than its image. Furthermore, despite Labour criticising National for its lack of policy detail, National's advertising actually included more detailed text to accompany their policy statements. Whether this information was overly useful is beyond the scope of this analysis; however, it does make an interesting point about the perception of National being light on policy. Indeed, National was one of the few parties that provided policy information on its billboards; however, criticisms were made that this was actually too much detail, and that the billboards were too verbose (Robinson 2009: 82-3; Drinnan 2008). I would agree with these criticisms: the billboards were visually cluttered and it took some time to interpret the message presented. This design and strategy was in stark contrast to their infamous

billboards distributed in 2005.⁸ However, irrespective of these criticisms, the billboards did fulfil their strategic purpose. First, they were uncontroversial and safe, leaving minimal room for error or attacks towards the party, and second, they reinforced the new National brand of being “modern, positive and non-threatening” (Drinnan 2008).

The Greens

The Greens advertising in 2008 was unprecedented, receiving acclamation from many commentators for its professional design and impact. In previous election campaigns the party had undertaken advertising design in-house (Robinson 2009: 84). However, in 2008 they adopted a different strategic focus, choosing to outsource the production of their campaign material to creative agency *Special Group* (Edwards 2009: 22). This proved to be a successful strategy in terms of the advertising produced. The traditionally wordy advertisements that had characterised the Green’s campaigns in previous elections were replaced by material characterised by strong visual images and concise emotive slogans.

The Green’s campaign was built around a positive vision for the future, a strategy that is reflected in both the text and images used in their advertisements. The selection of the Māori phrase “Mō ngā uri, mō te ao” was used to communicate that “a vote for the Greens is a vote to keep our future, children, families and communities safe and well,” and to put “the power to protect our future in the hands of the viewer and voter” (Turei 2008). This overarching message was reinforced by their overwhelming preference for textual and presentational pathos appeals. The regular use of images of young children and the earth, in conjunction with the simple text ‘Vote for Me’, and textual appeals to hope, served to generate an emotional connection with the viewer. Indeed, their co-leader, Russel Norman, stated himself that “...the aim is to make an emotional, heartfelt connection with voters to appeal to them to think about the bigger picture...” (*Greens.org.nz*, 5 Sept, 2008). Subsequently, it is unsurprising that the Greens chose to adopt a positive tone throughout their advertising.

This approach also served to play on the perception that the Greens are ‘above politics’, and are driven by vision and action not political games (Robinson 2009: 85). This is reflected in the fact that they continued to emphasise many of their traditional niche policy areas when it

⁸ In the 2005 election, National produced a set of billboards (often referred to as the iwi/kiwi billboards) that used succinct statements on blue and red backgrounds to contrast National and Labour’s policies. The minimal use of both text and graphics meant that the billboards were uncluttered and simple to read, making them incredibly visually effective.

came to issue statements in their pamphlets, focusing on climate change, transport and food quality. Much of this policy information was backed up with image statements aimed at highlighting the Green's leadership and visions on these core and often neglected policy areas. Furthermore, previous Green election campaigns had centred on the promotion of policy and key candidates (Robinson 2009: 84). However, the absence of policy statements on their billboards and in newspaper advertisements, in conjunction with their infrequent use of candidate photographs, highlights that this was not the strategy adopted in 2008. The goal was to instead establish a more emotional and intimate connection with voters. Exactly who the Greens were aiming to connect with is relatively obvious from their advertising, although Robinson argues that much of their group targeting is implied rather than overt (2009: 84). However, it is evident that the Greens remained true to targeting their more traditional demographics including environmentalists, Māori and youth.

Where their more implicit targeting occurs is in their use of imagery of young children. At the fundamental level this can be interpreted as an appeal to families. However, Robinson goes further to argue that the presentation of 'beautiful' children makes them appear as though they are images from a catalogue, and that this indicates that the Greens were aiming to appeal to middle-class and aspiring middle-class parents (Robinson 2009: 84). Regardless of whether they were aiming to appeal to a specific type of family, the overwhelming use of images and text targeting this group highlights that they perceived this group to be an important strategic demographic.

Act

Act was not dissimilar to National, seeking to use their advertising to capitalise on the strong mood for change and frustration towards the incumbency. The prevalence of criticisms towards the Labour Government in their material was a reflection of Act's goal of exacerbating pre-existing disenchantment with the Clark leadership. They also sought to simultaneously promote the prospect of a National-Act coalition as a viable and preferable alternative to the status quo. However, despite aligning themselves with National, Act still had to provide voters with a reason to party vote Act (rather than just vote National), and so sought to differentiate themselves by being the party that promised to implement 'real change' (Edwards 2009: 24). It is perhaps for this reason that some of the material produced was actively critical of National. Act's strategy is also heavily reflected in the dominance of

negative pathos appeals, all of which sought to textually reinforce sentiments of frustration with the incumbency.

It can be argued that Act not only aimed to capitalise on growing frustrations and anger, but actively hoped to intensify them in order to secure a right-wing victory. The prevalence of fear and anger appeals illustrates this, as does their policy focus. Throughout the election, Act heavily focused on issues surrounding law and order, the anti-smacking legislation, and the Emissions Trading Scheme. The former policy area has generally been a focus for Act, and this election was no different. However, the latter two policies were contentious and had led to public concerns about ‘nanny state’ governance. In emphasising these issues, Act was able to play on these sentiments amongst the voting populace.

The prevalence of candidate photographs, particularly of Hide, highlighted their emphasis on the leadership of the party. However, their focus was on presenting the leader visually (rather than through the use of textual statements), and was perhaps done with the intention of presenting him in a more personable form. Most notable is the photograph of Hide having coffee with Key, which was used to reinforce the perception that Act was a suitable coalition partner for governance. It is also interesting to highlight that while textual and presentation appeals to logos did not dominate overall, they were utilised to a reasonable extent through the use of statistics and position statements. This plays on Act’s more pragmatic element, and could be seen as a reflection of their general approach to politics.

Overall, it has been noted that Act ran a very policy laden campaign (Edwards 2009: 25). This argument is reflected in the dominance of issue statements across their advertising, and the extensive prevalence of detailed text to accompany these statements. However, despite an overwhelming emphasis on policy, it must be noted that Act did a reasonable job of presenting the information in a variety of ways, incorporating not only the basic use of lists, but using diagrams and a mock redundancy letter to draw attention to their content. A final point to note is Act’s lack of group targeting. One explanation for this could be that this reflects Act’s predisposition to focus on the individual rather than the collective.

New Zealand First

New Zealand First undoubtedly entered the campaign as the ‘underdog’ of the minor parties. Plagued by accusations of unlawful party donations and frequent media criticism of Winston

Peters, it was always going to be a difficult election for the party to perform well. New Zealand First's strategy in 2008 was consistent with past campaigns, with Peters focusing on the threat big business and media elites posed to people's democratic rights (Edwards 2009: 28). This strategy was reflected in their advertising in two ways. First, the party's advertising heavily utilised pathos appeals to patriotism, aiming to play on people's sense of pride in, and loyalty towards, New Zealand. Second, there was a focus throughout the material on those issues pertaining to New Zealand-owned assets. Combined, these appeals tied in to the overarching theme of their campaign about the need to protect and provide security for people.

Robinson draws a similar conclusion, and postulates that New Zealand First's strategy was to also generate the perception that the party was there to protect voters specifically from National (2009: 87). The advertising highlights that the party attempted to generate this perception through the use of implicit criticisms. While the billboards and newspaper advertisements do not explicitly attack National, they do argue that there is the need to "protect and save New Zealanders first", which naturally begs the question 'from what?' Given the unfavourable positioning of New Zealand First to National (particularly in comparison to Labour), the answer is relatively obvious. This strategy was also reinforced through the production of a pamphlet that is critical of both Hide and Key.

With the exception of the statement claiming to provide "the truth about Winston", the party excluded commentary on the qualities and characteristics of both itself as a whole and Peters. The lack of ethos appeals, and the minimal use of image statements, illustrates that the party was aware of the fact that they were in no position to contest the election on the grounds of strong personal attributes and ethics. However, the party continued to remain reliant on its leadership, as evidenced by the fact that the only photographs used throughout the advertising were of Peters. And naturally, Peters remained true to his quirky character, breaking the mould of the generic portrait shot through his use of rather strange hand gestures (refer back to Figure 8).

Finally, while New Zealand First had traditionally targeted the Māori demographic, this election they selected not to (Robinson 2009: 85). Indeed the findings highlight that the party's only explicit target was the senior vote, a strategy unsurprising given that this has traditionally served as their core voter base. In 2008, the party aimed to expand beyond this

demographic however, by appealing to younger voters to consider the well-being of their grandparents (Robinson 2009: 85). Although much of this targeting is generally identifiable only through televised advertising and coverage, it does again coincide with the general themes of protection and security presented in the print material.

Additional minor parties

Limited discussion can be conducted on the advertising techniques used by the Progressive, United Future and Māori parties given the fact that there was limited printed material produced relating to the party vote. It can be assumed that this was for several reasons. In the case of the Progressives and United Future, much of their campaign centres on their leader's electorates.⁹ Both parties rely on electoral success in these seats in order to attain representation in parliament, as they have never crossed the five per cent party vote threshold. Therefore, it is understandable that a significant proportion of their campaign advertising is electorate focused. In terms of the Māori Party, they are in a similar situation whereby much of their emphasis is on campaigning for votes in the Māori seats rather than for the party vote. What I would consider to be a final factor in the limited amount of party vote advertising is the fact that the small nature of these parties means they do not have significant access to campaign funding compared to some of their larger counterparts. Therefore, they are likely to be more limited in the quantity of billboards, pamphlets and newspaper advertisements they can produce.

In terms of the Progressives, their advertising reflected their predisposition to capitalise on some significant achievements attained during their time in coalition with Labour. Most notable was the party's emphasis on Kiwibank, an initiative of Jim Anderton. Subsequently, much of the Progressive's focus was on appealing to sentiments of patriotism. United Future appeared to employ different strategy, aligning themselves more with National by focusing on the issue of tax. Their frequent use of statements pertaining to their 'honesty' and 'trustworthiness' also illustrates that the party stayed true to its traditional strategy of presenting itself as the party of reasoned common sense in government. Finally, the fact that Dunne featured in all of the advertisements shows the party's reliance and dependency on using him to attract votes.

⁹ Jim Anderton is the representative for the Wigram electorate, while Peter Dunne represents Ohariu-Belmont.

In contrast, the Māori Party found itself in a unique situation in the 2008 election, being posited as the ‘kingmaker’ for potential coalition agreements. Subsequently, while they remained focused on contesting the Māori seats, they also sought to increase recognition of their place as a ‘Treaty partner’, and capitalise on sentiments of having a role in the formation of the new government (Edwards 2009: 26). Since contesting its first election in 2005, the Māori Party has essentially been identified as being aligned with Labour. However, seeking to mitigate the perception that Labour was the default coalition choice, the party aimed to construct a perception of political neutrality (Edwards 2009: 26). It can be argued that this is, to a certain degree, reflected in their production of positive advertising that focused on promoting their identity as a party rather than engaging in political criticisms or attacks.

The party’s strategy is further reiterated through their use of the statement “influence with integrity”, highlighting that they believed buying in to the ‘kingmaker’ argument would bolster their credibility and position them as a viable party vote option. Overall, the Māori Party adopted a very simplistic approach to its campaign advertising, understandable given their small size and financial resources. However, two final points are worth mentioning. First, the use of the term *iwi* in the party’s newspaper advertisement should be highlighted. This could be construed as a sign that the party was targeting more traditional Māori demographics, rather than the often more fragmented and urbanised Māori populace. Second, the Māori Party was the only party to use an image containing all of its candidates as a group. In my opinion, this was a conscious decision determined by the fact that their Māori constituency places high value culturally on the collective rather than the individual.

Conclusion

While the 2008 general election produced little in terms of controversial or overly exciting advertising, it still proves worthy of analysis. What this study illustrates is that there exists a multitude of techniques that can be used by political parties in order to present their message and image to voters. While investigating the use of such techniques is interesting in itself, such analysis becomes all the more valuable when considering how it reflects overall party strategies. It is evident that the selection of tone, whether positive, negative, or mixed, is a deliberate technique used to articulate and reinforce the core campaign themes of parties. The selection of issue and image statements provides an insight into whether a party believes it to be better to promote its policies or its personalities. Additionally, deeper investigation of

these statements highlights which issues and characteristics are deemed to be strengths and selling points for the party. Analysis of the use (or lack) of textual and visual references to particular demographics also allows us to identify which particular voting groups parties are trying to target. Finally, identifying the use of ethos, logos and pathos appeals in both their textual and presentational forms, provides a better opportunity to appreciate how parties connect with voters.

The analysis of political advertising in the 2008 election illustrates that the above mentioned techniques are utilised in a variety of ways by individual political parties. Labour used mixed tone advertising to create a clear distinction between itself and National, seeking to position the opposition as untrustworthy. Their selection of specific image statements and pathos and ethos appeals all sought to reinforce this message. National attempted to mitigate this message by utilising statements and appeals that played on voter sentiments for change, and made a concerted effort to visually emphasise the strengths of their leader John Key. The Green's advertising was heavily pathos laden, both textually and visually, reflecting their strategy of running a positive campaign focused on presenting a vision for the future. Act adopted a different strategy, choosing to attack other parties frequently throughout its material. Like National, they selected statements and appeals that played on people's frustrations and desire for change. New Zealand First adopted strategies that aimed to frame them as the party of protection and security for New Zealanders, and avoided any form of appeal that referred to the attributes of Peters.

So what does this all mean? Simplistically, it means that the text and images presented in political advertisements are by no means accidental. They are consciously selected so as to try to accomplish the parties' core strategic objectives. However, regardless of how much time parties spend constructing their image and message, they can still never be certain that it will achieve their desired objectives. Indeed, there is always the risk that their selected advertising strategy and techniques will be counterproductive. However, despite this, these techniques still play a fundamental role in not only communicating basic information to voters, but in communicating the identity, values and vision of the party. Political advertising is not merely about the exchange of information. It is about selling a brand: persuading voters that your product is better than those of your opponents, and that it is your party which best reflects their own beliefs and aspirations.

In considering political party advertising, we can begin to understand how parties attempt to communicate with voters, and why they communicate in the form they do. Given the frequent criticisms about political advertising in general, it seems perplexing that there exists little systematic analysis of advertising content, particularly print material. This is particularly the case in New Zealand, where analyses of print advertising are minimal despite its persistence as a vital communicative tool in the modern campaign. Subsequently, this study has sought to investigate an area that has been neglected and underappreciated. It has also aimed to contribute to the small, but expanding, historical commentary on the 2008 general election in New Zealand.

Bibliography

- “The Green Party’s 2008 Advertising Campaign”, (2008, September 5) (*Greens.org.nz*), Available: <http://www.greens.org.nz/election08/advertisinglaunch> (Accessed: 2009, September).
- Benoit, W.L. (2007) *Communication in Political Campaigns*, Peter Lang Publishing, New York.
- Brader, T. (2005) “Striking a Responsive Chord: How Politics Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions”, *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 49, no. 2, pp. 388-405.
- Cousins, M. & McLeay, E. (1997) Leaflets, Letterboxes and Litter: Candidates and their Campaigns, in: Boston, J., Levine, S., McLeay, E. & Roberts, N.S. (eds) *From Campaign to Coalition. The 1996 MMP Election*, Dunmore Press, Palmerston North, pp.83-95.
- Craig, G., Rudd, C. & Hayward, J. (2009) Introduction: Mediated Politics, in: Rudd, C., Hayward, J. & Craig, J. (eds) *Informing Voters? Politics, Media and the New Zealand Election 2008*, Pearson, New Zealand, pp. 1-12.
- Drinnan, J. (2008, September 5), “Media: Steady on and don’t scare the horses”, (*NZ Herald*), Available: http://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/news/article.cfm?c_id=3&objectid=10530636 (Accessed: 2009, September).
- Edwards, B. (2009) Party Strategy and the 2008 Election, in: Rudd, C., Hayward, J. & Craig, J. (eds) *Informing Voters? Politics, Media and the New Zealand Election 2008*, Pearson, New Zealand, pp. 13-32.
- Hayward, J. & Rudd, C. (2004) Party Advertising in Newspapers, in: Hayward, J. & Rudd, C. (eds) *Political Communications in New Zealand*, Pearson Education New Zealand, Auckland, pp. 38-51.
- Holsti, O.R. (1969) *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Phillipines.
- Johnston, A. & Kaid, L.L. (2002) “Image Ads and Issue Ads in U.S. Presidential Advertising: Using Videostyle to Explore Stylistic Differences in Televised Political Ads from 1952 to 2000”, *Journal of Communication*, vol. 52, issue 2, pp. 281-300.
- Joslyn, R.A. (1980) “The Content of Political Spot Ads”, *Journalism Quarterly*, vol. 57, issue 1, pp. 92-8.
- Kaid, L.L. & Davidson, D.K. (1986) Elements of Videostyle: Candidate Presentation through Television Advertising, in: Kaid, L.L., Nimmo, D. & Sanders, K.R. (eds) *New Perspectives on Political Advertising*, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, pp. 184-209.

- Kaid, L.L. & Johnston, A. (2001) *Videostyle in Presidential Campaigns*, Praeger Publishers, Connecticut.
- Kaid, L.L. (1981) Political Advertising, in: Nimmo, D.D. & Sanders, K.R. (eds) *Handbook of Political Communication*, Sage Publications, London, pp. 249-72.
- Kaid, L.L., Tedesco, J.C., Dimitrova, D.V. & Williams, A.P. (2003) *Comparing Political Advertising Around the World*, Paper presented at the Political Marketing Conference, University of Middlesex, London.
- Kaid, L.L., Holtz-Bacha, C. (2006) *The SAGE Handbook of Political Advertising*, Sage Publications, London.
- Kjeldsen, J.E. (2008) Visualising Egalitarianism. Political Print Ads in Denmark, in: Strömbäck, J., Ørsten, M. & Aalberg, T. (eds) *Communicating Politics. Political Communication in the Nordic Countries*, Nordicom Göteborgs universitet, Göteborg, pp. 139-60.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980) *Content Analysis. An Introduction to its Methodology*, Sage Publications, London.
- Lees-Marshment (2001) "The Marriage of Politics and Marketing", *Political Studies*, vol. 49, no. 4, pp. 692-713.
- McNair, B. (2003) *Introduction to Political Communication*, Routledge, London.
- Palmer, G. & Palmer, M. (1997) *Bridled Power. New Zealand Government under MMP*, Oxford University Press, Auckland.
- Pearse, H. (2000) 'No Junk Mail': The Street-Level Campaign, in: Boston, J., Church, S., Levine, S., McLeay, E. & Roberts, N.S. (eds) *Left Turn. The New Zealand General Election of 1999*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp. 127-40.
- Prior, M. (2001) "Weighted Content Analysis of Political Advertisements", *Political Communication*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 335-45.
- Roberts, N.S. (2003) All Over the Place: Billboard Battles in 2002, in: Boston, J., Church, S., Levine, S., McLeay, E. & Roberts, N.S. (eds) *New Zealand Votes. The General Election of 2002*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp. 270-80.
- Roberts, N.S. (2007) Changing Spots: Political Party Billboard Battles in New Zealand in 2005, in: *The Baubles of Office The New Zealand General Election of 2005*, Levine, S. & Roberts, N.S., Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp. 269-79.
- Robinson, C. (2003) The Party Vote, Populism and Political Advertising in 2002, in: Boston, J., Church, S., Levine, S., McLeay, E. & Roberts, N.S. (eds) *New Zealand Votes. The General Election of 2002*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp. 235-53.

- Robinson, C. (2007) Images of the 2005 Campaign, in: *The Baubles of Office The New Zealand General Election of 2005*, Levine, S. & Roberts, N.S., Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp. 180-96.
- Robinson, C. (2009) 'Vote for Me': Political Advertising, in: Rudd, C., Hayward, J. & Craig, J. (eds) *Informing Voters? Politics, Media and the New Zealand Election 2008*, Pearson, New Zealand, pp. 73-89.
- Rudd, C., Connew, S., Harris, P. & Parackal, M. (2007) Political Advertising in the Metropolitan Newspapers, in: *The Baubles of Office. The New Zealand General Election of 2005*, Levine, S. & Roberts, N.S., Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp. 197-210.
- Scammell, M. & Langer, A.I. (2006) "Political Advertising: why is it so boring?", *Media Culture Society*, vol 28, no. 5, pp.763-84.
- Turei, M. (2008, September 15), "Act Green, Think Green, Vote Green" (*Greens.org.nz*), Available: <http://www.greens.org.nz/speeches/act-green-think-green-vote-green> (Accessed: 2009, September).
- Vowles, J. (2009, October) "The 2008 General Election in New Zealand", (*Jackvowlesdomain.org.nz*), Available: http://www.jackvowlesdomain.co.uk/The_2008_General_Election_in_New_Zealand.pdf (Accessed: 2009, October).
- Young, S. (2004) *The Persuaders. Inside the Hidden Machine of Political Advertising*, Pluto Press Australia, Victoria, Australia.

Appendix A: Coding scheme for content analysis

Party:

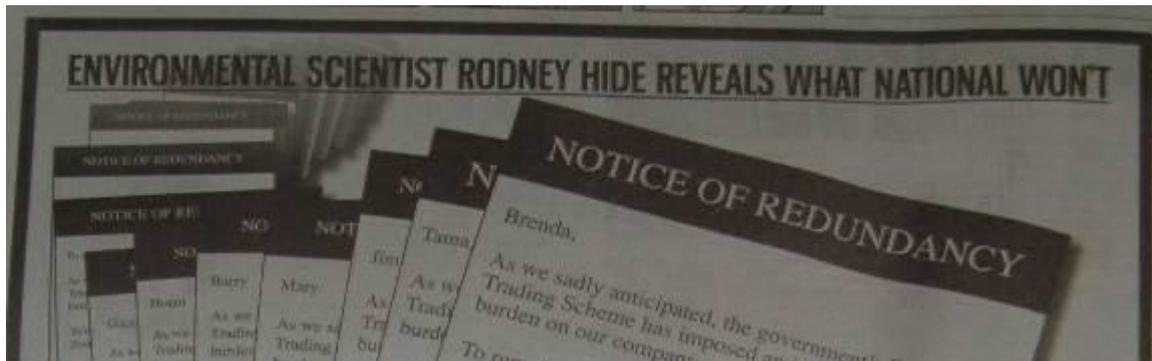
Type of advertisement:

Headline text	First ref	Second ref	Notes
<i>Issue statement (specify)</i>			
<i>Image statement (specify)</i>			
<i>Appeal to group (specify)</i>			
<i>Pathos appeal (specify)</i>			
<i>Logos appeal (specify)</i>			
<i>Ethos appeal (specify)</i>			
Tone:			
<i>Positive</i>			
<i>Negative</i>			
<i>Mixed</i>			
<i>Neutral</i>			
Presentation (logos)			
<i>Use of lists</i>			
<i>Use of documents</i>			
<i>Use of signature</i>			
<i>Detailed text</i>			
Presentation (pathos)			
<i>Politician/party image</i>			
Type: (of politician/party photo)			
<i>Portrait</i>			
<i>Staged</i>			
<i>Documentary</i>			
<i>People/groups</i>			
<i>Other</i>			
<i>Symbols</i>			
<i>Type of image (photo/graphic)</i>			
Slogan			
Overall tone			
<i>Positive</i>			
<i>Negative</i>			
<i>Mixed</i>			
<i>Neutral</i>			

Appendix B: Coding rules for content analysis

Headline text: Prominent text that serves to catch viewer's attention.
Issue statement: Policy, issue or position statement.
Image statement: Stress candidate/party characteristics and qualities.
Appeal to group: May mention a particular demographic. Appeals can also be implicit.
Pathos appeal: Attempts to evoke particular feelings or emotions.
Logos appeal: Presents facts to persuade (logical arguments, examples et cetera).
Ethos appeal: Presents information about the qualities/characteristics/achievements
Tone:
Positive: Focuses on accomplishments, characteristics or issue positions of sponsoring candidate/party.
Negative: Focuses on criticisms of the characteristics or issue positions of the opponent. Can be implicit or explicit statements.
Mixed: Contains elements of both positive and negative. One can be more explicit or prominent than the other.
Neutral: Cannot be coded into the above categories as has no overall tone.
Presentation (logos): Use of particular imagery that appeals to logic.
Use of lists: Use of checklists et cetera.
Use of documents: Images of documents such as written guarantees, petitions, bills et cetera. Used to create a sense of legitimacy.
Use of signature: Use of candidate signature. Used to stress a personal 'guarantee' and 'promise'.
Detailed text: Presence of text that expands beyond headings and subheadings. Text is likely to be a significant proportion of the advertisement.
Presentation (pathos): Use of particular imagery that appeals to emotion.
Politician/party image: Specify whether picture of candidate or party as a group.
Type: (of politician/party photo)
Portrait: Basic posed photo showing candidate.
Staged: Where elements are arranged in a way that it is not completely natural or realistic.
Documentary: Where elements are arranged to present events as naturally and realistically as possible.
People/groups: Specify what types of people are shown.
Other: Use of other images such as water et cetera.
Symbols: Presence of symbols such as flags et cetera.
Type of image (photo/graphic): Specify whether image is a photograph, cartoon, graphic et cetera.
Slogan: Refers to party's generic campaign 'catch phrase'
Overall tone: In combining all the elements of the advertisement (including an overview of the text) is the advertisement predominantly positive, negative or mixed?

Appendix C: Examples of ethos, logos and pathos appeals in advertising



Example of ethos appeal in advertising.



Example of logos appeal in advertising.



Example of pathos appeal in advertising.

Appendix D: Examples of positive, negative and mixed tones in advertising



Example of positive tone advertising.

LABOUR	NATIONAL
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> KiwiSaver <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Working for Families <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Cheaper doctor visits <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 20 hours free preschool <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Raised trainee minimum wage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Voted against it¹ <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Voted against it² <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Voted against it³ <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Voted against it⁴ <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Voted against it⁵
<p>IN WE THINK THE FACTS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES.</p> <p><small>CHECK THE FACTS: ¹ 21 May 2007, Hansard. ² 13 Dec 2005, Hansard. ³ 14 Aug 2007, Hansard. ⁴ 24 Aug 2004, Hansard. ⁵ 20 Jun 2001, Hansard.</small></p> <p><small>Authorised by Mike Smith, 70 Doughty St, Wellington</small></p>	

Example of mixed tone advertising.

Dump the ETS

Labour's Emissions Trading Scam will:-

- Drop dairy land values by 40% and beef and sheep land values by 23%.
- Lower average incomes of households by \$3,000pa.
- Depress average hourly wages by \$2.30
- Cost N.Z. 22,000 new jobs every year

(* New Zealand Institute of Economic Research Data.)

Example of negative tone advertising.

Appendix E: List by party of issues mentioned in advertisements

Labour	National	Greens	ACT
Economy New Zealand-owned assets (Kiwibank & Kiwirail) Job security Tax Parental leave Annual leave Superannuation Student loans Childcare Trainee wages Kiwisaver Working for Families Health Minimum wage	Broadband Health Law & order Tax Youth training School standards/education Economy Superannuation Electoral law	Climate change/peak oil Benefit system Conservation Kiwimade products Workers rights Wages Transport Cities & towns Health Education Food Businesses Student debt	Coalition talks Law & order Emissions trading scheme Anti-smacking law Economy Tax MMP
NZ First	Progressive	United Future	Maori
New Zealand-owned assets (banks) Community well-being Jobs Senior welfare	New Zealand-owned assets (Kiwibank) Dental care Power rebates Home ownership Annual leave Youth	Tax	Did not make any issue statements