

A Semiotics Analysis for the 18th Presidential Election Campaign Publications

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Abstract

This study is a semiological analysis of campaign publication at the 18th Presidential election in 2012. It is the analysis of slogan, catch-phrase, types of political advertisement, visual image, propaganda technique and text font which are shown on the book type campaign publication of the presidential candidates, Park GeunHye and Moon Jae In. As analysis method, practical function and ostensible function of Jakobson Rare used for slogan and catch phrase. And the visual image uses meaning effect phase of R. Barthes, expression technique of political advertisement, 7 propaganda strategies and frame of text font analysis. The result shows that the design of slogan and catch-phrase of the candidates, Park GeunHye and Moon Jae In, uses the directive and agitative message expression which is the characteristics of political communication. As for the expression method of language, Park GeunHye uses metaphor and Moon Jae In uses meronymy. Both of them connote that they are the most qualified candidates for the President of Korea. The slogan of Park GeunHye, 'the first prepared woman President', is authoritative but shows the power of execution, reliability and time spirit. However, the slogan of Moon Jae In, 'Human is the first', involves the feeling of consideration and benefit but is metaphysical concept which is beyond the public language and hard to be understood. The connotation of the both candidates is the myth created at the interrelation of the voter's emotion and the value of political culture. And it is recognized as natural ideology of the Presidential candidates. In the types of political advertisement, propaganda technique and visual image, both of the candidates are authoritative and aristocratic. So they do not break out of the Korean political environment of high involvement. The propaganda methods, such as glittering generality, transfer, testimony, plain folks, bandwagon and card stacking, are considered but name calling, assaultive ad are avoided. The typography, such as emoticon, caricature, Q mark and symbolic ivies, is also used. As for the linguistic expression factors, both of the candidates design image advertisements rather than issue advertisement, and positive advertisement rather than negative advertisement. And for the appealing expressions, Park GeunHye focuses on logical appealing and Moon Jae In focuses on emotional appealing. It leads to the interpretation that both of the candidates are significantly affected by the current political environment. This study proposes new methodologies for researching the area of politics, election, advertisement and public relations and contributes to developing the sound and reliable political culture through researching the in-depth meaning and function inherent in the campaign advertisements. The abstract introduces the article and should not exceed 300 words. It should mention the techniques used without going into methodological detail and should summarize the most important results. Please do not include any citations in the abstract and avoid using abbreviations if possible.

Keywords: Candidate, Political Advertisement, Presidential Election, Semiotics Analysis

1. Purpose of Study

Since the political advertisement is legally permitted at the 5th Presidential Election in 1963, the political

advertisement has been used and developed at the election campaign. Especially, the non-verbal communication has taken the majority in the campaign publications. Hall¹⁹ mentioned that the unconscious phenomenon of the

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non-verbal behavior is 'Hidden Dimension of Culture' because the non-verbal message is contained in the situation of the communication. A lot of non-verbal visual factors affect the politician's method of message delivery to the voters^{5,19}. The pictures of the political advertisement provide information about the candidates by describing the standstill motions such as countenance and gesture. The situational clues provide the information for evaluating the candidate because the candidate's behaviors occur at the specific situation¹². The situational clue such as the candidate's costume sometimes emphasizes the candidate's role. And now the inexplicit demographic data cannot extract the accurate concept. The denotation of the symbols contained in the political advertisement expresses material, qualification, external characteristics and utility value. And the in-depth connotation of the political advertisement provides abundant allusive meanings to the voters. Examples are the catch phrases such as (40's Flag Bearer), (Representative of Laborers)⁷. This study is to contribute to the academic and political development through analyzing the connotative meanings and myth and ideology contained in the campaign publications by analyzing the verbal and non-verbal texts.

2. Analysis Method and Framework

The book type campaign publications of the presidential candidates, Park GeunHye and Moon Jae In were used as analysis data for the study. Analysis method was semiological analysis. The campaign publications were distributed to the 120 students who took the class of Political Advertisement and Mass Culture of the Department of Advertising Public Relations of Namseoul University. The objectified result was deduced after Focus Group Study (FGD) of the polysemous meaning of symbol and analysis data interpreted arbitrarily and subjectively by the students. First analysis framework used ostensible function and 6 practical functions of the linguistic text by Reboul O as the analysis models, Table 1 and Table 2. Reboul O researched the ideologism of language in order to recognize the difference of the in-depth meanings of the two functions¹⁶.

Second analysis framework analyzed the in-depth meaning through the visual image of the political advertisement by applying the meaning effect phase of Roland Barthes¹⁷. The symbols made by the primary meaning effect become the signifier (carrier of meaning) again at the

secondary meaning effect. The second phase of the meaning effect is the connotation phase which is the in-depth meaning. That is subjective meaning and polysemous meaning. When the symbols meet the user's emotion and culture, they act through the interaction as image, category, metaphor, metonym, hyper-reality, affiliation, integration. And at the same time the ideological myth is made and consumed^{2,3}.

While the ideological myth is distributed, the dominant ideology is generated. The political advertisement participates in the rhetoric with a complicated form by combining all the semiotic substances such as visual image, language, video and sound which the advertisement can use. In order to grasp the meaning of the advertisement text, it is important to inquire into the meaning and value and the relation and difference through recognizing the substance of the complicated symbols.

As a result the linguistic message performs agitative function practically while being presented as directive ostensibly in process of information provision and persuasion. The political advertisement shows the characteristic of ideological conversation which requests the voter's change of behavior through the concealed in-depth meaning. The symbols of visual image produce the ideological huge discourse such as progressive and conservative, stability and reform, authoritarianism, etc. at the meaning effect phase. Those linguistic text and visual image are expressed as the types of recurring aspect and adding aspect by forming direct relation. We need to investigate the inherent ideological function and contents by recognizing the in-depth meaning of the political advertisement^{10,14}.

Third analysis framework used the 7 propaganda strategies such as name calling, glittering generality, transfer, testimonial, plain folks, bandwagon, card stacking analyzed by the "Propaganda Analysis Institute" of the America⁷. Fourth framework is the classification by the types of political advertisement and the types of visual image, and expression method of political advertisement and appealing factors, linguistic factors and linguistic appealing factors. The political advertisement can be classified diversely according to the 9 classification criteria such as message emphasis, advertisement subject, message direction, advertisement stage, appealing method, advertisement media, negative political advertisement, function of advertisement, advertisement topic. The issue advertisement (policy) was classified into 9 areas such as diplomatic policy, national defense, economic policy,

Table 1. Framework for analyzing linguistic message and visual image text^{10,14}

Linguistic Message	Ostensible Function	Practical Function	
Visual Image (Signifier+Signified)	Primary Meaning Effect	Secondary Meaning Effect	
	Denotation	Connotation	Myth/Ideology

Table 2. Framework for analyzing linguistic message

Actual Function	Ostensible Function						
		Directive	Expressive	Agitative	Poetic	Social	Metalinguistic
	Directive	Affirmation	Fusion	False Performance Writing	Categorical Error	Euphemism	Objectifying Title
	Expressive	Purification	Locutionary Act	Authoritative Discussion	Code	Disqualification	Intrinsic Word
	Agitative	Substitution	Fidelity Word Taboo Word	Performance Writing	Demand	Formal Expression	mysticism
	Poetic	Addition	Appropriation	Rhetorical Agitation	Pure Poetry	Rhetorical Preamble	Verbalizing
	Social	Denial	Representation	Preamble	Repetition, Severance, Word Transposition Tension,	Network Domination	Receptiveness Taboo Word
	Metalinguistic	Semantic Conversion	Integration by Code	Reminding of Code	Metaphor Metonymy Irony Exaggeration	Counter Discourse	Naming and Definition

labor, agriculture, environment, resources, social welfare, government and civil order. And also it was categorized into 9 segments such as public, domestic issues, economy, energy, federalism, diplomatic policy, government administration, national security and national welfare. And the image advertisement was analyzed by 4 types (capability, favorability, reliability, eligibility of public office) and 8 types (mercifulness, capability, experience, honesty, leadership, personal characteristics, robustness, important items, charisma, freshness)^{1,4,6,9,15,18,20}.

Table 4 and Table 5 show the result of the comparative analysis of the slogans and catch-phrases of Park GeunHye and Moon Jae In. They design directive, expressive, poetic, social and metalinguistic which are the characteristics of

the political communication as expression method of linguistic message in the ostensible function and practical function. However, the slogan of Park GeunHye is metaphorical expression and that of Moon Jae In uses purification and metonymic and fusional expression method. According to the semiologic analysis of the slogans and catch-phrases of Park GeunHye and Moon Jae In, the methods of communication are metaphor and meronymy. The slogan of Park GeunHye, 'prepared woman President', is a metaphorical expression. The word 'prepared' is alliteration as a modifying metaphor. It modifies the candidate Park GeunHye to the already formed President in the context on the basis of semantic equivalence of President. While the most general forms of

Table 3. Classification by Expression Method⁹

Linguistic Factor	Issue ads	The contents of the advertisement evaluate the existing activities of the candidates and the party or clarify their attitudes and stances on the issues.
	Image ads	The advertisement emphasize that the candidate is qualified for the public office by focusing on the personal characteristics such as reliability and personality.
	Positive ads	The advertisement focuses obviously on the candidate him or herself and emphasizes the candidate's good humanity, performance and the positive stance on the issues.
	Negative ads	The advertisement attacks directly the opposing candidate or criticizes the past policy or image with simple phrases. The types of attacks are attack on the issue stance, attack on image, attack on group joining and political coalition, etc. The challenger prefers the negative ad. The direct attack focuses on the opposing candidate's stance on the specific issue and negative factors of image.
Expression Methods for Appealing to Voters	Logical appeal	Logical appeal presents the concrete evidences (statistical numbers, logical illustrations, conclusive proofs, etc.) on the advertisement in order to persuade the voters to have favorable stance.
	Emotional appeal	This method appeals to the voter's sensitivities like specific feelings or emotions (happiness, pride, patriotism, anger, hope, etc.) and is used for the emotional advertisement.
	Ethical appeal	This method emphasizes the candidate's capability and experience and focuses on the candidate's reliability, credibility, capability and career using prominent social figures or ordinary persons.

3. Analysis Result

Table 4. Analysis of Linguistic Message of Book type Campaign Publication of the candidate Park Geunhye (Slogan and Catch-Phrase)¹³.

Linguistic Message	Ostensible Function	Practical Function
Prepared Woman President	· Directive (Affirmation, Substitution, Semantic Conversion). · Expressive (Representation, Appropriation, Integration by Code). · Agitative (Authoritative Discussion, Rhetorical Agitation, Preamble, Reminding of Code). · Poetic (Demand, Repetition, Word Transposition, Metaphor). · Social (Formal Expression, Network Domination). · Metalinguistic (Objectifying Title, Naming and Definition).	· Directive (Affirmation, Objectifying Title). · Expressive (Purification, Authoritative Discussion). · Agitative (Substitution, Demand, Formal Expression). · Poetic (Appropriation, Rhetorical Agitation, Rhetorical Preamble). · Social (Representation, Preamble, Repetition, Word Transposition, Network Domination). · Metalinguistic (Semantic Conversion, Integration by Code, Metonymy, Naming and Definition).

Table 5. Analysis of Linguistic Message of Book Type Campaign Publication of the candidate Moon Jae In (Slogan and Catch-Phrase)¹¹.

Linguistic Message	Ostensible Function	Practical Function
Human is the first	·Directive (Affirmation, Purification, Substitution, Addition, Semantic Conversion). ·Expressive (Fusion, Representation, Appropriation, Integration by Code). ·Agitative (Authoritative Discussion, Rhetorical Agitation, Preamble, Reminding of Code). ·Poetic (Demand, Repetition, Word Transposition, Metaphor). ·Social (Formal Expression, Network Domination). ·Metalinguistic (Objectifying Title, Naming and Definition).	·Directive (Affirmation, Objectifying Title). · Expressive (Purification, Authoritative Discussion). · Agitative (Substitution, Demand, Formal Expression). ·Poetic (Appropriation, Rhetorical Agitation, Rhetorical Preamble). ·Social (Representation, Preamble, Repetition, Word Transposition, Network Domination). ·Metalinguistic (Semantic Conversion, Integration by Code, Metonymy, Naming and Definition).

Table 6. Analysis of Visual Image of Book type Campaign Publication of the candidate Park Geunhye¹³

Major Visual Symbol (Signifier + Signified)	Primary Meaning Effect		Secondary Meaning Effect	
	Signifier	Denotation	Connotation	Myth/ideology
	Layout (Picture Position)	Half Body, Straight Posture at Center	Principle, Central Leader	- Central Leadership. - Tolerance and Harmony. - Breakaway from Sense of Belonging to Political Party and Regionalism. - Femininity and Preparedness.
	Face	Staring center with half smile	Politician with tender image	
	Costume (Suit)	Official, Courtesy	Principle, Respect and Consideration	
	Costume (Red)	Warmth and Passion	Warmhearted Politician with Passion	
	Symbol (White on Red background)	Color of Saenuri Party	Party Centeredness	
	Hair Style (Up Style)	Simplicity	Transferral of Yuk Young-Soo	
	Accessories (Necklace)	Glance of Necklace	Femininity and Purity	
	Font of Candidate Name (Gothic)	Honesty	Honest Politician	
	Q Mark	Homepage, CF Video PR	Reliability and Prepared President	

Table 7. Analysis of Visual Image of Book type Campaign Publication of the candidate Moon Jae In¹¹

Major Visual Symbol (Signifier + Signified)	Primary Meaning Effect		Secondary Meaning Effect	
	Signifier	Denotation	Connotation	Myth/ideology
	Layout (Picture Position)	Half Body, Slanting Posture from Center	Principle, Liquidating past at center	• Liquidating Corruption. • Principle and Conviction. • Capacity and Perfectionism. • Breakaway from affiliated Political Party.
	Face	Staring up with closed mouth	Staunch politician promising hope with principle and conviction	
	Costume (Suit)	Official, Courtesy	Principle, Respect and Consideration	
	Costume (White Y-shirts, Black Costume)	Cleanness	Perfection and Silence, Politician with endless Potentiality	
	Symbol (Green)	Out of Color of Democratic United Party	Politician with Principle	
	Hair Style (Part in hair 7:3)	Part in hair with half silver	Artlessness	
	Accessories (Glasses)	Thin black frame of glasses	Showing off Intellectual Ability, Acuity	
	Font of Candidate Name (Gothic)	Honesty	Honest Politician	
	Ivies	Fusion	His own Philosophy	

metaphor are 'like~' and 'as~', metaphor is shown here as 'woman President', 'crisis overcoming President', 'promise keeping President', 'President making 100% Korea'. The indicating object is expressed as 'President of Korea'. However, The slogan of Park GeunHye, 'prepared woman President', is a metonymy as an icon of the semiotic system which is shown as a substitution of Korean woman. The slogan of Moon Jae In, 'Human is the first', is a metonymic expression. It makes the people associate something related if they bring a certain thing or factor to mind. In other words, it is the case which makes the people associates the whole by presenting a part. The slogan of Moon Jae In, 'Human is the first', leads to the whole 'rather than ideology', 'rather than power', 'rather than money', 'rather than educational level', 'rather than position', 'rather than success', 'rather than family', 'rather than apartment', 'rather than car', 'rather than business card', 'rather than victory' and 'rather than honor'^{7,8}. As in Table 6, in the book type campaign publication of the candidate Park GeunHye, the major visual symbols show that she breaks away from the sense of belonging

to political party and regionalism for 'tolerance and harmony' of the people at campaign culture as a candidate with 'central leadership'. This is a micro targeting strategy which approaches the 'women voters' as a 'Prepared Woman President'.

As in Table 7, the candidate Moon Jae In focuses appealing to the voter's emotion and campaign promises such as 'liquidating corruption', 'principle and conviction', 'capability and perfectionism' and 'breakaway from affiliated political party'.

In Table 8, the types of political advertisement, both of the two candidates design the same method. Moon Jae In presents wife. It aims at the woman voters by using the plain folks that he has a family and so he is a normal and ordinary candidate. In negative advertisement, Park GeunHye uses bandwagon of current government (Lee MyungBak government). As for the types of propaganda, Park GeunHye presents foreign Leaders and Moon Jae In presents domestic politicians. In testimonial method Park GeunHye uses by-line, and Moon Jae In does not. And in plain folks method, Moon Jae In shows the trace of his

Table 8. Types of Political Advertisements, Propagandas and Visual Images^{11,13}

	Candidate Park GeunHye	Candidate Moon Jae In
Types of Political Advertisements	·Advertisement of Candidate Appearance (Upper Body). ·Cinema-verite ads(Getting along with voters). ·Passerby Advertisement(Merchant, Sportsman, Adolescent (High school student, College student, Youth), Old woman. ·Positive Advertisement. ·Issue Advertisement – Image Advertisement.	·Advertisement of Candidate Appearance (Upper Body). ·Cinema-verite ads(Getting along with voters). ·Passerby Advertisement(Students, Young woman, Merchant, Old woman, Children, Soldier). *Appearance of Moon Jae In's Wife ·Positive Advertisement – Negative Advertisement (Attack Ad). ·Issue Advertisement – Image Advertisement.
Types of Propagandas	·Name calling (not used). ·Glittering Generality (Prepared woman President). ·Transfer (Obama, Xi Jinping, Merkel, Father). ·Testimony (Campaign promises by-line). ·Plain Folks (Student, Sportsman, Old woman Merchant). ·Bandwagon (Korean President, etc.). ·Card Stacking (Crisis overcoming ability, National unification, World changing promise, etc).	·Name calling(Lee MyungBak Government, Princess-like Life, Aristocratic Candidate). ·Glittering Generality (Human is the first). ·Transfer (Kim Dae Jung, Rho MooHuyn, AhnCheol Soo). ·Plain Folks (Picture of candidate's life trace, Wife, Middle-aged woman merchant, Solitary old man, Children, Soldier). ·Bandwagon (The first President of new era, etc). ·Card Stacking (Promise of new politics, Change of Government, Job creation, etc).
Types of Visual Images	·Overall Image (Authoritative Image). ·Together with sportsman with sleeves rolled up. ·Picture of political activities. ·Together with youth in red costume. ·Caricature. ·Proof shot with young women. ·Together with high school students. ·Staring front in military uniform. ·Promise with smile and Major career.	·Overall Image (Aristocratic Image). ·Picture of policy activities. ·Picture of candidate's life trace (candle light, marriage, human rights lawyer, wife, climbing, student life in middle and high school, funeral alter of Rho Moo Hyun, air-borne jump). ·Together with young women. ·Appearance of merchant. ·Stretching with young women. ·Together with old man in police uniform. ·Appearance of children. ·Military training and dining together with soldiers in military uniform. ·Promise with children and academic background and career.
Font of Text	Ming, Script, Emoticon	Ming
Characteristic	Emoticon, Caricature, Q Mark	Ivies (Name of Campaign Group) Beyond faction, Agenda type camp Camp driven by citizen.



Figure 1. Book type campaign publication of Park GeunHye and Moon Jae In^{11,13}.

Table 9. Classification by expression method and appealing factors of political advertisement (Number of Media 32: Video 15, Print 17)^{11,13}

Linguistic Factor	Appealing Contents (Message Ad)	Types of Ad	Media	Park GeunHye	Moon Jae In
		Image Ad	Video	14	13
			Print	13	10
		Issue Ad	Video	2	6
			Print	10	5
	Appealing Direction (Message Direction)	Positive Ad	Video	12	6
			Print	13	11
		Negative Ad	Video	0	2
			Print	0	1
Expression Appealing to Voters	Appealing Method (Method)	Logical Appealing	Video	2	0
			Print	13	3
		Emotional Appealing	Video	12	15
			Print	6	14
		Ethical Appealing	Video	3	7
			Print	4	5

own life for the types of visual image at the 18th presidential election, in general Park GeunHye connotes authoritative image and Moon Jae In connotes aristocratic image. For the font of text, Park GeunHye uses Ming, Script and Emoticon and Moon Jae In uses Ming. As for the characteristics of the two candidates, Park GeunHye uses emoticon, caricature and Q mark and Moon Jae In uses ivies (name of campaign group). In Table 9, as for the appealing contents, Park GeunHye uses more image advertisements than Moon Jae In at the number of 27 to 24. Two candidates use the issue advertisements almost at the same rate. As for the appealing directions, Moon Jae In uses 3 negative advertisements. And for the appealing methods, Park GeunHye uses more logical appealing than Moon Jae In at the number of 15 to 3 while Moon Jae In uses more emotional appealing than Park GeunHye at the number of 29 to 18. As for the linguistic

factors, both of the candidates design image advertisements rather than issue advertisement, and positive advertisement rather than negative advertisement. And for the appealing expressions, Park GeunHye focuses on logical appealing and Moon Jae In focuses on emotional appealing.

4. Conclusion and Proposal Paper before Styling

The design of slogan and catch-phrase of the candidates, Park GeunHye and Moon Jae In, use the directive and agitative message expression which is the characteristics of the political communication.

As for the expression of language, Park GeunHye uses metaphor and Moon Jae In uses meronymy. Both of them express symbolically the connotative signifier that they are the most qualified candidates for referent,

the President of Korea. The slogan of Park GeunHye, 'The first prepared woman President', is authoritative but shows the power of execution, reliability and time spirit. However, the slogan of Moon Jae In, 'Human is the first', involves the feeling of consideration and benefit but is metaphysical concept which is beyond the public language and hard to be understood. As for the visual image, the visual symbols such as conviction, capability, and consideration of the both candidates are created as a myth at the interrelation of the voter's emotion and the value of political culture. And it is transferred to the ideology naturally accepted to the general society. In the types of political advertisement, propaganda technique and visual image, both of the candidates design the image advertisement methods which cannot break out of the Korean political environment of high involvement. The propaganda techniques, such as glittering generality, transfer, testimony, plain folks, bandwagon and card stacking, are considered but name calling, assaultive ad are avoided. As for the types of visual image, the two candidates connote authoritative and aristocratic images in general. The typography types such as emoticon, caricature, Q mark and symbolic ivies are used. As for the linguistic expression factors, both of the candidates design image advertisements rather than issue advertisement, and positive advertisement rather than negative advertisement. And for the appealing expressions, Park GeunHye focuses on logical appealing and Moon Jae In focuses on emotional appealing. The two candidates use the indexical-symbol expression as the signifier of the referent, the 18th Korean President, through the symbol of the printed advertisement. The connotation of the political advertisement is to create a myth which drives the support in process of interaction of political and cultural values by persuading the voter's emotion. Therefore, the myth, which the two candidates want, is the ideological change supported by the overall society while each voter or specific social group accepts it naturally through the rule, sign and practice concealed in Korean political culture.

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