

HIDDEN MEANINGS OF OPEN POLITICAL ADVERTISING (ON THE EXAMPLE OF GEORGIAN TV POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS FOR 2014-2021)

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Abstract

The development of modern technologies has given rise to the era of visual culture, in which visual information is more important than verbal information, because in most respects, it is more comprehensive with implicit messages. Therefore, we decided to study open political advertisements on Georgian TV, in which visual information often has much more meaning than verbal information.

In general, advertising producers, and especially the creators of political advertising, should skillfully use the visual component in order to be able to increase the degree of impact on the consumers by increasing the media space. In order to measure the trends observed in Georgian political marketing in this regard, we analyzed advertisements used for different types of elections from 2014 to 2021.

The research period was determined by the following fact: since 2014, Georgian Dream has added a new model - the multi-sided positioning of a candidate - to the variety of open political advertisements created by Georgian political parties - counter-advertisement, propaganda. Our goal was to observe the transformation of open political advertising from 2014 to the municipal elections in 2021.

Our research is a novelty from the point of view of methodology, because, despite the fact that, as a rule, open or hidden political advertising has been studied by specialists in different contexts, there has so far been no precedent for the presentation of implicit meanings of Georgian open political advertising based on semiotic analysis and theories of media effects. We believe that it is possible to decipher the hidden meanings of open political advertising based on these two areas - semiotics and theories of media effects.

The conducted research has shown that in the process of perception of the message by the recipient, the visual code intervenes and gives direction. The examples studied by us prove that frames are mostly created by visual elements that dictate to the addressee how to perceive the message. Based on the theory of ‘agenda setting’, political marketing professionals offer potential voters the questions to think about before making a final decision and, accordingly, the ways of solving these problems are shown to the audience.

Since 2014, Georgian TV open political advertising has been improving, there is a tendency of increasing creative approach, which makes this important part of the election campaign diverse. ‘Falling into negativism’ also decreases and its place is occupied by the type of advertising, which is focused on creative presentation of the candidate and his / her action plan.

Keywords: political advertising, semiotics, framing, agenda setting.

Introduction

The development of modern technologies has given rise to the era of visual culture, in which visual information is more important than verbal information, because in most respects, it is more comprehensive with implicit messages. In general, the purpose of advertising and especially political advertising is to change the behavior of viewers. We were interested to find out what kind of coded message is included in open political advertisements, which fills verbal code with additional information and as a result, increases the degree of influence on the recipient. We focused on the open political advertisements covered by Georgian TV media, as it should be noted that the majority of voters, unfortunately, the percentage of the young generation is very low, get acquainted with the advertisements of candidates and political parties on TV.

We formulated the research hypothesis as follows: in general, advertising producers, moreover, political advertisers, should skillfully use visual component in order to increase the degree of impact on the customers by increasing the information field.

Our research is a novelty in terms of methodology, as despite the fact that generally open or hidden political advertising has been studied in different contexts by field specialists, until now there has been no precedent for presenting implicit meanings of Georgian open political advertisements on the basis of semiotic analysis and media effect theories.

Therefore, our goal is to study the visual side of open political advertising, based on semiotic analysis of Georgian TV political advertisements for 2014-2021, in order to decode connotative meanings, which in turn will allow us to present those ‘frames’ according to the theory of media effects – ‘frames’, by which political marketing specialists dictate to voters how to see and perceive a candidate.

The study period was defined by the following fact: since 2014, the ‘Georgian Dream’ has added a new model - multilateral positioning of the candidate - to the variety of open political advertisements established by Georgian political parties - counter-advertisement, propaganda. Our goal was to observe the transformation of open TV political advertising including the municipal elections in 2021.

1. Political Marketing

Political marketing is a powerful tool for influencing people. There are two main types of ideological and political influence: persuasion, which implies an honest, direct appeal to people, their awareness and call for critical thinking, and manipulation, that is, covert control of people's political consciousness and behavior. There are two main models of manipulation - psychological and rational. According to the psychological model, a person is considered as a simple mechanism that operates on the following principle: stimulus - reaction. The rational model implies the use of direct deception of people. Within the framework of this model, the following forms of manipulation are distinguished: reduction of the volume of information, its classification, deliberate concealment of information harmful to the candidate, information overload, that is, the supply of information in such excess that an ordinary citizen loses the ability to adequately absorb and correctly comprehend it, as a result, he relies on the ‘ready’ interpretation of the information that is being provided for him; and finally, the use of propaganda, which involves the provision of partially correct but biased information.

Examples of negative campaigns in political science include: “discrediting an opponent, labeling it as an incompetent and unreliable person (‘they did not fulfill their promise’) and linking them to the past full of mistakes and an uncertain prospect of the future.”⁷⁴ As Yasha Lange writes, negative campaigning is

⁷⁴ Lang, Y., "Media and Elections", "Rigtime", 2004.

a common affliction that is more common in countries with two-party majoritarian systems. Image-makers call such a campaign “a fall into negativism”. Its regulation measures found difficult to adopt because “overly strict rules can violate freedom of speech, which would be unconstitutional; even the rules, that are too liberal are ineffective”⁷⁵. It should be noted that researchers warn politicians to be careful when conducting negative campaigns. The Italian elections of 1994 are given as an example. The left-wing philosopher Lucio Colletti wrote during the 1994 election campaign: ‘Never give in to temptation and do not create an enemy of the people out of your opponent. Slander can come back to you like a boomerang’. The philosopher's words really came true, and Berlusconi, whom his opponents dubbed ‘dark night’, ‘little south American dictator’, became the prime minister of Italy.

Jacques Séguéla, French Master of Political Advertising, in the book – ‘National peculiarities in the process of hunting for votes’ - gives the first advice to politicians: “They vote for a person, not for a party.”⁷⁶ This emphasizes the leading and most important role of a person's image for winning elections. For the electorate, the versatile positioning of a candidate is an unmistakable guarantee of success, supported also by the French semiologist Roland Barthes, who in one of the chapters of the ‘mythology’ – ‘election photography’ - studies election photography in depth and examines the process of its perception from the point of view of the recipient. He proposes a very interesting analysis: if the candidate tries to demonstrate the sustainability of his social situation with a photo - possessing such ‘bourgeois benefits as: religious and family norms, Sunday service, family traditions - voters identify themselves in this ideology. The audience sees their own idealized face in the photo of the candidate. “This kind of emphasis defines the photogenic: the voter is both an image and a hero at the same time, as if he is offered to vote for himself, turning the mandate of the MP into a real mental transfer”⁷⁷. ‘Positioning’ in politics implies the synthesis of a unique political offer and image. Jacques Séguéla also used this method during the election campaign of Francois Mitterrand: in order to get to know the candidate better among voters, he appealed to celebrities, ranging from writer Françoise Sagan to volcanologist Haroun Tazieff, with a request to talk about Mitterrand in a simple and convincing tone. In the formation of public opinion, of course, the opinion of an influential person plays the greatest role.⁷⁸

2. Semiotics

When discovering connotative meanings, we relied on the mythological system of the French semiologist R. Barthes, based on the linguistic model of the Swiss linguist, semiotician and philosopher - Ferdinand de Saussure himself. In the linguo-semiological system, the combination of indication and designation creates a sign with which a new, second semiological system - a myth - begins. From the point of view of myth, R. Barthes calls the indication a form, because, as from a linguistic point of view, it is the same as a thought, that is the result of a single association of a face and a concept. R. Barthes calls the designation a concept, and the sign - a meaning. It should be noted that, according to Ferdinand de Saussure, the meaning, the last member of the linguistic system - the sign - is the result of the interaction of selection and merger. And the understanding of the world conveyed by signs necessarily depends on the culture in which we live. Taking into account the cultural repertoire of the target audience, advertisements are created. To the French semiologist R. Barthes also belongs the first attempt to study advertising as a text containing implicit information. On a red background, from an open, white, food package appears: two boxes of pasta, tomatoes, onions, peppers and other products depicted in yellow-green colors. The main message was clearly visible on the pasta labels and the inscription below the image. The second information, which was conveyed by the layout of the products package, indicated

⁷⁵ Lang, Y., "Media and Elections", "Rigtime", 2004.

⁷⁶ Segela, J., Editor: Vazha Shuritidze. "National peculiarities of hunting for votes: how they win elections, how they create presidents, 8 commandments necessary for victory", Tbilisi: Innovation, 2010.

⁷⁷ Barthes, R., "Mythologies", Agora, 2011.

⁷⁸ Segela, J., Editor: Vazha Shuritidze. "National peculiarities of hunting for votes: how they win elections, how they create presidents, 8 commandments necessary for victory", Tbilisi: Innovation, 2010.

‘market penetration’ by ‘Panzani’, while the third information was expressed precisely through colors. The colors of the Italian flag assured the recipient that the product was Italian.⁷⁹

While studying the visual code, we followed the opinion of Christian Metz that a visual face does not form a closed and autonomous empire, a kind of closed world within itself. On the contrary, its meaning is determined by the surrounding elements, that is why the non-verbal code will constantly be a victim of the game of words and in general, all the innovations that create the meaning of the sign in a given society.⁸⁰ Another proof that the same sign, whether verbal or non-verbal, will be understood and perceived in different ways in different times and spaces, therefore, we must take into account the social and cultural context when studying political advertising on television.

Taking into account aesthetic, connotative, cultural and communicative values, Greimas like Metz, proposes the following definition of the image: “In visual semiotics, the image is considered as a self-sufficient expressive unit, as a whole of meaning, which is subject to analysis. Thus, semiotics of the face refers to the theory of communication, generally considering the image as a message created by iconic signs”.⁸¹

3. Theories of media effects

Since our goal is to decode symbolic messages of open political advertisements based on semiotic analysis and thus to discover the frames by which connotative meanings are created, we considered it appropriate to focus on those two theories of media effects that work in the case of advertising. These are theories of ‘agenda’ (agenda setting) and ‘framing’.

The ‘agenda setting’ theory studies the relationship between media coverage of an issue and giving importance to an issue covered by individuals. In other words, the media dictates to the public which issue to think about. Political advertisement makers also indicate to voters which issues to think about in relation to the candidate, while using frames, they dictate the viewers how to perceive the message.

Maccoby used to refer to framing as the second level of ‘agenda setting’, which indicates the recipient how to receive the message. However, Viver, who gives framing a dimension of reasoning structure involving evaluation and causal relationships, points out that framing is less compatible with agenda-setting. This interpretive dimension brings us back to the second field of research that is intertwined with framing research, which is priming. Framing strategies while receiving a message can activate cognitive interpretation schemes. It is on these schemes that the message rests and is based on. This temporary activation and the increased availability of these special considerations is exactly what is defined under the term - priming.

Iyengar, another well-known theorist of media framing, distinguishes between two types of framing, as he himself calls ‘thematic’ and ‘episodic’. ‘Episodic framing focuses on particular events and facts, while thematic framing focuses on political themes and events in a general context.’⁸² The fundamental difference between these two types of framing is that episodic framing paints specific events, which in turn illustrate and decorate the theme while thematic framing raises abstract issues. Political advertising, of course, is created according to episodic framing.

⁷⁹ Barthes, R., “Rhetorique de l’image”. Communications, 1964.

⁸⁰ Metz, C., “Au-dela de l’analogie, l’image”. Communications, 1970.

⁸¹ Greimas A.J., et Courtes, J., “Semiotique, dictionnaire raisonne de la theoris du langages”, Paris, Hachette. 1979, 83.181.

⁸² Iyengar, S., „Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues.“ The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

4. Implicit meanings of open political advertisements on television

While researching Georgian TV political advertisements, we tried to reveal connotative meanings based on semiotic analysis, which were acquired by visual code based on verbal message and, thus, created frames that would dictate to viewers how to receive the message, as well as, based on the theory of ‘agenda setting’, we observed what issues were voiced in the advertisements, studying them taking into account the socio-political context.

4.1. Negative Ads

A classic example of a negative campaign was the advertisement used by the United National Movement against the Georgian Dream in 2014 – ‘the dream does not work’. According to the format, three types of this advertisement are identified. In one, the founder of ‘Georgian Dream’ B. Ivanishvili’s pre-election appeals (2012), or ‘Georgian Dream’s’ pre-election promises are used, which has attached graphics of the percentage of fulfilled/unfulfilled promises; The second focuses on the specific figure of unfulfilled promises, and the third appeals to the difference between the salaries of representatives of the ‘government of dream’ and pensions, the subsistence minimum, indicators of social assistance.

In order to identify the main ways by which these political advertisements were created, we structurally studied one example of all three types of advertisements and put such types of advertisements in the created model in order to make sure the identity of the handwriting.

Let’s review the first type of ads, in which only three frames are used, and the percentage relationship between the duration of the shots is identical, (e. g. the longest is the first shot, then the third and smallest time is devoted to the second shot). When analyzing this type of advertising, the following special effects were highlighted, which should definitely be overlooked, since they play an important role in trying to manipulate public opinion. These include graphics, color, font. Since the advertisement is focused on the schedule (if the first shot takes the place of subtitles, The Last Shot is entirely dedicated to it), it would be advisable to start the research by studying the graphics, which, of course, includes the analysis of colors and fonts.

A static graphic placed on a moving frame begins with a date that denotes date of Bidzina Ivanishvili's address or pre-election promises (e.g.18.07.2012), the date reference has a double contextual meaning: on the one hand, it ensures the reliability of the information, and on the other hand, it implicitly informs the recipient of the message that enough time has passed to fulfill the promise; Then comes the percentages, which are conveyed in five colors: green, yellow, red, white, the latter in the last shot is replaced by blue.

In order to study the impact of these colors on the human psyche, we were guided by the work of Vasil Kandinsky ‘on spirituality in art’. According to the author, color has a psychic power that evokes spiritual vibrations.

In addition, we think that local codes of these colors should be taken into account in order to identify the purpose of the creator of the video clip when selecting the colors.: red and white color combination for Georgian voters is associated with the ‘United National Movement’, and blue and yellow color combination-with ‘Georgian Dream’.

‘**Not fulfilled**’ is marked in red in the graphic. According to Vasil Kandinsky, red acts excitingly and causes different spiritual vibrations according to associations. The local code is added to this, which is associated with the ‘United National Movement’ for Georgian voters. Thus, the red-colored symbol leads us to the implicit information of the remark – ‘not fulfilled’, which implies, on the one hand, the excitement/concern of the recipient, and on the other hand, subconsciously informs us that the number of unfulfilled promises has been discovered by the United National Movement, the subtext of which is the

following: flaws are generally corrected by the one who finds them. So, under this remark is hidden the promise that the 'United National Movement' will fulfill the unfulfilled promises of the 'Georgian Dream'.

'**Fulfilled**' is marked in green. According to Kandinsky, green is the calmest color that does not move and therefore has 'no consonants of feeling'. According to local codes, it has no symbolic meaning. This time it is not carrying any additional information. However, logically, this remark should have been mentioned in blue, because the local code of the mentioned color is 'Georgian Dream', which fulfilled the indicated number of promises. It turned out that green, which seemed at first glance to be devoid of implicit information, has a function: it is the hiding of reality.

'**In process**' is marked with a yellow color. According to Kandinsky, yellow, violently, irritably and bewitchable affects the human soul. '**Fully fulfilled**' is indicated in white in the first shot and in blue in the last shot.

'**Totally fulfilled**' is mentioned in white in the first frame and in blue in the last frame. How to explain this change? Let's first consider the aspects of the impact of the colors themselves. According to Kandinsky, white acts on our psychics like silence, which 'representing materially, looks like a fence leading into insurmountable Infinity'. Thus, the additional information transmitted by the selected color in the first frame, which the viewer subconsciously perceives, are endless promises that remained not fulfilled. As for blue, according to Kandinsky, it is a typical heavenly color, which generates an element of calm, it awakens the striving for the sublime and infinity in man. In order to explain the given interchange of colors, in case of blue, we should take into account the local code by which this color is associated with the 'Georgian Dream'. The implicit information of the last shot is also evident, 'Georgian Dream' gave 'total promise' to the population. The use of different fonts in the texts is intended to focus the attention of the recipient on the selected information, which prevents the recipient to save the information himself. The best example of this is the flashing inscription used in the last shot – 'not fulfilled' - in a bright red color that completely covers the information on this page.

In addition to compositional purposes, the style of distribution of information on the shot is also selected in terms of symbolic load. This time let us consider visual side of information distribution according to symbolic load. In the first shot, graphics take the place of subtitles. The purpose of subtitles in news programs is to identify informers. In the abovementioned video clips the leader of 'Georgian Dream' - B. Ivanishvili is identified by graphically expressed percentage of fulfilled and unfulfilled promises. In the first two shots, in the lower right corner (which is intended for the signature of the compiler in the written document) it is written in very small white letters: 'United National Movement' (which is not read at all). This information, of course, indicates the customer of the video clip. As for the source of information placed in the advertisement (in the first shot on the top of the 'United National Movement' and in the last shot on the first line) the address of the site - dreammeter.ge - is indicated in red. (NGO 'Civil Initiative for the motherland' (pro-patria) has created an internet page - dreammeter.ge - where are collected all the promises made by Bidzina Ivanishvili and the Georgian Dream before the elections. This site monitors these promises).

Another special effect on which we want to stop attention is applied in the second shot: pausing the last part of the moving color shot and turning it into a black and white shot (which lasts 1 second). In addition to the fact that this effect is intended to keep the viewer's attention focused, it has a warning sign reinforced with a red framed inscription 'not fulfilled' ("Some colors are intensified by some shapes and lose their intensity due to other shapes...Vibrant colors with pointed shapes reveal their features more"⁸³) and causes an association of approaching danger.

⁸³ Kandinsky, Vasyl. "About spirituality in art", Ilyauni publishing house, 2013.

Let's move from visual effects to speech. In both types of advertising, command forms are used. According to Jakobson, the conative function of speech is expressed in a command form. This is a function aimed at the recipient. It is used by the addresser to enable the addressee to act on himself. This function is especially important in advertising. Let's see how the command forms used in our reviewed advertisements affect the recipient of the message. **'Not fulfilled', 'the Dream does not work'**- spoken in a command tone, contextually linked to the slogan of the United National Movement – 'let's make Tbilisi work' - in the minds of the recipients. This remark carries the following idea: what the 'Georgian Dream' could not fulfill, we - the 'United National Movement' and voters will make work.

In the second type of ads, the above two phrases are added to the third, e.g., '100 factories are being searched for'. According to the Jakobson model of communication, the referential function of speech participates in the understanding of this message. In this case referent B. Ivanishvili's 2012 pre - election promise is - 100 new factories will be created.

In the second type of advertising, the command tone is enhanced by a special musical effect. Electronic music has a special effect of electric shock, which causes fear in the recipient of the message. Their purpose is permanent concentration of the addressee's attention and terrifying warning about approaching danger.

In this type of advertising, only three colors are used: black, white, red. Let's review the relationship of colors and shapes, in particular, changing the color of the 'Georgian Dream' flag - blue - to black.



As mentioned above, according to Kandinsky, blue is a typical heavenly color that evokes in a person the urge of faith, sincerity, stability, while black evoke emotions such as sadness and anger, 'something extinct, like a burning bonfire, something motionless, like a corpse... It's like the silence of the body after the end of life'. Such manipulation of colors implicitly informs the recipient of the message that the 'Georgian Dream' has lost its aspiration to the sublime and has become extinguished, 'motionless as a corpse'.

The same modification of the flag of 'Georgian Dream' is used in the third type of advertisements, where the numbers are applied. On the one hand, they provide information about the salaries of the representatives of the 'Dream government', on the other hand - about pension, petrol price, means of subsistence minimum and social assistance. The recipient of the message must compare the numbers to each other in order to annoy the colossal difference and to have a negative attitude towards the 'Dream government'.

The detailed analysis of the ads shows that they are typical examples of negative campaigns, which, according to the theory of 'agenda setting', directly dictate to voters what issues to think about, before they make a decision.

The structure of negative advertising is almost identical. For example, Clinton's negative ads were built on a documentary basis: quotes from Bush's previous promises were taken, followed by statistics that did

not confirm that. In 2008, the opposition used similar tactics against President Saakashvili without success; in 2014, President Saakashvili's party behaved likewise against 'Georgian Dream', but with no success.

4.2. Psychological model of manipulation

As we have already discussed above, according to the psychological model of manipulation, a person is considered as a simple mechanism that operates on the following principle: stimulus - reaction. Kakha Kaladze, one of the candidates for mayor of Tbilisi in the municipal elections of 2021, turned to this model and at the same time allegedly answered to the 'Not fulfilled' -used in the advertising of opponents eight years ago - with the 'Promise fulfilled'.

The architectonics of these advertisements are identical. On the screen, in different shades of blue, the candidate's number, first and last name, as well as the name of the party are displayed in white, the number is marked in yellow, and the candidate's motto is written in blue on a yellow background: 'More life in every district.' The colors have a calming effect on the recipient's psyche, which is further reinforced by the word - life. Yellow even as a warning sign prepares viewers for the following information. In a parallel video, viewers see the candidate and the state of the territory in 2018, about the rehabilitation of which Kakha Kaladze speaks. In the next shot, the candidate's number, marked in yellow, appears again on blue tones, followed by a red frame on a white background – 'promise fulfilled' and then, the viewer sees on the screen the evidence of what the aforementioned area looks like in 2021. These voiceless shots occupy half the ad time. This time is intended to make voters think and respond to the stimulus with an adequate reaction. In these advertisements, the visual component plays a crucial role. At first glance, the video material provided without comments gives voters a feeling of freedom, as if they are allowed to analyze the information themselves, while one of the methods of media effects theory is involved here - framing. Frames are created with information conveyed by visual component, namely old and new condition. Using these frames, the viewer is dictated how to perceive the message, that he should compare the updated version with the old one and make a conclusion favorable for the candidate.

It should be noted that open political advertisements of various political parties and candidates are mainly built on this model, so we will not dwell on them in detail.

4.3. Multilateral positioning of candidates

A novelty was the advertisement that Georgian Dream used during the 2014 local government elections for its candidate, the current mayor of Tbilisi, Narmania, in which he was characterized by well-known and respected people of Georgian society. This ad is a good example of positioning, as it combines the creation of a candidate's image and a political offer.

The advertisement consists of 8 shots, out of which 7 are dedicated to public figures and the last shot - to the candidate.



Old photos of Tbilisi are used as the background for the first seven shots, dominated by warm colors that do not catch the viewer's eye and positively creates positive attitude in them. The sequence of non-verbal and verbal means of transmitting information is interestingly used. In the verbal part, initially, the emphasis is on the personal qualities of the candidate Narmania. The ad begins with an address by the actor Kakhi Kavsadze, in which 'cleanness' is emphasized not only by raising the tone of voice, but also

by gestures. The rugby player Irakli Abesadze emphasizes Narmania's 'loyalty' and ability to 'play as a team'. A transition is taking place from personal qualities on the main messages of the candidate's election program. 'Development of Tbilisi' sounds twice. In the 3rd shot, the singer Metonidze says and in the 6th shot – the artist Gugushvili repeats. The shot here is also dynamic, which is intended as a context of a rapid development. From the 3rd shot the background also acquires symbolic meaning. 10 seconds (the duration of the first two shots) is enough for the viewer to perceive the background and discover its symbolic load. Old photos of Tbilisi illustrate the confrontation with the city development plan of the 'National Movement', which reflected the loss of the old appearance of the city.

Among the above-mentioned shots, the plan of taking care of the historical heritage of Tbilisi and creation of ecologically clean and healthy environment in Tbilisi are inserted. Among the above-mentioned images is a plan of how to take care of the historical heritage of Tbilisi and how to create ecologically clean and healthy environment in the city, about which historian G. Otkhmezuri speaks. This message is voiced by the doctor T. Mikeladze. The message, voiced by the artist Matabeli, which is about turning Tbilisi region into a cultural center, is used as a jump from public figures to the candidate. In the last shot, we see the candidate surrounded by people. His gesture - right-hand address - and slogan – 'Our city needs care', while talking to the voters, the coincidence of a smile and a message – 'Let's take care of Tbilisi together' - brings a feeling of common happiness to the addressee. The advertisement uses the word – 'clean' twice -although in different contexts, but it should be noted that the viewer only memorizes the word according to the first context, because it is known, memory begins with receiving an impression, entering information into the mental system. Therefore, the word – 'clean'- the second time mentioned in the 5th shot, in the 'long-term memory' of the addressee, will remain in the context, mentioned for the first time – 'a clean person', because this word, by means of accentuation, impresses the addressee here.

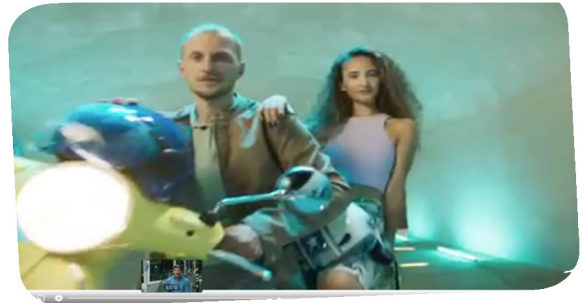
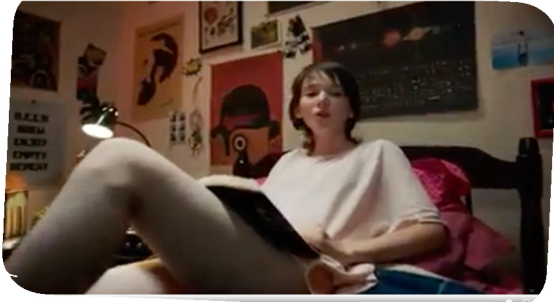
In conclusion, it should be noted that the repetition of the words – 'development, clean' - when building an ad is planned in such a way that the interval between repetitions is the same (repeated once in 3 shots, 12-16 seconds). If not this interval these words could not be imprinted in the 'long-term memory' of the recipient. According to memory psychology, the time of preservation in short memory is determined by 20-30 seconds if it is not repeated. In terms of encoding, information in this form of memory is given in the auditory modality, i.e. acoustic form. The function of short-term memory is to fix the material to be inserted into long-term memory. It should also be noted that the words repeated one after another cause the recipient of the message to feel artificially imposed, which turns into a negative attitude.

According to the 'framing theory', the advertisement indicates to the voter how to perceive the candidate as a person and based on the theory of 'agenda setting' dictates which issues to focus on while thinking about the candidate's action program.

5.4. Self portrait

'Georgian Dream' is trying to create TV portraits of its candidates, in particular, in 2014 for the local elections they paid attention to positioning in the case of David Narmania, but Kakha Kaladze gave preference to the self-portrait. First of all, the purpose of the portrait is to establish personal connection between the candidate and his/her voters. For example, for the 2021 municipal elections, Kakha Kaladze, the mayoral candidate of the capital of Georgia, used ordinary citizens and tourists of Tbilisi to introduce implemented and future projects. The candidate answered their questions and thus informed the society about the action plan. These advertisements were loaded with implicit meanings, while decoding which, without taking into account the existing social and cultural context, the hidden messages could not be revealed. For example, let's consider one of Kakha Kaladze's advertisement, the visual component of which is revealed with connotative codes, and it should be said that compared to the information transmitted through verbal messages, it carries more importance. The priority issue of this advertisement is the problem of legalization of apartments and cooperative housing. A young girl, lying on the bed, has

a book on her knees, asks the candidate a question about homeless people. A room illuminated by a night lamp, the walls of which are covered with posters, creates such cozy environment that not only the homeless, but also a very young person dreams about. The visual code at a connotative level creates the myth that young people will have the opportunity to live in the modern environment. The girl's posture, with her bare feet visible in the foreground, carries the symbolic meaning of an implicit free life.



A young couple sitting on a motorbike has the same symbolic meaning, which we see in the advertisement that Kakha Kaladze tries to influence voters by focusing on transport. The shot of a young couple is decided in pastel colors, which does not violently affect the psyche of the recipient, on the contrary, has a calming effect. Through the interaction of visual and verbal code, a mythical meaning is created, that the candidate's action plan promises to live in a peaceful environment for voters, because if we take into account the existing social context, moving to Tbilisi, even because of traffic jam, creates stressful environment for the population.

From the point of view of a self-portrait, Mamuka Khazaradze, candidate of the political party 'Lelo', introduced an interesting novelty in 2021. The advertisement, which at first glance propagates going to the elections, actually introduces the personality of the candidate. It appears in the shot when the viewer is faced with the expectation that the conversation of a young couple should turn into a conflict. With one bell on the door, M. Khazaradze solves the couple's problem-he keeps the baby so that the mother can go to the elections. In the next shot we see the candidate entertains the child and sings quietly: 'the evening of my Tbilisi...'. In the last shot we hear the child laugh and see him happy, with a toy. The visual message interferes with the perception of the verbal text and gives it more persuasiveness, as it creates a mythical meaning according to which the candidate keeps his promise – stays with the baby and does a good job with the assigned duties - the child is happy. According to the theory of 'agenda setting', voters should think about the necessity of participation in elections. The frames, which frame the main message, dictate the voters to perceive the main message as follows: to go to the elections and vote for the candidate who can fulfill the promise. The 'Lelo' candidate turns to another interesting way of creating a self-portrait when sings with street musicians.



Thus, he tried to present his persona to voters from a different perspective. He has also purposefully selected songs: Gogi Tsabadze's – 'the evening of my Tbilisi', 33A's - 'when it is time it snows', Chikhladzes' – 'autumn has come at the door'...In this type of advertising, frames are created by the texts

of songs. For example, ‘autumn has come to the door’ and ‘we have no time to think’, and we must vote for the one who sings: ‘the star of fate makes me smile’.

Conclusion

We have studied open political advertisements on Georgian TV from 2014 to 2021. Our goal is to show the hidden meanings that the advertisements are full of, because the implicit message expands the area of exposure to the recipient. When decoding connotative meanings, we focused on the visual component of the message, because its interaction with the verbal part creates a myth. We have selected such advertisements, where diverse visual component takes the dominant place.

Our study has revealed that visual code interferes with the recipient's perception of the message and gives direction. The examples studied by us prove that frames are mostly created by visual elements that dictate to the addressee how to perceive the message. Based on the theory of ‘agenda setting’, political marketing professionals offer potential voters which issues to think about before making a final decision and, accordingly, the ways of solving these problems are shown to the audience.

The research hypothesis has been justified, the detailed analysis of certain advertisements convinced us that the producers of Georgian TV open political advertisements load the visual component with connotative meanings, decoding of which increases the information field while perceiving the message by the addressee and as a result increases the degree of influence on potential voters.

It is noteworthy that since 2014, Georgian TV open political advertising has been improving, there is a tendency of increasing creative approach, which makes this important part of the pre-election campaign diverse. ‘Falling into negativism’ also decreases and its place is occupied by such a type of advertising, which is oriented towards a creative presentation of the candidate and his/her action plan.

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