

American University of Central Asia  
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication

**Political advertisements of New media epoch**  
**Research on features of new media and political expression of**  
**new media**

- Concentrated on FACEBOOK pages of 18<sup>th</sup> South Korean president candidates

By

Seunghyun Cho

Supervisor: Syinat Sultanalieva

A thesis submitted to the department of Journalism and Mass Communication of American University of Central Asia in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts

April, 2013

Bishkek, Kyrgyz Republic

**List of Figures**

Figure 1. Two-step flow communication in political ad ..... 13

Figure 2. Two-step flow communication by Lazasfeld..... 15

Figure 3. Negative side emphasizing advertisements .....34

Figure 4. Rational appealing political advertisements .....36

Figure 5. Examples of non-verbal factor.....38

Figure 6. Examples eye contacting .....40

Figure 7. Examples of not appearing the eye contacting .....40

Figure 8. Examples of character appearing without candidate .....42

Figure 9. Examples of Visual expression – videos.....43

Figure 10. Examples of Visual expression – pictures .....44

Figure 11. Examples of Producing techniques: Camera angles .....45

Figure 12. Issue submitting political advertisements vs. image making  
advertisements .....47

Figure 13. Content of issue submitting advertisements .....48

**List of Tables**

Table 1. The internet advertisement vs. the traditional advertisements ..... 19

Table 2. The internet based political advertisements ..... 20

Table 3. Verbal factors ..... 22

Table 4. Non-verbal factors ..... 23

Table 5. Producing techniques ..... 23

Table 6. The candidates' usage rate of Facebook ..... 24

Table 7. Contents of political advertisement on Facebook pages by candidate ..... 24

Table 8. Total frequency of issue submitting advertisement ..... 26

Table 9. Total rate of issue advertisement and image advertisement ..... 26

Table 10. Content of issue submitting advertisement ..... 27

Table 11. Total frequency of image making advertisement ..... 29

Table 12. Total number of image making advertisement ..... 29

Table 13. Content of image making political advertisements by each candidate .. 30

Table 14. Total - Verbal factor frequency ..... 31

Table 15. Verbal factor frequency by each candidate ..... 32

Table 16. Verbal factor: Purpose of using negative advertisements ..... 33

Table 17. Total frequency of verbal factor (Expression) ..... 34

Table 18. Total frequency of verbal factor (Expression) by candidates ..... 35

Table 19. Non-verbal factor ..... 37

Table 20. Total frequency of eye contact ..... 39

Table 21. Character appearing without candidate ..... 41

Table 22. Visual expression ..... 42

Table 23. Producing techniques: Camera angle ..... 44

**Table of Contents**

<b>Abstract</b> .....	4
<b>Introduction</b> .....	5
<b>Literature review</b> .....	8
<b>Research Questions and Method</b> .....	18
<b>Data summary &amp; Analysis of data</b> .....	22
<b>Conclusion</b> .....	47
<b>References</b> .....	53

**Abstract**

The political advertisement is a tool which does only inform the audience about their public pledge but also construct better relationship between politicians and voters. The online media have less time limits, space limits and quantity limits than traditional media. Moreover, within the diffusion of smart phones and internet, many voters are actively participating in politics with politicians. Politicians and voters are sharing their opinions through the internet which can be called as a representative form of two way communication. Understanding each other is the best way to get supporters and to have the better relationship is to communicate.

This research is concentrating on analysis of the Facebook pages of candidates of the 18<sup>th</sup> South Korean presidential elections. Also this research aims to find if any differences between traditional media and new media.

Internet is the form of new media and the numbers of internet users are rapidly increasing. Maybe this research can be a part of the constructing effective strategy of doing better political advertisement through the new media which is the core purpose of this research.

## **Introduction**

From the 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, it was allowed to use internet as a political advertising method, so the boundary of the political advertising was extended comparing the previous election periods. Until the 16<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, all candidates used some traditional forms of mass media such as television and print newspapers. At the 2012 Korean presidential elections, all candidates have actively used the internet as a political advertising and PR tools.

In the democracy, politicians, election candidates or political parties are always trying to deliver their political ideology and positive images to voters. Politicians and election candidates are always trying to make their supporters being kept to support them through actual meeting, television based conversation, newspaper advertising, internet based media and the other forms of political activities. Generally, media is counted as more effective tool than actual meeting or public speech. It is because of the impact of media which is effective message delivery and controlling the mass. The 17<sup>th</sup> of Korean presidential election administration commission has authorized internet as official political advertising tool which really caused to prosper Korean election circumstance.

The internet gives any information without time limits, space limits and limits of data quantity. Informing about all marks and achievements of candidates through the internet (as a new media) is not only functioning as PR tool or reporting tool but also as the core part of the result of an election. It is very common that the internet has huge influence on the society and also on the elections. But there is not enough researches and information about the influence of media upon the elections.

By the theory of the mass media, media constantly changes its formation with appearance of other new media. Many candidates are using Social Networking Service (SNS) and other forms of the internet based media for getting more supporters. This work

will give information about the changes and influences of the new media.

So this research aims to find out the impact of internet based media.

This research will analyze about the media role and media changing tendency on the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election. The research will include analysis about linguistic elements, not-linguistic elements and making methods of the media-based political advertising. Also for checking the media changing tendency, this research will be compared between 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election media role and before progressed during presidential elections.

In 2009, Apple Inc. provided iPhone 3GS to South Korea and it made huge change of life style on South Korea which was the first departure of prospering new media epoch. Starting with iPhone 3GS, whole South Korea has been attracted with other Smart phones and Tablet PC which have very close and easy contact with media. South Korean Smart phone users have been rapidly increased. March 2011, Smart phone users were estimated about 7.5 million. But after two years, Smart phone users were estimated about 35 million in March 2013 (Lee, 2011). Considering that the entire South Korea population is about 48 million, South Korean Smart phone users are possessing about 72.91 percent out of entire population.

South Korean Facebook users were estimated about 11 million in December 2012. The number of the Facebook users has been rapidly increasing and more than half of South Korean Facebook users log in at least one time per day. (Bloter.net, 2013) The South Korean Facebook users are about 22.91 percent out of whole population of the country which is very huge number. Comparing this with Twitter users, there is very huge gap. South Korean Twitter users were counted about 6 million in October 2012 (Etoday.net) which is about 12.5 percent out of entire South Korean population.

The vice-president of Facebook Korea, Cho Yong Bum, said that South Korea is

one of the counties which are vastly increasing Facebook users. Moreover, he added that people who are logging in Facebook through mobiles are more than people who are logging in Facebook through personal computers which means 33 percent of whole Smart phone users are using Facebook. (ChosunBiz, 2013)

The main researching targets are the candidates of the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, Park Geun Hye, Moon Jae In, and Ahn Chul Soo, from October 2012 to December 19, 2012. The research is about the internet (new media) based political advertisements, concentrating on Facebook.



### **Literature review**

From the history of the political advertising, it has been started from the Greek history. At first it was face-to-face communication which is telling and appealing oneself in front of the mass. Then it has been developed its form. Chronologically, face-to-face communication, newspapers, television and new media (internet based communication).

Almost candidates of political elections are using the media to get more supporters and to have more approval rate. From the 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, political candidates could use internet as a tool of political advertising.

Darbshire (1999) defined election into 6 parts: 1. The start of the pre-campaign period, 2. The campaign, 3. Mandatory reflection period, 4. Voting day, 5. Counting and the declaration of results, 6. The transfer of power. Of course, all forms of mass media can handle with those periods to describe about ongoing situations but the internet based media, as social networks, are somehow more effective because it does not have any limitations. For instance, to politically advertise or to show something about the candidates through the other forms of mass media, there should be limitations such as time limits and space limits.

According to Darbshire (1999) during the election campaign, mass media will cover policies, news, comments and viewpoints of candidates. Also mass media is having very important roles during this period which is politically advertising on special targeted audience. For example, a magazine which has more female readers will more contain public pledges or policies of candidates such as equal opportunities policies. A gardening magazine will deeply describe about pension policies for older readers. Mass media is targeting audience to have more effective advertising result and to have more supporters. But again, there is time limitation. To advertise through newspapers, magazines or television, candidates should wait at least several hours. But through the internet, there are

no time limitations. The new media are very proper tool to do effective political advertisement.

Also Darbshire (1999) adds that there are some steps in political advertisement in the media field, especially, via television: 1. indirect access programs, 2. direct access programs, 3. other programs, 4. Voter education programs. Indirect access programs are those programs which remain under the ultimate editorial control of the editors of the television or radio. It covers about election campaigns and gives opportunities to candidates to introduce their views or policies. It also includes the news from television and radio which is the most important during the election period. Direct access programs are those which remain under the editorial control of political party or candidates. The party or candidates usually has been allocated according to the rules such as electoral laws, regulations or political advertising. There are other programs for electoral period. For instance, Taiwan candidates were appeared on quiz shows and Estonian candidates were participating on cookery programs as guests. It will be the example of other programs for electoral period. At forth, voter education programs are very important in all societies and election itself. It gives information about registration of voters, registration of parties or candidates, length of campaign period, polling date and other details. As above shown, there are very many functions of mass media during the election. Before appearing new media, the best way to implement all those above steps was television or newspapers. But the new media is fulfilling all these functions and steps. Therefore, this work will look through the functions and usages of new media.

The Lowi and Ginsberg (2000) described the norms of voting. There are three parts of voting such as partisan loyalty, issues and candidate characteristics. By the American political history, many studies have shown that most American citizens are supporting two major political parties, the Democratic and Republican Party. And there are

voters tendency to keep their supporting party affiliations unless some crisis raises them to reexamine the bases of their loyalties. At second, issues and policy preferences are a second factor influencing voters' choice at the polls. Issues and policies are more important in some races than others. Thus, candidates often raise issues about their viewpoints or counter plans to corruptions, crime and inflation etc. At third, candidate characteristics always influence on voters' decisions. Lowi and Ginsberg (2000) wrote that some voters prefer tall candidates than short ones, candidates with short names than with longer names, and with lighter hair than darker hair. Moreover, the voters are also influenced in choosing the candidate by the race, ethnicity, religion, gender and social background etc. In this sense of view, the communications media is proper way to control over how voters perceive candidates.

According to Kaid (1981), the political advertising is that the usages of parties or candidates to have direct connection with the voters for communicating, managing and informing to people with their attitude, faith and other actions. It is way of direct communication process for candidates.

Korean political advertisement's history started from the 1963. From that time, candidates and parties were systematically used media as a tool of political advertising. By developing this political advertising regime, Korean political advertising has played very important role over Korean presidential election, congressmen election and local elections (Kwon, 2000).

As mentioned above, the political advertising is one of the best ways to have close connection with the voters for the candidates. Because of the late starting of internet usage for political advertising, Korea is not very well developed country in new media political advertising. Even it has only 5 years history, Korean internet based political advertising field is much activated.

According to Kim (2008), during the 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, candidates spent more money for doing internet based political advertising than the TV. It indirectly shows that candidates are laying more emphasis on the internet based media than the traditional media. Also it can be slightly thought as candidates were actively used internet as a tool of political advertising.

This phenomenon is happened not only in South Korea but also in the U.S. As the frontrunners of the 2008 primary election, Barack Obama, Hilary Clinton, John McCain, and Mike Huckabee have their personal Facebook pages. They certainly have recognized the significance of this platform to reach out to their young voters, regardless of its originally entertaining or frivolous innuendos. Like other unordinary users, they know that existence itself is meaningful. And like pop stars, what they do is no big difference—building their fan base. This echoes the idea of “fan democracy” proposed by van Zoonen (2005). It shows that not only South Korean candidates are using a new media as a tool of political advertising but also the U.S., the representative country of the internet based political advertising). And also it tells that the U.S. candidates are actively using Social Network as a political advertising in the internet.

According to Wu (2009), each U.S. presidential election seemed to bring with new usages of internet applications. Even though candidates cannot estimate about the exact influence of political campaigns, those approaches will bring better interactive interactions. Thus far the Web has been considered a revolutionary medium or a medium through which familiar political mechanisms transpire.

For now, South Korean candidates of the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election are actively using the Social Network System (SNS). Therefore this research will compare the internet based media using ways of each candidate.

According to Kwon (2008), the appearance of the new media has a great influence

on the political field. The traditional media such as newspapers and televisions will encounter with new environment. To explain this phenomena that research compared 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election with past done elections. From the 14<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election to 16<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, newspaper based political advertising possessed 88.7 percent and 21.8 percent possessed with television based political advertising. But the traditional situation was changed because of appearance of internet from 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election. Internet based political advertising possessed 32.4 percent, newspaper 35.4 percent and television 32.3 percent.

The most advantageous point of internet based media is that there are not any restrictions of space and time limitations. Also people can be easily involved in two way communication by sharing their ideas and giving the feedbacks to each other. But the traditional media such as newspaper and television are usually considered as one way communicating media. Therefore the possessing rate of political advertising was split up.

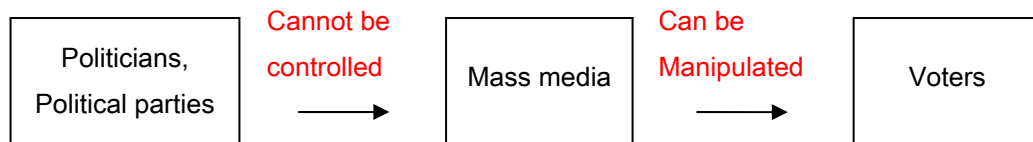
But on the other side, the political advertisements have been criticized with its functions. Sometimes political advertisements are counted as same as commercial advertisements because some candidates use political advertisements only for hooking attentions from voters and only making positive images instead of informing political ideology or personal competence to other competitors. Also political advertisements could be manipulated by media specialists just for inducing voters. So electors could vote only through intentionally made image by media specialists (Jo, 1998).

The shapes of communication between politicians and voters could be found in various formations but the most traditional formation is face-to-face communication (Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee, 1986). The face-to-face communication means that politicians directly meet voters to describe their political ideology and to appeal supporting. By this reason, the face-to-face communication would be one of the most influential

communication methods for getting more supporters. However for the modern society, this method is not very perfectly fit. It is just simply because modern society and members of society do not have enough spare time to be in face-to-face speech place. So, present politicians use mass media instead of face-to-face communication.

The core role of mass media instead of face-to-face communication would be described as “two-step flow communication” (Ansolabehere, Behr & Lyengar, 1993). The following figure will help to easily understand the two-step flow communication.

**Figure 1. Two-step flow communication in political ad**



*Figure 1 shows the process of two-step flow communication in political advertisement. The figure was provided by Kim(2005).*

As shown above, the core role of mass media is mediating politicians with voters. The politicians and political parties announce the own political viewpoints to mass media, and mass media analyze the viewpoints and reproduce them to voters. The thing is that politicians or political parties cannot control mass media but mass media can control message which would be delivered to voters. “On the contrary, sometimes mass media filters viewpoints of politicians or political parties, distorts, changes or ignores”(Ansolabehere, Behr & Lyengar, 1993).

Giving more power to mass media disturbs an implementation of democracy sometimes (Kim, 2005). This is the clear reason to have abilities to control media and to deeply understand about mass media for politicians and political parties. The ability of media understanding and handling could be the reason of victory or defeat on competition.

So far, described influence of the mass media. Below would be described about influence of the internet based media as the tool of political advertisement. As mentioned above about influence of mass media, political advertisements impacts on understanding political situation and politically participating activities of voters. But internet based media cannot be accurately estimated how it influences and how much it influences on political area. Estimating accurate influences of internet based media on political area is very abstract. So instead of that there will be enumerated features of internet based media.

How does it differentiate with other forms of media? The newspaper based information, the television based information, the radio based information and the other forms of traditional media provided information targeting with unspecified audiences and readers. That is because audiences and readers received same information in same time. Moreover, voters only could share their opinions through face-to-face meeting, group meeting or discussion via telephone (Selnow, 1998). But present days, those limitations were disappeared with developed technologies. Through internet based media, people can easily share, spread opinions and immediately get feedback which is the most strong point of internet based media. The internet based media has several strong points:

1. Choosing to get information with favor

Online newspaper companies produce information section by section which means readers can choose to read any articles with their interests. Not only newspaper companies produce this system, the other forms of new media produce such functions. For instance, Twitter offers “Hash tag” function which easily gathers any information includes the “Hash tagged” words, and Facebook offers “Like” function which immediately shows any news “Liked” pages or users.

2. Two-way communication

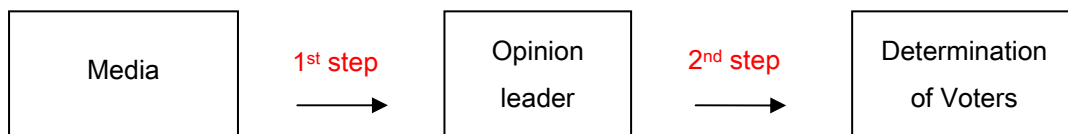
As Selnow (1998) mentioned, traditional media produced information to

unspecified audiences. But using internet based media almost users can instantly represent their opinion and promptly get feedback without any difficulties. Simple sharing information and easy getting feedback between mass media to audience and between audiences to audiences are one of the biggest features of internet based media.

Colligating these features, internet media users use it without time limitation, place limitation. Moreover, users can choose any information only by their interest and share opinions which are very definite differences with traditional media.

By this prudent analogy, there could be found small paradox of two-step-flow communication of Paul Lazasfeld. Paul Lazasfeld researched about voting behavior and effect of the media in the beginning of the 1940s. For that time, Lazasfeld concluded that mass media does not really affect on polling results. Then, Lazasfeld developed the same issue with Menzel in 1963. Finally, Lazasfeld concluded with this event, “The face-to-face communication is more affecting than mass media on making political decision” (Selnow, 1998). They determined that the media is the only final decision making tool. Moreover, decision making process is only caused by indirect contact of opinion leaders.

**Figure 2. Two-step flow communication by Lazasfeld**



*Figure 2 shows the process of two-step flow communication by Lazafeld. The figure was provided by Selnow (1998).*

Theory about two-step flow communication by Lazasfeld is partly correct. For that time, more effective way to sharing information could be face-to-face communication which caused to make opinion leaders. But modern society, there are many intelligent people and opinion leaders. Nowadays, audiences and voters are exceedingly exposed with



information and opinion leaders. Present electors are not just passive voters anymore as before existed.

In addition, there exist similarities between traditional media and new media in the concept of the agenda setting theory and priming theory.

1. Agenda setting theory

Candidates who run for election decide several main campaign issues and try to grasp attention from voters. The incumbent politicians who aim to be reelected are emphasizing successful policy implementations what they have already done and new candidates who aim to be newly elected are attacking the incumbent politicians with their failed policy implementations to have competitive power. Especially, paid political advertisements really affect on determination of voters because media is directing and controlling messages to get better position by media specialists (Kim, 2005). Those activities are made up of media which could be seen both in traditional media and new media.

2. Priming effect theory

The priming effect theory is power of media message that ignores other issues and concentrates on specific issue. It is for intentionally influencing on making norms for electors to choose specific political party or election candidates (Iyengar & Simon 2000). There is another definition by Ansolabehere, Behr, and Lyengar (1993). The priming effect theory is power of media which classifies specific issue, event or topic from news to make norms of evaluating politicians or candidates (Ansolabehere, Behr, & Lyengar, 1993). The priming effect theory is a sort of extended version of agenda setting theory and it really influences on decision of voters. The holders of the right to vote realize about main points of issues and essential disposition for politicians step by step. Of course, these norms become evaluating tools for each candidate.

### 3. Repetition of information

Media produces not only public pledges of candidates, main points of issues among candidates and names of candidates but also very basic information for election such as polling place, polling date and polling time. Also media offers information about inclination of each candidate such as conservative or progressive and active or passive. This repeated information is really affects on victory or defeat from the election (Kim, 2005). This repeating and emphasizing information tendency is also common features of both traditional media and new media.

The new media has been expanding its influential power and boundary which threatens the traditional media. So this research will be concentrating in analysis of the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election and role of new media. Also it will accurately describe the function and impact of new media.

### **Research Questions and Method**

This research targets to analyze the Facebook pages of three main competitors during the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election. Also it will be deeply analyzed political advertisements into verbal, non-verbal section and producing technique section. This research is going to find any differences and similarities which were shown among them. The main research method was selected content analysis for this thesis because content analysis is very effective way to check out about features and new tendencies of target.

Concerning with election, mass media is playing very core role in spreading information and informing about the political campaign. In 2004, during the 17<sup>th</sup> of South Korean members of the National Assembly election, South Korean voters had two major media which could receive information about election. For that time, television based campaign possessed 34.7 percent and newspaper possessed 20.6 percent. Those major media possessed 55.3 percent out of whole media formation. The others were face-to-face discussion with friends (9.7 percent), television based debate of candidates (5.4 percent), television based political speech (3.7 percent), and the internet based media (3.5 percent) and visiting website of candidates (2.2 percent) (Kwon, Kim, Yang, & Lee, 2005). For that time, internet based media possessed only 5.7 percent out of entire media formation. But that time was before inflow of Smart phones. That is why above shown data does not fit to present environment well because in the 17<sup>th</sup> of South Korean presidential election, total cost for internet based political advertisements was much more than total cost for television based political advertisements. There was more information about the spending time with media of South Korean voters. The holders of the right to vote watched more than 125 minutes per day in average, read 38.3 minutes per day, and used internet 80.5 minutes per day.

The mass media is the most superior choice to do political campaigns for candidates because those have enough power. Also thorough the mass media, candidates can directly deliver any messages to voters without any disturbances (Kaid 2004).

Newspaper sphere was also falling because of the internet based media. According to research of 2006 print media receivers, newspaper readership was estimated 69.3 percent in 1996 then 48.3 percent in 2004 and 40.0 percent in 2006. In advertising market field, newspaper possessed 36.3 percent in 2000, 22.3 percent in 2006 (Korea Advertisers Association, 2006). Because of developing technology and booming Smart phone and new media, traditional media are losing their position little by little.

The internet is very quickly growing electronic technology which rewrites history. For instance, to gather 50 million users for radio took 38 years, for television 13 years, for cable television 10 years but for internet took less than 5 years in America (Schoroeder, 2001). The internet brought new form of media which has better efficiency, better and easier access and better interaction. These changes are influencing on political spheres too.

**Table 1. The internet advertisement vs. the traditional advertisements**

Division	Reaching range	Choice	Feedback	Ability to have information	Cost
Newspaper	High	Mean	Low	Mean	High
TV ad	Very high	Very low	Very low	Low	Mean
Internet ad	Very high	High	Very high	Very high	Very cheap

*Table 1 shows the efficiency comparison between internet based advertisements and the traditional media based advertisements. The table was provided by Lee (2006).*

As above shown in the table, internet has more superiorities than other forms of media which could be one reason of possession decreasing tendencies of traditional media.

The biggest feature of new media is reinforcement of interactivity. Through interactivity such as sharing opinion, giving and getting feedback new media induces people to participate directly or indirectly in political activities. Convenience of new media is not only for audiences to read or sharing information but also for media producers to write and spread information (Lee, 2005). Because there is no more time limitations and place limitation to spread and receive information.

Of course, there are disadvantages of internet based media and new media based political advertisements.

**Table 2. The internet based political advertisements**

Division	Efficiency	Disadvantage
Content	Two-way communication	No detailed laws and regulations
	Direct marketing system	Side effects of false, libel, overstate ad
	Target advertisements	Not exact information reaching and not clear effect verification
	Unlimited spreading information	Forced shown ad which is uncomfortable for uses
	No time limitation	Automatic hacking tool installing
	Multi-media usage	Can be manipulated by media specialist

*Table 2 shows the efficiency and the disadvantages of the internet based political advertisements. The table was provided by the Korean National Election Commission (2005).*

As described in table, there are many advantages and disadvantages upon internet based political advertisements. If there will be counter plans for disadvantages and proper

usage education, the new media market will be the core role of the democratic political field.

<Research question 1>

How do candidates use Facebook pages with verbal factors?

<Research question 2>

How do candidates use Facebook pages with non-verbal factors?

<Research question 3>

How do candidates use Facebook pages with production techniques?

**Data summary & Analysis of data**

This research will analyze about the media role and media changing tendency on the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election. The research will include analysis about linguistic elements, not-linguistic elements such as photos and videos, and producing techniques of the internet media-based political advertising. Also for checking the media changing tendency, it will compare between the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election media role and before progressed presidential elections.

The main researching targets are Park Geun Hye, Moon Jae In, and Ahn Chul Soo, the candidates of the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, from October 2012 to December 19, 2012. The analysis is based on the internet based political advertisements.

Also there will be analysis by the candidate characteristics. All contents and analyses will be based on Facebook pages of the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election candidates.

This thesis' analysis takes 3 sections(Coding categories):

1. Verbal analysis (Positive advertisements, negative advertisements, concerning with issue and concerning with image)
2. Non-verbal analysis (Moving shot advertisement, Face expression advertisement, Cloths)
3. Producing techniques (Photographs, cartoons, party logos, characters)

***Table 3. Verbal factors***

Issue	Public pledge about economics, corruption, political reform, environmental issue, education issue, welfare, diplomacy and national
-------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

	security, civil rights / other
Image	Personal disposition, ability, experience, morality, leadership / other
Expression	Rational, emotional, moral / other
Positive	Emphasizing positive sides
Negative	Slander or libel counter candidates

*Table 3 is the guideline for analyzing the verbal section which was provided by Kaid & Johnston (2001) and Kim (2005)*

***Table 4. Non-verbal factors***

Standing position	Standing in front, side standing shot, backside, not appears / other
Face expression	Smile, laughing, serious, distorted, crying, not appears / other
Cloth	Official, casual, not appears / other
Character appearing Without candidate	Citizen, member of party, competitor, well-known in society, family of Candidate, previous or present president, entertainer, nobody / other
Eye contact	Contacting for audience, not contacting, not appears / other

*Table 4 is the guideline for analyzing the non-verbal section which was provided by Kaid & Johnston (2001) and Kim (2005)*

***Table 5. Producing techniques***

Visual expression	Photograph, cartoon, illustration, party logo, 2 of them / other
Camera angle	High angle, horizontal, low angle, moving shot / other
Camera angle 2	Zoomed, wide angle, middle angle / other
Special techniques	Overlapping, splitting / other
Mixed techniques	Mixed techniques / other



*Table 5 is the guideline for analyzing the producing techniques of the candidates in Facebook*

The main researching targets are Park Geun Hye, Moon Jae In, and Ahn Chul Soo, the candidates of the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, from October 2012 to December 19, 2012. It will be analyzed internet (new media) based political advertisements upon Facebook pages.

**Table 6. The candidates' usage rate of Facebook**

Division	Advertisement	
	Frequency	Rate(%)
Park Geun Hye	62	14.93%
Moon Jae In	249	60%
Ahn Chul Soo	104	25.06%
Total	415	100%

*Table 6 shows the frequency of political advertisement usage in Facebook pages by three candidates, Park Geun Hye, Moon Jae In, and Ahn Chul Soo.*

According to table 6, candidate Moon Jae In was a person who most actively used Facebook page for political advertising and candidate Park Geun Hye was the person who most inactively used Facebook page for political advertising.

**Table 7. Contents of political advertisement on Facebook pages by candidate**

Division	Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	Total(%)
Writing(linguistic)	4	57	-	61

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

Rate(%)	6.41%	22.89%	-	14.69%
Photograph	9	36	-	45
Rate(%)	14.51%	14.45%	-	10.84%
Writing+Photos (linguistic and non-linguistic)	39	115	100	254
Rate(%)	62.90%	46.18%	96.15%	61.20%
Video (linguistic and non-linguistic)	10	41	4	55
Rate(%)	16.12%	16.46%	3.84%	13.25%
Total(%)	62(100%)	249(100%)	104(100%)	415(100%)

*Table 7 shows the type of contents that were posted by the candidates in Facebook during the election period.*

As above shown, the method which includes writing and photos at once possessed the biggest percentages. The interesting fact was that candidate Ahn Chul soo used this method with 96.15 % out of total. The reason of this phenomenon is that writing and photographs are easier to get the point from the political message. Also it is more effective to hook the attention from readers.

Result for <Research question 1>

Each candidate tries to deliver messages through political advertisements during the election period. Those messages can be very direct messages or indirect messages which could influence voters on making decision for voting somehow. The linguistic messages could be more exact and more detailed information than photographs. By using this tool, candidates or political parties emphasize social issue or political aims. This part

will handle with only linguistic messages from 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election on Facebook pages.

**Table 8. Total frequency of issue submitting advertisement**

Division			Facebook	Rate (%)
Issue Submitting presence	Yes	Frequency	370	89.15%
	No	Frequency	45	10.84%
Total		Frequency	415	100%

Table 8 shows the total frequency of issue submitting advertisement in Facebook.

This part concentrates on three main candidates who are highly possessing supporting rate from the voters, Park Geun Hye (39.8 percent), Moon Jae In (21.8 percent) and Ahn Chul Soo (29.6 percent). The sum of supporting rate of those three candidates was 91.2 percent which means one of them had been predicted to be elected as 18<sup>th</sup> Korean president (MBN News, 2012). For 49 days, from October 2012 to December 19, candidates Park, Moon and Ahn uploaded political advertisements 415 times on Facebook pages for communicating with voters. From those political advertising activities, 370 times (89.15 percent) was issue submitting advertisements and those were linguistic-written message.

**Table 9. Total rate of issue advertisement and image advertisement**

Division	Candidates			Total
	Park	Moon	Ahn	

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

			Geun Hye	Jae In	Chul Soo	
Issue Submitting	Yes	Frequency	53	213	104	370
		Rate(%)	85.48%	85.54%	100%	89.15%
Presence	No	Frequency	9	36	0	45
		Rate	14.51%	14.45%	-	10.84%
Total		Frequency	62	249	104	415
		Rate(%)	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Table 9 shows the rates of issue advertisements and image advertisement of three candidates.*

The issue submitting political advertisements took almost part out of the entire total. It can be also explained with feature of internet based media. Only internet based media has no time limit to watch and no space limitation to spend time on receiving message. That is why candidates wrote direct messages and issue submitting advertisements on the Facebook pages perhaps because voters could spend time as much as those electors want.

***Table 10. Content of issue submitting advertisement***

Division	Park	Moon	Ahn	Total (%)
	Geun Hye	Jae In	Chul Soo	
Economics	4	7	4	15
Rate(%)	7.54%	1.87%	3.84%	4.05%
Corruption	0	13	3	16
Rate(%)	-	6.10%	2.88%	4.32%
Political reform	15	69	31	115

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

Rate(%)	28.30%	32.39%	29.80%	31.08%
Environmental issue	0	0	0	0
Rate(%)	-	-	-	-
Education issue	1	12	8	21
Rate(%)	1.88%	5.63%	7.92%	5.67%
Welfare	3	26	3	32
Rate(%)	5.66%	12.20%	2.88%	8.64%
Diplomacy and national security	2	6	3	11
Rate(%)	3.77%	2.81 %	2.88%	2.97%
Civil rights	0	12	0	12
Rate(%)	-	5.63%	-	3.24%
Schedule, activity description	18	40	22	80
Rate(%)	33.96%	18.77%	21.15%	21.62%
Other	10	28	30	68
Rate(%)	18.86%	13.14%	28.84%	18.37%
Total(%)	53(100%)	213(100%)	104(100%)	370(100%)

*Table 10 shows the contents of issue submitting advertisements by three candidates in Facebook*

During the 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election, 89.15 percent was possessed by issue submitting advertisements. Most candidates concentrated on the political reform (31.08 percent) part to persuade voters it is perhaps because of huge disappointment of government ruling during 17<sup>th</sup> president term. From 2007 to 2012, there were many

economic problems, diplomatic problems and corruptions in South Korea. Probably, these mistrusts made candidates to concentrate advertising about making new political reform. Hereby, the interesting fact to watch was reporting tendency of candidates. The candidate Moon Jae In, made 13 political advertisements for including corruption of candidate Park and political party. But the candidate Park Geun Hye did not make many political advertisements for attacking other. But Park concentrated on political reform (28.30 percent) and schedule informing (33.96 percent).

***Table 11. Total frequency of image making advertisement***

Division		FACEBOOK	Rate (%)	
Image Making Advertisement	Yes	Frequency	354	85.30%
	No	Frequency	61	14.69%
Total		Frequency	415	100%

*Table 11 shows the total frequency of image making advertisements of three candidates in Facebook.*

All three candidates used not only photograph based form to advertise but merged version photograph with writings. It is also can be interpreted with feature of new media. Doing political advertising only with photographs could be ironic or hard to get the point for readers. That is why all candidates added short descriptions for easy understanding.

***Table 12. Total number of image making advertisement***

Division	Advertisement	Rate
Personal disposition	42	11.86 %

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

Ability	57	16.10 %
Experience	9	2.54 %
Morality	29	8.19 %
Leadership	41	11.58 %
Schedule, activity description	104	29.37 %
Other	72	20.33 %
Total	354	100

*Table 12 shows the number and the rate of image making advertisements by divisions in Facebook*

***Table 13. Content of image making political advertisements by each candidate***

Division	Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	Total
Personal disposition	8	25	9	42
Rate(%)	13.79%	13.02%	8.65%	11.86 %
Ability	4	37	16	57
Rate(%)	6.89%	19.27%	15.38%	16.10 %
Experience	3	3	3	9
Rate(%)	5.17%	1.56%	2.88%	2.54 %
Morality	7	21	1	29
Rate(%)	12.06%	10.93%	0.96%	8.19 %
Leadership	5	23	13	41
Rate(%)	8.62%	11.97%	12.5%	11.58 %
Schedule, activity description	18	50	36	104

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

Rate(%)	31.04%	26.04%	34.61%	29.37 %
Other	13	33	26	72
Rate(%)	22.41%	17.18	25.00%	20.33 %
Total	58(100%)	192(100%)	104(100%)	354(100%)

*Table 13 shows the content of the image making advertisements by each candidate in Facebook*

Of course, Facebook page for 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election candidates was proper bridgehead to inform about schedule plans that is why the biggest percentage possessed by schedule informing section. Park Geun Hye, she emphasized on personal disposition because she is daughter of 5<sup>th</sup> ~ 9<sup>th</sup> Korean president Park Jung Hee. Park Geun Hye repeated memories of Park Jung Hee and mentioned about Yuk Young Soo, wife of Park Jung Hee and mother of Park Geun Hye. Saying about previous First Lady Yuk Young Soo, the candidate Park Geun Hye underlined morality (12.06 percent). The candidate Moon Jae In used Facebook page as political advertising tool for image making with even frequencies. Moon emphasized on ability (19.27 percent) and personal disposition (13.02 percent). It is because of that Moon worked for a civil right lawyer for weak and neglected class of Korean citizen. The candidate Ahn Chul Soo emphasized on ability (15.38 percent) because Ahn has been very famous elite person in Korea.

***Table 14. Total - Verbal factor frequency***

Division		Frequency	Total	
Target	Emphasizing Positives	Frequency	303	73.01%
	Emphasizing Negatives	Frequency	19	4.57%



	Use both	Frequency	1	0.24%
	Other	Frequency	92	22.16%
Total		Frequency	415	100%

*Table 14 shows the frequency of positive and negative advertisements which were used in Facebook pages.*

This part was deeply analyzed about 415 political advertisements which were shown on Facebook pages of 18<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election candidates. Working with this part helped to understand about the tendency of new media usage as political advertising tool. The purposes of this part analyzing, were to divide into three part: 1. Emphasizing positive sides to persuade more voters, 2. Emphasizing negative sides of opponents to damage image, 3. Using both sides to show up flexibility of candidate.

***Table 15. Verbal factor frequency by each candidate***

Division			Candidates			Total
			Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	
Target	Emphasizing Positives	Frequency	43	183	77	303
		Rate (%)	69.35%	73.49%	74.03	73.01%
	Emphasizing Negatives	Frequency	1	16	2	19
		Rate (%)	1.61%	6.42	1.92%	4.57%
	Use both	Frequency	0	0	1	1
		Rate (%)	-	-	0.96%	0.24%
	Other	Frequency	18	50	24	92

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

		Rate (%)	29.03%	20.08%	23.07%	22.16%
Total	Frequency		62	249	104	415
	Rate(%)		100%	100%	100%	100%

*Table 15 shows the frequency of positive and negative advertisements of verbal factor by each candidate in Facebook pages*

After analysis, positive side emphasizing advertisements were 303 times (73.01 percent), negative side emphasizing advertisements were 19 times (4.57 percent) and both sides used advertisements were only one time (0.24 percent). The interesting fact of above table was that the negative side emphasizing advertisement frequency of candidate Moon Jae In. Moon used negative advertisement 16 times out of 18 times. Park Geun Hye and Ahn Chul Soo used only one time per each. Moon concentrated to reveal all corruptions and illegalities of Park Geun Hye and her political party.

***Table 16. Verbal factor: Purpose of using negative advertisements***

Division		Candidates			Total
		Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	
Attacking on competitor's Personal position	Frequency	0	1	0	1
	Rate(%)	-	6.25%	-	5.26%
Attacking on competitor's Future policy	Frequency	0	2	0	2
	Rate(%)	-	12.50%	-	10.52%
Attacking on competitor's Political party	Frequency	1	10	2	13
	Rate(%)		62.50%		68.42%
Attacking on competitor's	Frequency	0	1	0	1

Background, Qualification	Rate(%)	-	6.25%	-	5.26%
Attacking on competitor's Past experience	Frequency	0	2	0	2
	Rate(%)	-	12.50%	-	10.52%
Total	Frequency	1	16	2	19
	Rate(%)	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 16 shows the purpose of using negative advertisements by each candidate in Facebook pages and its frequency.

Figure 3. Negative side emphasizing advertisements

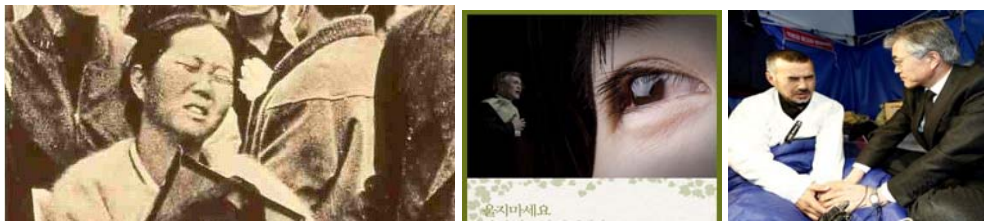


Figure 3 is the examples of the advertisements that emphasize the negative sides.

Above shown all three examples are provided by Moon Jae In. First picture described about past Korean history under ruling Park Jung Hee. The reason why Moon mentioned about previous Korean president was that main competitor of Moon was Park Geun Hye who is daughter of Park Jung Hee. Probably Moon wanted to tell that Park will repeat same mistakes which were already made by Park Jung Hee. In the second and third picture, there are crying eye of one girl and hunger strike worker of company. These two pictures were describing present situation after 17<sup>th</sup> government ruling by Saenuri Party which is same political Party of Park Geun Hye.

Table 17. Total frequency of verbal factor (Expression)

Division	Advertisement	Rate(%)
----------	---------------	---------

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

Rational	169	40.72%
Emotional	127	30.60%
Moral	34	8.19%
Other	85	20.48%
Total	415	100%

*Table 17 shows the frequency of the verbal factors that express the emotion.*

As above shown, all three candidates were concentrated on rationally appealing advertisements (40.72 percent). FACEBOOK page as the new media is adequate online place to read for some minutes and that is why candidates laid stress upon rationally appealing advertisements with linguistic factors.

***Table 18. Total frequency of verbal factor (Expression) by candidates***

Division		Candidates			Total
		Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	
Rational Appeal	Frequency	23	111	35	169
	Rate(%)	37.09%	44.57%	33.65%	40.72%
Emotional Appeal	Frequency	18	71	38	127
	Rate(%)	29.03%	28.51%	36.53%	30.60%
Moral Appeal	Frequency	5	25	4	34
	Rate(%)	1.20%	10.04%	3.84%	8.19%
Other	Frequency	16	42	27	85
	Rate(%)	3.85%	16.86%	25.96%	20.48%

Total	Frequency	62	249	104	415
	Rate(%)	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 18 shows the frequency of verbal factors that express the emotion by each candidate in Facebook pages.

Figure 4. Rational appealing political advertisements



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

Figure 4 is the example of rational appealing political advertisements of each candidate.

Park Geun Hye laid stress upon the rational appealing advertisements with the political reform and social welfare plans (37.09 percent). Moon Jae In also emphasized on political reform and welfare plans (44.57 percent) but Ahn Chul Soo laid more stress upon emotional appealing advertisement (36.53 percent). It is because on the way to political campaign time, Moon Jae In agreed on a single candidate over Ahn Chul soo. So Ahn Chul Soo emphasized on the emotional appealing advertisement to keep his supporters to support Moon Jae In.

Result for <Research question 2>

The political advertisements have two ways of delivering message, the first one is linguistically appealing way and the second one is non-linguistically appealing way. To answer research question 2, this part was deeply analyzed with non-linguistically appealing advertisements such as body movements, face expression, cloths and eye contacts.

*Table 19. Non-verbal factor*

Division		Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	Total
Standing position	Front side	20	57	56	133
	Rate(%)	34.38%	26.76%	53.84%	35.46%
	Side	3	29	16	48
	Rate(%)	5.17%	13.61%	15.38%	12.80%
	Back side	0	2	2	4
	Rate(%)	-	0.93%	1.92%	1.06%
	Not appears	22	63	21	106
	Rate(%)	34.48%	29.57%	20.19%	28.26%
	Other	13	52	9	84
	Rate(%)	22.41%	24.41%	8.65%	22.40%
	Total	58(100%)	213(100%)	104	375
Face Expression	Smiling	4	28	13	45
	Rate(%)	6.89%	13.14%	12.50%	12.00%
	Laughing	7	33	34	74
	Rate(%)	12.06%	15.49%	32.69%	19.73%
	Serious	10	27	23	60
	Rate(%)	17.24%	12.67%	22.11%	16.00%
	Distorted	-	-	-	-

	Rate(%)	-	-	-	-
	Crying	-	-	-	-
	Rate(%)	-	-	-	-
	Not appears	22	63	21	106
	Rate(%)	34.48%	29.57%	20.19%	28.26%
	Other	15	52	13	90
	Rate(%)	25.86%	24.41%	12.50%	24.00%
	Total	58	213	104	375
Cloth	Official	21	77	60	158
	Rate(%)	36.20%	36.15%	57.69%	42.13%
	Casual	3	11	16	30
	Rate(%)	5.17%	5.16%	15.38%	8.00%
	Not appears	22	63	21	106
	Rate(%)	34.48%	29.57%	20.19%	28.26%
	Other	12	62	7	81
	Rate(%)	20.68%	29.10%	6.73%	21.60%
	Total	58	213	104	375

Table 19 shows the frequency of standing position, face expression, and clothes in non-verbal factor of the political advertisements in each candidate's Facebook page.

Figure 5. Examples of non-verbal factor



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

*Figure 5 is the example of the non-verbal factors that were used by three candidates during the election period in Facebook pages.*

Among the non-verbal factors such as standing position, face expression and cloth wearing part, all three candidates laid stress upon front standing positions (35.46 percent). Moreover, political advertisements which were shown on the Facebook pages were uploaded with laughing (smiling) face expression (19.73 percent) and most of advertisements showed candidates with officially wearing photos (42.13 percent).

**Table 20. Total frequency of eye contact**

Division		Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	Total
Eye Contact	Contacting	6	24	10	40
	Rate(%)	10.34%	11.26%	9.61%	10.66%
	Not contacting	18	59	59	136
	Rate(%)	31.03%	27.69%	56.73%	36.26%
	Not appears	21	63	21	105
	Rate(%)	36.20%	29.57%	20.19%	28.00%
	other	13	67	14	94
	Rate(%)	22.41%	31.45%	13.46%	25.06%
Total		58	213	104	375

*Table 20 shows the frequency of the non-verbal factor that shows the eye contacting in each candidate's Facebook page*



*Figure 6. Examples eye contacting*



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

*Figure 6 is the examples of eye contacting, one of the non-verbal factor by each candidate*

All three candidates Park, Moon and Ahn used 375 times as non-linguistically appealing advertisements and among them 36.26 percent appeared each candidate but they did not do eye contact with the audience. It is because they wanted to show how they are influential through their personal connections and how they effectively communicate with citizens through having conversation with people.

*Figure 7. Examples of not appearing the eye contacting*



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

*Figure 7 is the example of the non-verbal factor that doesn't contain the eye contacting*

Candidate no-show advertisements with non-linguistically appealing method were 105 times out of 375 advertisements (28.00 percent). It is because candidates tried to concentrate to inform their political campaign tours. Park, Moon and Ahn uploaded photos on FACEBOOK pages which showed their activities and their supporters.

Result for <Research question 3>

*Table 21. Character appearing without candidate*

Division		Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	Total
Character appearing without candidate	Citizen	13	29	7	49
	Rate(%)	44.82	27.10%	33.33%	31.21%
	Member of party	4	6	0	10
	Rate(%)	13.79%	5.60%	-	6.36%
	Competitor	1	4	3	8
	Rate(%)	3.44%	3.73%	14.28%	5.09%
	Well-known in society	1	18	1	20
	Rate(%)	3.44%	16.82%	4.76%	12.73%
	Family member	1	2	4	7
	Rate(%)	3.44%	1.86%	19.04%	4.45%
	Previous or present president	0	0	0	-
	Rate(%)	-	-	-	-
	Entertainer	1	6	-	7
	Rate(%)	3.44%	5.60%	-	4.45%

	Nobody	1	9	1	11
	Rate(%)	3.44%	8.41%	4.76%	7.00%
	Other	7	33	5	45
	Rate(%)	24.13%	30.84%	23.80%	28.66%
	Total	29	107	21	157

Table 21 shows the frequency of producing technique that does not include the candidate itself in non-verbal factors.

Figure 8. Examples of character appearing without candidate



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

Figure 8 is the example of non-verbal factor where the character appears without candidates.

After analyzing “character-appearing without candidate” section, there appeared 49 photos out of 157 photos which included citizens and their active participation in political campaign tour (31.21 percent). Another interesting fact was that there were 45 advertisements out of 157 photos in which appeared nobody (28.66 percent). As above shown on figure 8, those are just advertisements which show future political campaign schedules and promoting to gather more voters.

Table 22. Visual expression

Division		Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	Total
Visual expression	Photograph	40	116	88	240
	Rate(%)	68.96%	54.46	84.61%	64.00%
	Cartoon	2	1	3	6
	Rate(%)	3.44%	0.46%	2.88%	1.60%
	Illustration	3	15	11	29
	Rate(%)	5.17%	7.04%	10.57%	7.73%
	Party logo	-	-	-	-
	Rate(%)	-	-	-	-
	Mixed	-	-	-	-
	Rate(%)	-	-	-	-
	Video	10	41	4	45
	Rate(%)	17.24%	19.24%	3.84%	12.00%
	Other	3	40	2	55
	Rate(%)	5.17%	18.77%	1.92%	14.66%
Total		58	213	104	375

Table 22 shows the frequency of visual expression of the each candidate's Facebook pages.

Figure 9. Examples of Visual expression – videos



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

Figure 9 is the example of the visual expression by videos of each candidate

As above shown in the table, this section was analyzed by producing techniques on visual expression. The biggest percentage was taken by photograph using techniques (64.00 percent). The other great percentage was taken by other classification (14.66 percent). The most of producing techniques from other section were videos. The videos which were uploaded on Facebook pages effectively played mixed roles of television and newspaper. Moreover, Facebook pages as the political advertising tool, candidates used many illustrations also (7.73 percent). Those illustrations were produced with many computer graphics which is not very repulsive as using in newspaper or television based media. Following pictures are well-done examples of illustration with computer graphics.

Figure 10. Examples of Visual expression – pictures



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

Figure 10 is the example of visual expression by pictures (illustration and cartoon using) of each candidate

Table 23. Producing techniques: Camera angle

Division	Park Geun Hye	Moon Jae In	Ahn Chul Soo	Total

KOREAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION WITH FACEBOOK

Camera 1	High	8	24	12	44
	Rate(%)	16.66%	15.89%	12.00%	14.71%
	Horizontal	25	73	65	163
	Rate(%)	52.08%	48.34%	65.00%	54.51%
	Low	1	9	10	20
	Rate(%)	2.08%	5.96%	10.00%	6.68%
	Other	14	45	13	72
	Rate(%)	29.16%	29.80%	13.00%	24.08%
Total		48	151	100	299
Camera 2	Zoomed	21	76	37	134
	Rate(%)	43.75%	50.33%	37.00%	44.81%
	Middle	-	13	23	36
	Rate(%)	-	8.60%	23.00%	12.04%
	Wide	13	17	26	56
	Rate(%)	27.08%	11.25%	26.00%	18.72%
	Other	14	45	14	73
	Rate(%)	29.16%	29.80%	14.00%	24.41%
Total		48	151	100	299

*Tabel 23 shows the frequency of using different camera angles by each candidate in Facebook page.*

***Figure 11. Examples of Producing techniques: Camera angles***



from Park Geun Hye from Moon Jae In from Ahn Chul Soo

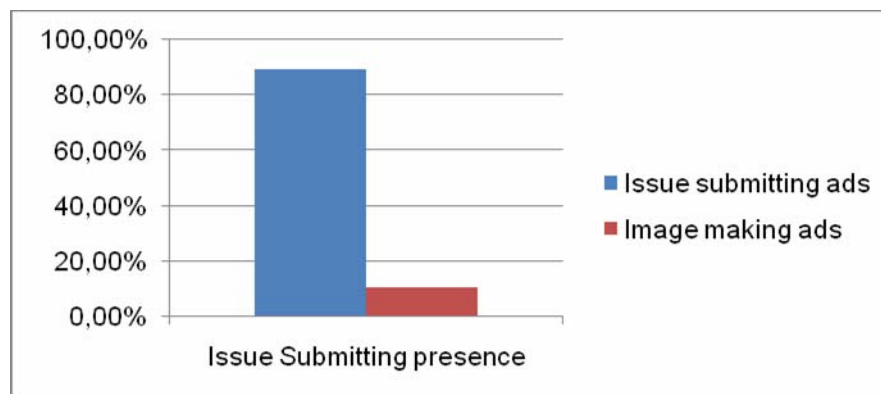
*Figure 11 is the example of producing techniques concentrating on camera angles of each candidate.*

Analyzing producing techniques in camera angles, all three candidates repeated to use photos which were taken with horizontal angles (54.51 percent). In addition, Park, Moon and Ahn used 134 photos out of 299 photos with zoomed shot photos (44.81 percent). Also almost every pictures were focused on candidates.

### Conclusion

During the 17<sup>th</sup> of South Korean presidential election, internet based political advertisements possessed more than 30% with appearance which is very high possessing rate. But, even the huge quantity and frequency of the internet based political advertisements had possessed in 17<sup>th</sup> of South Korean presidential election, those political advertisements were not very exact form of two way communicating advertisements which is the biggest advantage of internet based media. Those were just hypertext messages which could be more effectively done with television or newspapers. Before 18<sup>th</sup> of South Korean presidential election, South Korean young voters had been very coldly treated with Korean politics but those youngsters are actively using internet with developed technology such as smart phones, net books, tablet PC or computers etc.

*Figure 12. Issue submitting political advertisements vs. image making advertisements*



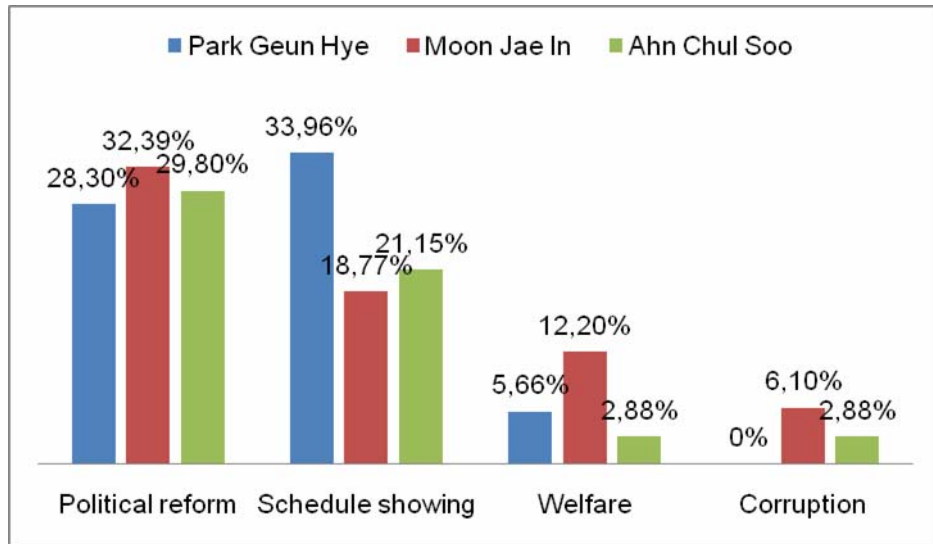
*Figure 12 shows the frequency of using issue submitting political advertisements and image making advertisements.*

According to analyzing process, there were much more issue submitting political advertisements (89.15 percent) than image making political advertisements (10.84 percent). All three candidates concentrated on laying stress upon political reforms (31.08 percent).



But analyzing by frequency of entire political advertisements, Moon Jae In possessed 60 percent out of total frequency of all candidates.

*Figure 13. Content of issue submitting advertisements*



*Figure 13 shows the frequency of using specific content of issue submitting advertisements by each candidate*

The candidate Moon Jae In, made 13 political advertisements for disclosing about corruption of candidate Park and political party (6.10 percent). But the candidate Park Geun Hye did not make many political advertisements for attacking other. But Park concentrated on political reform (28.30 percent). And Ahn Chul Soo laid stress upon schedule informing advertisements on Facebook page.

Also this research analyzed political advertisements which were shown on the Facebook pages by purpose of advertising: 1. Emphasizing positive sides, 2. Emphasizing negative sides of opponents, 3. Using both sides, 4. Other. Analyzing 415 political advertisements from three candidates, 303 advertisements were positive side emphasizing advertisements (71.01 percent) and other classification possessed 22.16 percent because those advertisements were just informing political campaign tour schedules. The negative

side emphasizing advertisements to damage approval rating of competitors was only 19 times out of 415 (4.57 percent). Only Moon Jae In actively used negative side emphasizing advertisements to reveal about corruption of Park Guen Hye and her political party (4.57 percent).

Moreover, this thesis analyzed advertisements by expressive techniques. All three candidates were concentrated on rationally appealing advertisements (40.72 percent). Facebook page as the new media is adequate online place to read for some minutes and that is why candidates laid stress upon rationally appealing advertisements with linguistic factors.

Furthermore, Park Geun Hye laid stress upon the rational appealing advertisements with the political reform and social welfare plans (37.09 percent). Moon Jae In also emphasized on political reform and welfare plans (44.57 percent) but Ahn Chul Soo laid more stress upon emotional appealing advertisement (36.53 percent). It is because on the way to political campaign time, Moon Jae In agreed on a single candidate over Ahn Chul soo. So Ahn Chul Soo emphasized on the emotional appealing advertisement to keep his supporters to support Moon Jae In.

Among the non-verbal factors such as standing position, face expression and cloth wearing part, all three candidates laid stress upon front standing positions (35.46 percent) and 133 photos out of 375 showed straightly standing scene. Moreover, political advertisements which were shown on the Facebook pages were uploaded with laughing (smiling) face expression (19.73 percent) and most of advertisements showed candidates with officially wearing photos (42.13 percent).

Also this research analyzed by producing techniques. 1. Photo without candidate, 2. Visual expression, 3. Camera angle. Most of candidate no-shown photos advertisements included common citizen. It is because candidates tried to concentrate to inform their

political campaign tours. Park, Moon and Ahn tried to upload photos on Facebook pages which showed their political campaigns and reaction of citizens (31.21 percent). The biggest percentage was taken by photograph using techniques (64.00 percent). The other great percentage was taken by other classification (14.66 percent). The most of producing techniques from other section were videos. The videos which were uploaded on Facebook pages effectively played mixed roles of television and newspaper. Moreover, Facebook pages as the political advertising tool, candidates used many illustrations also (7.73 percent). Those illustrations were produced with many computer graphics which is not very repulsive as using in newspaper or television based media. Analyzing producing techniques by camera angles, all three candidates repeated to use photos which were taken with horizontal angles (54.51 percent). In addition, Park, Moon and Ahn used 134 photos out of 299 photos with zoomed shot photos (44.81 percent). Also almost every pictures were focused on candidates.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> of Korean presidential election, the active usage of political advertisements via internet media begins in earnest. Candidates used more developed techniques than 17<sup>th</sup> of Korean presidential election such as computer graphics, videos, cartoons, UCC and illustrations. According to Lee young Ju, there were only 21 political advertisements on internet based media in the 17<sup>th</sup> of Korean presidential election. (Lee, 2011). But in this presidential election, there were 415 political advertisements only on Facebook pages and it means the active using internet as media has started.

But this research has few limitations which could decrease accuracy of thesis.

At first, this thesis was made up by more quantitative survey than qualitative survey. This research helps to understand surface meanings of the political advertisements but not latent or hidden meanings.

At second, South Korea has only 10-year old history of internet based political advertisements. That is why there were not enough sample surveys and preceding researches to compare with.

At third, this research only analyzed the meanings of political advertisements and techniques of advertisements. Further, there should be deep analysis about how those political advertisements impacts on decision making of voters.

According to National Election Commission (2012), the 75.8 percent of South Korean citizens who have the right for voting had participated in the election of new president. After announcement vote-count results, Park Geun Hye was elected as the 18<sup>th</sup> of South Korean president. According to this election results, the correlation between active usage of internet media and decision making for election became as vague. Because the most active user among three users was Moon Jae In but he failed to become new president.

Kim Y.D. and Kim S.S. (2012, December 19) stated in the article of news agency News1 that the main factor which made to be elected for Park Geun Hye was acknowledgement. Park Geun Hye is a daughter of the former Korean president Park Jung Hee who is considered as a dictator. Park Geun Hye acknowledged mistaken works of her father at the beginning of the political campaign.

According to Yoo (2012, December 20) mentioned in the article of news agency TV Chosun that another main factor which made to be elected for Park Geun Hye was unity. It was first unity of conservative party after 1987 that they elected one candidate from their party race.

In the political communication field, political advertisements have been becoming more important in that field. The political advertisements are not just issue and plan informing tool anymore. It really influences on result of election. Internet based political

advertisement has less limitations than other forms of media and more effective possibility to communicate with voters which is very important to election. This research could be the efficient step for further internet based media research and another frame for analyzing new media.

### References

- Ansolabehere, S., Behr, R. and Lyengar, S. (1993). *The Media Game: American Politics in the Television Age*. Boston, MA: Allyn Bacon
- Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F. and McPhee, W. N. (1986). *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago, III: University of Chicago Press.
- Darbishire, H. (1999). Media and the electoral process in A. White's *Media and democracy*. Germany: Council of Europe Publishing. Pp. 79-103.
- Iyengar, S. & Simon, A. F. (2000). *New Perspective and Evidence on Political Communication and Campaign Effects*. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 51, 149-169
- Jo, K.S. (1998). The study on TV political advertisement's effect: based on image advertisement. *The journal of advertisement*, 9(2), 89-117
- Kaid, L. L. (1981). Political advertising. In Nimmo, D. D. and Sanderson, L. R. (Eds.). *Handbook of political communication*, pp.249~271. CA: Sage. Recited from Kim Kwan Sang (2008). Research of specificity of internet based political advertising and expression way: over the 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election. *The Korean Journal of Advertising*, 19(5), 123-147
- Kaid, L. L. & Johnston. A. (2001). Videostyle in Presidential campaigns: style and content of televised political advertising. CT: Praeger
- Kaid, L. L. (2004). Political Advertising. In L. L. Kaid(Ed.), *Handbook of Political Communication Research*, pp. 155~202. Mahwah, NJ: LEA.
- Kim, C.S. (2005). The presidential election and the political advertisement. *The journal of Korean Broadcasting System*, 13-14
- Kim, K. S. (2008). Research of specificity of internet based political advertising and expression way: over the 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election. *The Korean Journal of*

*Advertising*, 19(5), pp. 123~147

Kim, Y.D. and Kim, S.S. (2012, December 19). The main factor of victory of Park Geun

Hye and lose of Moon Jae In. *News 1*. Retrieved from

<http://news1.kr/articles/940745>

Kwon, H. N. (2000). Plan for activating political advertising as a tool of congressmen

election. *Korean Society for Journalism & Communication Studies spring*

*periodical learned journal*, pp.169~187. Recited from Kim Kwan Sang (2008).

Research of specificity of internet based political advertising and expression way:

over the 17<sup>th</sup> Korean presidential election. *The Korean Journal of Advertising*,

19(5) pp. 123~147

Kwon, H.N., Kim, C.S., Yang, S.C., and Lee, K.H. (2005). *Media and the voters:*

*Theoretical approach to the influence of media*. Seoul: Communication Books

Lee, Y.J. (2011). *The influence of the engagement rate of social media in the social media*

*advertisements' attitude and evasion of advertisements: based on the users of*

*Smart phone SNS, Twitter and Facebook*. Seoul: The Sungkyunkwan University

Press

Lowi, T. J. and Ginsberg, B. (2000). *American government*. London: Norton. Pp. 423-445.

National Election Commission. (2012). The result of the 18<sup>th</sup> presidential election.

Retrieved from [http://www.nec.go.kr/nec\\_new2009/BoardCotBySeq.do](http://www.nec.go.kr/nec_new2009/BoardCotBySeq.do)

Schroeder, C. M. (2001). Swing Back to the i-Future: Focus must remain on ad potential.

*Advertising Age*, May 28, 72.

Selnow, G. W. (1998). *Electronic Whistle-Stops: The impact of the internet on American*

*Politics*. Westport: Praeger. pp. 20~22

Wu, J. (2009). Facebook Politics: An Exploratory Study of American Youth s Political

Engagement During the 2008 Presidential Election. *Paper presented at the annual*

*meeting of the International Communication Association, Marriott, Chicago, IL*

*Online <PDF>*. 2012-06-21 Retrieved from

[http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p299117\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p299117_index.html)

Yoo, J.H. (2012, December 20). What is the factor of Park Geun Hye's victory? TV

Chosun. Retrieved from

[http://news.tv.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2012/12/20/2012122001026.html](http://news.tv.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2012/12/20/2012122001026.html)

Zoonen, L. (2005). *Entertaining the citizen: When politics and popular culture converge*.

Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield.

Bloter.net. Retrived from <http://www.bloter.net/archives/143803>

Etoday.net. Retrived from

<http://www.etoday.co.kr/news/section/newsview.php?idxno=647224>

ChosunBiz. Retrived from

[http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html\\_dir/2013/02/07/2013020700923.html](http://biz.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2013/02/07/2013020700923.html)