

Graham Cairns

Imaging the Political Through Architecture

Writtle School of Design, Essex, UK.

Abstract:

Hours after his UK election victory in 1997 the Labour leader Tony Blair launched his “new vision of the future” from the Aylesbury Housing Estate London. Over a decade later, the Conservative leader David Cameron retraced the footsteps of Margaret Thatcher to Battersea Power Station in search of a photo opportunity for the launch of his 2010 election campaign. In the US Presidential campaign of 2008 the Barack Obama team sent their candidate to be photographed in front of the architectural symbols of European democracy; 10 Downing Street, The Reichstag and the Élysée Palace; the aim being to associate Obama with established political power.

This paper argues that the use of architecture in political communication corresponds to promotional strategies developed in the world of advertising. Using examples from the UK and the US it suggests that politics, advertising and architecture have become inseparable in the context of election campaigning. It offers a standard semiotic analysis of the use of architectural backdrops but also indicates how newer post-structural and phenomenological strategies of advertising are also employed. It offers a tripartite analysis of the art of the political spin doctor in the context of architecture and attempts to underline how integrated current advertising strategies are in political communication.

Introductory Background

The relationship between politics and advertising is controversial, polemic and seen by many as inherently manipulative. It is however, key to the political system in Western democracies and, as such, is well documented. However, one component of this relationship that has yet to be fully investigated is the role of architecture as a political campaign tool or framing device for individual politicians, political parties or specific campaign arguments. This essay forms part of a much broader project that investigates this tripartite relationship between politics, advertising and architecture in the contexts of 20th century political campaigning in the United Kingdom and the United States.

During this period the UK – US relationship would take on ever deeper significance and the influence of advertising in political campaigning would reach its apogee. This has been the period of US political and cultural domination in the Western hemisphere, the epoch of the modern media political campaign and what may be called “the commercialisation of Western politics” and, of course, the semi formalisation and recognition of a “special relationship”.

This relationship, which for many was formed through war, has also evidenced itself in the sphere of interest of this essay, political campaigning. US advisors aided the British Tory party in the 1980s during the Reagan – Thatcher leaderships whilst Philip Gould worked with advisors from the Clinton team to prepare Labour’s 1992 UK campaign. More recently, members of the Obama team visited the UK to advise the Gordon Brown team in the 2010 UK elections. It is a working assumption of this essay that one of the consequences of this is the transposition of developments in one

country to the other; something that leads us to the commercialisation of election campaigns.

The 1960 the John F. Kennedy campaign still stands as the turning point of US politics in this regard. Using over 200 TV adverts and numerous other legitimate and illegitimate tactics, it was a ruthlessly effective modern media campaign which saw US politics fully enter the modern media age. By the 1970s the commercial advertising practices pioneered in this campaign had become commonplace in both countries with the Labour Party employing an advertising agency for the first time in 1970. In the UK this later developed into the use of advertising agencies and film directors to produce “political commercials” the first high profile one being Kinnock the Movie, 1987; a narrative based political commercial presenting the Labour leader Neil Kinnock as a family man with deep moral values at the heart of his political beliefs. It had immediate effect with the Labour Party lead in the opinion poles increasing by 5 points the following day.¹

By the 80s, 90s and the first decade of this century, advertising agencies such as Saatchi and Saatchi were routinely employed to promote political parties and individual politicians as “branded products” with the result that it has become almost impossible at times to distinguish between substance and spin in many forms of political communication.² In the UK context, this role for marketing, PR and advertising reached new levels in the 1997 Labour campaign during which the Tony Blair team used explicit advertising techniques to re-brand the entire party as New Labour. Clearly, the very latest advertising and PR techniques had become fully integrated into politics and sat at the heart of any election

campaign or indeed, isolated political message.³

In these campaigns architecture has often been used in complex and contradictory ways. During the 1960 campaign in the US John F. Kennedy was routinely placed in front of classical buildings of state or regional power whilst in office, his PR team invited the press into the White House in order to present it as a place of high office but also the home of a family man. In the 80s President Reagan was presented as a frontier pioneer against an outdoors backdrop replete with the symbol of rural living; the Mid-Western ranch. A decade later Bill Clinton was pictured in the modern stage sets of MTV whilst emotive and symbolic images of George W. Bush against the rubble of the Twin Towers were almost inevitably evident in the 2004 campaign.⁴

In the UK the first Post War Labour government often pictured its politicians in front of slums and new buildings to emphasise the new deal it represented whilst the Labour governments of Harold Wilson in the 60s and 70s did something very similar so as to promote itself as the party that “re-housed the nation”. More recently Margaret Thatcher launched her 1979 campaign from a symbolic “white elephant of industrial decay” Battersea Power Station, whilst hours after his 1997 victory Tony Blair used a symbol of Old Labour policies, the Aylesbury housing estate, London, as the landmark from which to launch his “new vision of the future”.

In the 2008 US campaign Senator McCain was pictured at the Vietnam Memorial to emphasise his War credentials whilst Barack Obama was placed in front of classical architecture to represent his “readiness” for high office. In a prime example of the flexibility of advertising

techniques however, classical architectural backdrops were also used in “attack ads” to present Hillary Clinton and Senator McCain as parts of the Washington establishment.⁵ Clearly, architecture is part and parcel of the imagery of election campaigning and operates in most cases according to the standard logic of “association” operates in most cases.

Although semiotic association has been at the core of promotional advertising imagery since the 1960s and is still central to many political images manufactured today, not all the examples mentioned above fall neatly into this category. Some use unexpected semiotic backdrops or are simply not advertising images at all, but rather independent journalistic photographs. It is suggested here that these images actually function according to very different contemporary promotional strategies which have been defined as post-structural and phenomenological.⁶ In what follows, three separate images produced in the build up to the 2008 US Presidential election will be analysed not only in their political and architectural context but through the prism of these semiotic, post-structural and phenomenological advertising strategies. The aim is two fold; being to underline just how integrated political communication is in contemporary politics and illustrate that whatever the strategy employed, architecture still has a role to play.

The semiotics of architecture in political communication

Until recently the standard methodology of analysis applied to promotional images has come from the field of semiotics. In this field the standard points of reference remain the works of Roland Barthes. In works like *Elements of Semiology*, 1964, and *Mythologies*, 1957, Roland Barthes

developed the Sausurrean idea of the sign but also developed a number of other important ideas; connotation, denotation, association, syntagmatic relationships etc.

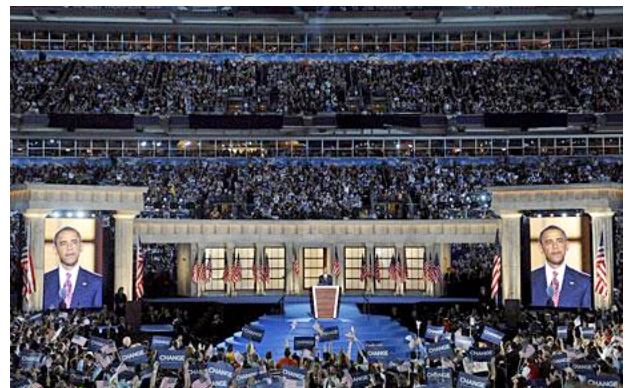
These terms were then applied in an exclusively promotional context by Judith Williamson in her 1978 work *Decoding Advertisements; ideology and meaning in advertising*. In making the shift from the more theoretical contexts of Barthes to the actual practice of advertising Williamson replaced the term *association* with her own term; *the transference of values*.⁷ She also developed the idea of syntagmatic relationships through her focus on the *aesthetic similarity* of referents in adverts and continued to stress the need to understand the socio-cultural context of the image in order to correctly decipher it.

For both theorists all these techniques are part of a two fold strategy of communication. Firstly, the adverts uses them to create background of appropriate connotative values universally interpreted in a relatively socially and politically homogenous culture. An example would be a classical architectural background representative in the West of authority and permanence. Secondly, they facilitate the transference of these values to the product in question.

This phase is premised on the tendency of the mind to simply associate the product with the background it is placed in. However, as Williamson stresses, the effectiveness of this transference is increased if there is aesthetic coherence between the product and the multiple parts of the backdrop. If filled with furniture, or other elements resonant of those same ideas such as a Baroque staircase or a chandelier, the cultural values associated with classical architecture are said to be reinforced. Such a multiply constructed

setting would be seen as constructing a clear and solid message of Western power and stability. In Barthean and Sausurrean terms it is a question of syntagmatic relationships.⁸ these relationships or similarities become fundamental, especially if the product is integrated into them.

These standard techniques are still at the heart of advertising and remain central to political imagery as evidenced in the image described here; an iconic photograph of Barack Obama on the campaign trail in the months leading up to his 2008 election victory. In this image *the product*, Barack Obama himself, is placed in the centre of the image and is positioned in front of two referents; a backdrop of classical architecture and a number of United States flags. At the simplest connotative level he is placed in an architectural setting resonant of values of power, authority and tradition.



Democratic Party Convention: *Barack Obama*. 2008

Following a standard semiotic reading, these values are directly transferred to Obama through a process of association. However, in this case there is more to it than that and, to truly understand the logic behind the image, it is necessary to briefly comment on the cultural-political context around it. This image was produced in the aggressive political climate of the race for the White House. Obama was a newcomer to the political scene and whilst this was

seen as his greatest asset, his relative inexperience was identified as his Achilles' heel. It thus formed the basis of most attacks upon him from his rivals, firstly Senator Clinton and later Senator McCain.⁹

This image is a direct attempt by the "marketing team" of the Obama camp to counter these criticisms. By placing him in a backdrop resonant of tradition, power and longevity, they are using the most basic semiotic advertising technique in the cannon to promote their man. However, the architecture chosen is not only an abstract representation of power, it also functions as a direct representation of the White House itself. Thus, one can also say that in the context of this image, architecture functions at a denotative level; it refers directly to the seat of US political power and, as a result, places Obama in that seat long before the electorate have made their decision. The image is intended not only to transfer abstract values of power and authority, it is intended to transfer values directly associated with the US presidency.

Following the standard semiotic template however, the marketing team have further reinforced this transference through the typical aesthetic trope of aesthetic coherence or syntagmatic relationships. Here it revolves around the colour coherence maintained across all elements of the image. The podium design is a combination of red, white and blue. This is linked to the US national flag behind and to Obama's blue suit and red and white striped tie. Obama becomes fully integrated into an image of political authority but also the most obvious symbol of US patriotism. Another knot is neatly tied in this strictly controlled promotional image.

In bringing together the final parts of this promotional image however, the organisers of the convention have done one more

thing. In the foreground are members of the public holding placards with the campaign slogan "Change". Positioning these people so that they appear in the shot ensures a textual insertion into the image which corresponds to what Barthes calls anchorage; the introduction of a phrase that adds a layer of meaning or makes a connection that would not be made through reading the image alone; in this case, that the Statesmanlike Obama offers "change".¹⁰ It thus ensures a perfect balance in the "product image" which is presented as resonant of tradition, experience and authority on the one hand, but does not lose sight of his "freshness" and presentation as "new" on the other.

Post-structuralist advertising and its reframing of political architecture

As evident from this image of Obama, and many others from the same campaign, the association of politicians with classical architecture is common currency. However, it began to be nuanced in the 1980s and 90s as political communication began to respond to a new demographic profiling of the standard voter and in the process began to once again reference and use techniques developed in the advertising world.

By the late 1970s semiotics was a fully established discipline whose influence on contemporary intellectual thought was unchallenged. However, by that time certain theorists had begun to expand on its basic principles and lead it into new waters. People like Jacques Derrida, Julia Kristeva, Umberto Eco and an author already mentioned here, Roland Barthes, were all beginning to introduce ideas that would very soon be defined as post-structural. Continuing to accept the basic tenants of Saussurean thought, these thinkers argued that the meanings applied to signs were

purely cultural and thus, in the final analysis, arbitrary. However, taking this to its logical conclusion, they identified that this arbitrary basis rendered all forms of sign based communication unstable and open to potential continuous change. It was a shift that opened up what Barthes called the *death of the author* and what Umberto Eco referred to as the *role of the reader*.¹¹

Ceding the power of interpretation to the public these thinkers threw open semiotics to invasion by a whole series of competing voices. The timing was not coincidental. By the 1980s it was generally accepted that contemporary Western cultures such as the UK and the US were far from homogenous in either cultural or social terms. Most Western European countries had experienced decades of immigration whilst the US was evidencing the coming of age of the first generation of Afro-Americans born with the right to vote en-mass. It was also witnessing the continued rise of the Hispanic population to unprecedented levels and the consequent signing of bills such as The Immigration Reform and Control Act passed by the Reagan administration in 1986. Additionally, in both the UK and the US there had been at least two decades worth of what we may call cultural sub-division; the self categorisation of people into ever smaller groupings; feminist, gay, green etc.

The members of this new post-modern, political and socially diverse culture had inevitably different ways of viewing the world and thus, different ways of reading semiotic messages. In this diverse and often conflicting context, it was seen as impossible for the authors of communicative images to totally control the interpretation of their own work. The significance of this in the context of advertising and political communication was profound and was compounded by yet

another socio-demographic factor; the emergence of Generation X.

Generation X was defined as those born into the commercial world of post 1950's Western culture and was seen to be fully versed in semiotic techniques of persuasion.¹² Confronted with a new savvy, and thus cynical public, advertisers (and by extension political communication strategists) were seeing the effectiveness of their tried and trusted strategies in severe decline.¹³ The response from the advertising world was to develop a new range of strategies which, in large part, draw upon ideas from post-structuralism.

Amongst the range of promotional techniques developed at this time were ideas like the opaque ad (those difficult to understand due to incoherence between referents), the non-advert (scruffy apparently amateurish ads) and the self-referential ad (those that draw attention to their own semiotic techniques).¹⁴ Similarly, advertising became more niche focused with homogenous brands varying their advertising from one region or country to another to respond to multifarious consumer profiles. They could associate themselves with high culture whilst simultaneously drawing on referents from popular culture. In all cases however the aim was the same; to respond to ever more specific consumer expectations on the one hand and to get under the radar of the new, cynical and savvy public on the other.¹⁵

A fundamental step in these new strategies was the replacement of standard referents with ones that would nuance and vary the reading of the product in question. Thus, rather than present a product against a classical background to create an image of permanence and sophistication, it became just as feasible to place the same product against a modern, informal backdrop which

would highlight characteristics that would appeal to a different consumer market group. Simultaneously, such as re-framing of the product would present the literate public a set of associations it was not accustomed to and thus, in theory, reactivate their interest.¹⁶

These techniques were seen in embryonic form in the 1960 campaign it was not until the 1980s that they were to become common in the political context. For example, the Reagan campaigns of the 80s presented the soon-to-be President in a range of unexpected settings including the forest and the mountain ranges of the US whilst in the 1990s it was a technique that saw Bill Clinton presented on the informal and modern stage settings of MTV. The message being constructed no longer restricted itself to a one dimensional reading of the politician as a statesman but responded to a new breed of advertising that mixed referents freely to create multiple readings of the same product.

This approach was clearly still in evidence in the 2008 campaign of Barack Obama with numerous informal TV appearances becoming a characteristic feature of his campaign and his Presidency. In these contexts Obama, as with any other political candidate, often steps out of the expected formal presentation format characterised by the use of classical architectural backdrops. In these appearances the formal suit is changed for a simple shirt without a tie. The suit jacket is often removed, the shirt sleeves are rolled up and in some cases the formal trousers may be replaced with jeans as repeatedly happened with Tony Blair in the early years of his leadership.



The Oprah Show: *The Obama Appearance*. 2006.

Amongst the messages such images try to communicate is that these are simple, humble and more real engagements with a candidate who is not just a politician but an “everyday person” who can be trusted. Although clearly not the case when analysed and fully understood, the informal appearances of politicians are presented as free from the controlling guidance of the spin doctors with the candidate often talking about personal issues rather than major policy decisions. Key to the image being constructed in this way is again the architectural setting which is deliberately intended to seem out of place with our expectations serious politics. In short the standard semiotic tropes of a serious powerful, statesperson-like backdrop intended to reinforce the message of an experienced, calculating and objective politician, are disrupted.

In the UK this has been seen in images of both Tony Blair and more recently David Cameron against backdrops of graffitied walls in inner cities, local shops on the High Street and in the domestic settings of their family home. In the case of Tony Blair it was also evident in the numerous images of the Labour leader in the context of local schools whose construction was an education promise in both 1997 and 2001.

In the place of the standard semiotic codes of power, authority and prestige we get a series of informal codes that could seem contradictory in the context of high international politics.

In the image reproduced here from a 2006 appearance on the Oprah Winfrey show the aim is eschew the expectations of the public with regard to the “professional politician” by presenting Barack Obama in a more relaxed and domesticated setting. The conversation is not focused on policies but on emotions and personal challenges. The clothing and posture of the soon-to-be President suggests informality; the tie is gone, he crosses his legs and throws his arm over the back of the sofa, he laughs openly and relaxes with a friend. The guest and his wife sit relaxed on the sofa with their host. In the foreground is a coffee table (hidden in this image) whilst behind them we find what could be a curtain or wallpaper (but which is actually the standard set backdrop). The classical architectural referents that would normally be employed to underline an image of a statesmanlike politician have been dislodged by a format and a use of architectural features which, until recently, would not have been considered as appropriate to the President of the United States.

Phenomenology and the concealing of architecture in political imagery

Although these new post-structural strategies had significantly shifted the nature of both commercial and political communication they were again overlaid in the advertising world with additional, even more complex ideas by the end of the 1990s. Although defined by various authors in various ways, we will use the term coined by the Danish consumer ombudsman

Hagen Joergensen in 2001 to describe these new techniques; *hidden advertising*.¹⁷ Far more radical in its rejection of basic semiotics than its predecessor, hidden advertising centres on the creation of ambiguous experiences and, as a result, necessitates the employment of a very different theoretical framework of analysis; phenomenology.

As a discipline phenomenology is rarely considered in the context of advertising or indeed, political communication. Premised on the understanding of consciousness through an understanding of perception, it is a field of study that draws attention to sensorial experience and the active and inactive nature of the mind. Implicit in one of the discipline’s most fundamental works, *The Phenomenology of Perception*, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, 1962, is the argument that perception is not only ambiguous but involves the unconscious absorption of multiple stimuli. It is this feature that makes it useful for understanding the type of advertising discussed here.

Hidden advertising can be defined as a type of advertising whose aim is to camouflage the advert against a backdrop of non-promotional activities such as reading a genuine press article or watching a TV programme. Typical examples include product placement or promotional comments interwoven into an editorial; a technique known as the *advertorial*.¹⁸ Another important techniques is the use of unacknowledged promotional references incorporated into a journalistic article; defined as an *infomercial*.¹⁹ Others include *imitating discourses* in which promotional imagery is presented as if it were photo journalism or promotional texts which use the format of a standard journalistic article so as to momentarily confuse the reader as to its true identity.

By creating an apparently non-promotional context into which the advertising reference is introduced or, alternatively, presenting the advert as if it were journalism, this form of advertising relies on a number of ideas which phenomenology explains; *selective attentioning*, *backgrounding* and the *ambiguity of experience*. Selective attentioning describes our tendency to selectively focus the primary features of any complex phenomena (given that we are simply not capable of taking in everything around us in any given moment).²⁰ In turn, this involves the relegation in importance of secondary features which become *backgrounded* in our mind.²¹

However, the ambiguity of perceptual engagement suggests that these secondary and background stimuli are not completely ignored but are actually absorbed subconsciously and thus remembered by the brain.²² Consequently, what phenomenology offers is a way to understand how hidden advertising stimuli function. In the political context, these hidden stimuli become the party political comment made in an apparently independent article about world affairs or, alternatively, the building in front of which a politician is placed for a news conference on the economy for example. Due to selective attentioning which focuses the reader or viewer on the main theme of the apparently independent journalistic text or event, these stimuli become backgrounded. Consequently, they are not consciously noticed. However, they are registered and thus remembered.

Although restricted, and by nature deliberately understated, authors such as David Michie and Edwin Baker have argued that this form of promotion has become a major player in the advertising world in recent years. In publications such as *Invisible Persuaders*, 1998, and *Advertising*

and a Democratic Press, 1994, they argue that it is now a fully recognised category of promotional activity. Although it is arguable that this has been a practice evident in both the commercial and political realms for many years Michie and Baker suggest it has recently reached endemic proportions and has fundamentally undermined the objectivity and quality of the press.²³ What we are suggesting here is that it is also evident in the politic context.

A typical example that again comes from the Barack Obama campaign leading up to the 2008 election was the European tour of the then Presidential candidate in the summer of 2008. At around the time the Obama team were manufacturing set designs intended to boost the credibility of their candidate and organising appearances on prime time TV shows they also arranged for a European tour of Heads of State. In July and August 2008 Obama visited, amongst others, Gordon Brown at 10 Downing Street, Angela Merkel at the Reichstag and Nicolas Sarkozy at the Élysées Palace.



Press Coverage: *The Obama European Tour*. 2008.

This promotional tour was covered in the press across the world as a tour from a Head of State. As a result, Obama was pictured on the front pages of newspapers around the globe in the role of President-in-waiting.²⁴ For the Obama team each stop

was seen, first and foremost, as a photo opportunity aimed primarily at the voters at home. It was yet another attempt to overcome the perceived weakness of the candidate, his lack of experience. It thus went hand in hand with the image described earlier from the 2008 Democratic Party Convention.

It is also far from coincidental that the architectural backdrops of these European photo opportunities are neo-classical buildings or, in the case of 10 Downing Street, one of the oldest political buildings in the world. On one level these images function as semiotic constructs; they create a referent backdrop resonant of appropriate and culturally understandable values which are naturally transferred to the political candidate being promoted. What distinguishes these images from standard semiotic constructs however is the fact that their nature as promotional images is concealed. They are presented and absorbed as news and thus their basic associative strategy is expected to go unnoticed and thus function unhindered.

Inevitably, there were voices highlighting the purely promotional aims of this tour but large amounts of the US national and international press coverage was dedicated to his policy proposals, his approach to international affairs and his personal relationship with already established world leaders.²⁵ In reading about these visits the public was reading political news in which they saw photographs of Obama with world figures, were exposed to references of Obama as a statesman and read keywords such as “leader” multiple times.

In the context of hidden advertising they were being exposed to advertorials or infomercials. What happens in this context is that the article sets the agenda of news coverage of a political tour. In Merleau-

Ponty's terms this theme becomes the *object of intention* and is a theme that distracts our attention away from other factors such as political spin. As we read with this defined focus the theory of hidden advertising suggests firstly, that we are in a non-commercial mindset because we trust the source as independent and secondly, that our defences are consequently down. Thus, when we are confronted with what to all intents and purposes are advertising images, we do not read them as such and as a result the association between the powerful architectural imagery of the background and the Presidential candidate is made unknowingly and without resistance from the reader.

Conclusion

What each of these images display is a use of architecture in political imagery that conforms to a series of quite different communicative or promotional techniques. In the first instance we have a highly evocative image of the US President which uses architecture to cleverly and skilfully navigate the multifarious issues of the political maelstrom of election campaigning. It is a highly sophisticated promotional construct that not only uses the commercial advertising techniques of semiotics but does so with a level of astuteness that the best advertising executives would be proud of.

However, this image is in one sense very predictable; it uses not only the standard techniques of semiotics but also a very standard architectural referent backdrop; a classical architectural set. The second image we discussed uses a very different architectural backdrop that reflects significant changes in the demographic profile of the United States public and the responses to those shifts by both

advertisers and the PR teams of political parties. Although in and of itself the image constructed for the TV screen seems far from radical today, it is a type of informal image pioneered relatively recently and developed in the post-structural advertising context of the 1980s. In this context a whole new range of possible architectural backdrops emerged and played multiple roles in constructing the multiply nuanced messages that were to become characteristic of advertising and political communication in the coming decades.

Our final image reveals yet another layer to our understanding of the relationship between architecture, advertising and politics by taking us from the realm of images explained through semiotics and its variants to a type of promotional image or activity which brings into play a whole range of new advertising concepts and strategies. Whilst this new strand of promotional techniques diverges greatly in strategy from the previous examples it is surprisingly similar in its use of architecture; again the architectural backdrop is predominantly classical and is intended to carry values of authority, tradition and power which are

transferred to the politician in question. Only this time, it is done through the veil of genuine journalism and thus requires additional frameworks of analysis.

In each case a significant role is conceded to architecture in the construction of the political message. Clearly there is a deep awareness in the political realm of the cultural and symbolic power of architecture which is appropriated and manipulated with all the skill seen in the realm of advertising. Whether this understanding of architecture results in direct or palpable consequences for architecture in its own right is a question we cannot answer in this paper. However, it is central concern to the umbrella project from which this essay has emerged and early findings suggest clear correlations. What is clear at this stage however, is that advertising, politics and architecture are intrinsically linked in the campaign context and that an understanding of one of these factors cannot exist independently of the others.

Endnotes

- ¹ Butler, David and Kavanagh, Dennis. *The British General Election of 1987*. (London: Macmillan, 1988), 126.
- ² Lees-Marshment, Jennifer. *The Political Marketing Game*. Palgrave (London: Macmillan, 2011), 66.
- ³ Copeland, Gary. *Manipulation of the American voter : political campaign commercials*. (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1997), xx.
- ⁴ Charteris-Black, Jonathan. *Politicians and Rhetoric: the persuasive power of metaphor*. (London: Palgrave, 2005), 13.
- ⁵ Dover, E. D. *On message : television advertising by the presidential candidates in election 2008*. (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2010), 185.
- ⁶ Cairns, Graham. *Deciphering Advertising, Art and Architecture - communicating with the sophisticated consumer*. (London: Libri Publishing, 2010) 6-7.
- ⁷ Williamson, Judith. *Decoding Advertisements: ideology and meaning in advertising*. (London: Marion Boyars, 1978) 25.
- ⁸ Saussure, Ferdinand de. *A Course in General Linguistics*. (London: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1966), 121.
- ⁹ Balz, Dan and Johnson, Haynes. *The Battle for America 2008: The Story of an Extraordinary Election*. (New York: Viking Press, 2009), 124.
- ¹⁰ Barthes, Roland. *Image-Music-Text*. (London: Fontana, 1977), 38.
- ¹¹ Eco, Umberto. *The Role of the Reader*. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1979), 5.
- ¹² Botterill, Jaqueline. (ed). *Social Communication in Advertising. Consumption in the mediated marketplace*. (London: Routledge, 2005), 481.
- ¹³ Ibid., 517.
- ¹⁴ Cairns. *Deciphering Advertising, Art and Architecture*, 48.
- ¹⁵ Goldman, Robert and Papson, Stephen. *Sign Wars: the cluttered landscape of advertising*. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1996), 84.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 86.
- ¹⁷ Joergensen, Hagen. "Hidden Advertising". (presentation at the ICPEN Meeting, Port Douglas, Isle of Man, 02 March, 2001).
- ¹⁸ Jenkins, Frank. *Advertising*. (London: Blackie Academic and Professional, 2000) 147.
- ¹⁹ Baker, Edwin, C. *Advertising and a Democratic Press*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 103.
- ²⁰ Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *The Phenomenology of Perception*. (London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1964), 67.
- ²¹ Ibid., 68.
- ²² Hammond, M. Howarth, J. Keat, R. *Understanding Phenomenology*. (London: Basil Blackwell Inc., 1991), 138.
- ²³ Michie, David. *Hidden Persuaders*. (London: Bantam Press, 1998) 2.
- ²⁴ MacAskill, E. and Smee, J. "Obama uses crucial foreign tour to promise more troops for Afghanistan," *The Guardian* (London), July 21, 2008.
- ²⁵ Baldwin, T and Boyes, R. "Barack Obama heads to London for European tour," *The Times* (London), July 9, 2008.