Isotopies of Chilean political discourse: TV ads from the 2013 presidential election

Isotopías del discurso político chileno: el caso de la Franja Presidencial 2013

Isotopias do discurso político chileno: o caso do Horário leitoral Presidencial de 2013

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ABSTRACT

This paper shows preliminary results of a research about the discursive representation and the imaginaries of the main political groups in Chile – the Nueva Mayoría and the Alianza–, from the analysis of isotopies in their TV ads for the ballotage of the 2013 presidential election. It is concluded that while Bachelet's campaign builds its speech from an isotopy of inclusion ("All with Michelle"), Matthei's does it from one of possibility ("It's possible"). These uses, backed by isotopies on government programs (rights vs. choice) and their profiles as women (care vs. authority) allow to recognize the traditional imaginaries of each sector: a statist center-left side, and a right side of neoliberal inspiration.

RESUMEN

Este artículo muestra los avances de un estudio sobre la representación discursiva y los imaginarios de los principales grupos políticos en Chile –la Nueva Mayoría y la Alianza–, a partir de las isotopías presentes en sus spots para el balotaje de la elección presidencial 2013. Se concluye que mientras la campaña de Bachelet construye su discurso desde una isotopía de la inclusión ("Todos con Michelle"), la de Matthei lo hace desde una de la posibilidad ("Sí se puede"). Estos usos, respaldados por isotopías relativas a los programas de gobierno (derechos vs. elección) y a sus perfiles en cuanto mujeres (cuidado vs. autoridad), permiten reconocer los imaginarios tradicionales de cada sector: una centro-izquierda estatista y una derecha de inspiración neoliberal.

RESUMO

Este artigo apresenta os resultados preliminares de uma pesquisa sobre a representação discursiva e os imaginários dos principais grupos políticos no Chile -a Nueva Mayoría e a Alianza-, a partir da análise de isotopias em seus anúncios de TV para o segundo turno da eleição presidencial de 2013. Conclui-se que, enquanto a campanha de Bachelet constrói seu discurso de uma isotopia da inclusão ("Todos com Michelle"), a de Matthei o faz a partir de uma de possibilidade ("É possível"). Estes usos, apoiados por isotopias em programas governamentais (direitos vs. escolha) e seus perfis como mulheres (cuidado vs. autoridade) permitem reconhecer os imaginários tradicionais de cada setor: um lado de centro-esquerda estatista, e um lado direito de inspiração neoliberal.

Keywords: Isotopies, 2013 presidential election, Chile, discourse analysis, semiotics.

Palabras clave: Isotopías, elección presidencial 2013, Chile, análisis del discurso, semiótica.

Palavras-chave: Isotopias, eleições presidenciais 2013, Chile, análise de discurso, semiótica.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to characterize, at least in part, the representations and imaginary present in the discourse of the major political sectors of the country: the Nueva Mayoría [New Majority], a center-left conglomerate, and the Alianza por Chile [Alliance for Chile], center-right. To achieve it, we will appeal to the identification and classification of redundant sets of semantic categories -or isotopies- observable in the spots for the television time frame for the ballotage of the presidential election of 2013, in which Michelle Bachelet and Evelyn Matthei clashed.

From this point of view, the study can be located in the field of Political Communication, although its main ambition is to contribute to this area from the perspective of Semiotics. This possibility is explained by the particular condition of semiotic analysis, which distinguishes it over other methods of social research, including traditional content analysis and discourse: its focus on the question of meaning.

When speaking of sense, Semiotics seeks to define a broader level of understanding of reality than the production of particular meanings. Formally the meaning is the correlative of all significant (Saussure, 1945, p. 93), i.e., an element in the structure of the sign. The question of the meaning goes beyond that.

From the semiotics perspective, human beings live in a world of sense (Greimas, 1973, p. 8), as the culture itself is a network of individuals and extended meanings (Zecchetto, 2002, pp. 29-30), which accounts both, knowledge of reality, and attributes of the subject from this reality (Klinkenberg, 2006, pp. 88-90). And this is possible because the sense implies significance, but also direction, intent and purpose (Greimas, 1973, p. 12).

In other words, the problem of meaning is not pose to a human being, for the sense exists, it is imposed as evidence (Greimas, 1973, p. 8), it is present in the collection that he has of the world around him (Zecchetto, 2002, p. 188). From this, Semiotics can be understood in a more complex way, as the study of the processes of meaning and sense in society.

If from Morris (1985, pp. 31-32) it is stated that semiotics studies both relations between signs (syntax) and between them and the objects they represent (semantics), and the relationship with their interpreters (Pragmatic), then the whole semiotic perspective is not confined to the identification of meanings. The question of meaning does not seek to make a catalog of meanings or discover the correct meaning, but to explain how, at a given moment of a given community, something makes sense (Magariños de Morentin, 2002, p. 22).

Semiotic perspective, therefore, not only involves the analysis of texts, but identifying those categories of thought that justify that discursive use in society. This form of observation can be applied perfectly in the field of Political Communication, given its interdisciplinary character (Kaid, 2004a, p. Xiii) and the enormous diversity of methods used in it (Graber, 2004).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As anticipated, the aim of this study is to characterize, at least in part, the representations and imaginary present in the discourse of the major political sectors in the country –the Nueva Mayoría [New Majority] and the Alianza por Chile [Alliance for Chile]-, from their TV ads during the ballotage of the presidential campaign of 2013. This ambition is supposed to explain the conditions of electoral propaganda in Chile, define the concepts of representation and imaginary, and explain how they are linked, thus, seeing this way, they are a double object of investigation. Finally the main concepts for the semiotic analysis of the spots of the presidential TV space 2013 will be defined.

CONTEXT: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 2013

In Chile the presidential elections are regulated by the Constitution of the Republic and the Law 18700, Constitutional Organic Law on Election and Vote Count[1]. In the Constitution it is stated that the President of the Republic shall be elected by direct vote and an absolute majority of the votes validly cast; if two or more candidates are submitted and none of them gets more than half of the votes, a second vote or ballotage among the bearers with the first two relative majorities will be done, and the one with the most votes (Constitution of the Republic, Article 26) will win.

This was the case of the presidential election of 2013, on November 17th, with the participation of nine candidates. With a total of 6,585,808 votes validly cast, the first two relative majorities were to Michelle Bachelet, candidate of the covenant Nueva Mayoría [New Majority] (3,075,839 votes, equivalent to 46.70%) and Evelyn Matthei, candidate of the Alianza por Chile [Alliance for Chile] (1,648,481 votes, or 25.03%).

The Nueva Mayoría [New Majority] is a center-left political and electoral covenant –heir of the former Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia [Coalition of Parties for Democracy]- that groups the Partido Demócrata Cristiano [Christian Democratic Party] (PDC), the Partido por la Democracia [Party for Democracy] (PPD), the Partido Socialista de Chile [Socialist Party of Chile] (PS), the Partido Radical Socialdemócrata [Social Democratic Radical Party] (PRSD), the Partido Comunista de Chile [Communist Party of Chile] (PC), the Movimiento Amplio Social [Broad Social Movement] (MAS) and the Izquierda Ciudadana [Citizen Left] (IC). Michelle Bachelet is militant of the PS. The Alianza por Chile [Alliance for Chile] or Alianza [Alliance], meanwhile, is a center-right block that groups the Renovación Nacional [National Renovation] (RN), Unión Demócrata Independiente [Independent Democratic Union] (UDI), Partido Regionalista Independiente [Independent Regionalist Party] (PRI)[2] and the Evolución Política movement [Politic Evolution] (Evópoli). Evelyn Matthei is militant of UDI.

In the ballot of the presidential election, held on December 15th, of a total of 5,582,270 valid votes, Michelle Bachelet won 62.17%, while Evelyn Matthei got the 37.83%.

Political propaganda is regulated by Law 18700, which last amendments dated to June 2013. In this legal body the electoral propaganda is defined as "directed to induce voters to cast their vote for certain candidates or to support any of the proposals subject to plebiscite", clarifying that such advertising may only be made on the opportunities and forms prescribed by this rule, i.e. in elections or plebiscites, between the thirty and until the third day before the election (Article 30).

Among the media propaganda activities highlights the so-called electoral TV frame or space up to thirty minutes a day that the law establishes for television channels of free reception to transmit political advertising, only in cases of election of the President of the Republic, deputies and senators (Law 18700, Article 31).

Although the influence of television advertising in the intention to vote is a controversial issue (see Kaid, 2004b, pp 170-175; Shaw, 1999), in the case of Chile the electoral space has a particular relevance, given the contribution that it is recognized in the triumph of the opposition in the 1988 plebiscite - which ordered an end to the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet-, especially when installing a new form of communicative relationship between the political class and citizens (Piñuel Raigada, 1990 pp. 141-147). That relevance is still evident in the ratings: the electoral space of the first presidential vote in 2013 averaged 35.8 rating points in prime time (National Television Council [CNTV], 2013).

REPRESENTATION AND IMAGINARY

The concept of representation implies the existence of an action by which a thing, image or idea that somehow replaces reality or part of it ("Representation", S. F.) is created. Basically is this logic that is expressed in at least five variants:

- Semiotics Theories of the Sign. The most obvious case is Peirce (1986), for whom the sign or *representamen* "is something that for someone, represents or refers to something in some aspect or character" (p. 22). Then, all text or set of signs is itself a representation. From the concept of semiosis, says Peirce himself, that explains the significance as an unlimited sequence of representation of an object by a sign, and after of that relationship by mental image or interpretant (p. 22), it is possible to argue that discursive representation has both a material dimension, in the representamen, and a cognitive one, in the interpretant.

- The Narratology. An example is the distinction between fable and plot. While the first is a set of motifs or themes in their logical causal and temporal formation -that is, the story that wants to be told-, the second is the set of the same reasons, but in the order and structure presented in the narration (Tomachevski, 1982, p. 186). From this point of view, plot or story is a representation of the fable.

- Argumentation. The Rhetoric from Aristotle argues that the persuasive art involves almost four simultaneous operations by which it is made and pronounced the argumentative discourse: *inventio* or conception of discourse itself, with its general ideas and arguments; *dispositio* or organization of ideas, according to which are distributed in certain sections; *elocutio* or grammatically correct and stylistically precise formulation of ideas and structure; and *actio* or staging of the speaker (Beristain, 1995, p. 422). The progressive relationship between these techniques or stages of argumentative speech resembles the underlying logic of the narrative, as well as the plot is a representation of the fable, it can be said that the *dispositio* is a representation of the *inventio*, the *elocutio* is a representation of the *dispositio* and *actio* is a representation of all of the above. Again, the speech is seen as a representation of ideas.

- The Theory of Social Representations. Moscovici (1984) defines social representation from its character of common or everyday knowledge (pp. 3-6), of conventional and prescriptive vocation -in the sense of defining and categorizing along with imposing a logic (pp. 6- 12)- whose creation and development occur in the course of communication and social cooperation (p 13). In this context, for him the social representations should be understood as a specific way to understand and communicate what a community already knows (p. 17), whose purpose is to turn the alien in familiar (p. 24). To Jodelet (1986), the elementary level of approach of social representations is the act of representation itself, "an act of thought by which a subject is related to an object" (p. 475) through replacement and reference, literally re-presenting, making present in consciousness, a person, object, event, idea or anything (pp. 475-476). This allows to argue that representations are both material-discursive and cognitive expressions.

- Cultural Studies. In this field, Du Gay, Hall, Janes, Mackay & Negus (1997) speak of representation as "the practice of constructing meaning through the use of signs and language" (p. 24), and understand it as one of the elements of the culture circuit or interconnection of five processes or culture configurative elements: identity, representation, production, consumption and regulation (p. 3). They note in this regard that in the field of culture is defined as a network of meanings and meaningful practice (pp. 10-15). From this perspective, it is possible to notice two systems of representation: the first, with regard to mental representation of reality, which occurs through signs; the second, on the communication of such mental representations, which happens thanks to language and therefore also involves signs (Hall, 1997, pp. 17-19).

As it can be seen, in various fields the concept of representation points to a material discursive object –words, text, images, etc.- that reports other material or ideal object. That is, it is possible to understand the speech as an expression of cognitive operations and even worldviews of a person or group.

This ability to study society from communication-speech had already been suggested before, when the concept of social imaginary was formulated (Castoriadis, 1983, p. 197 et seq.). To Baczko (1991), the imaginary are "specific references in the vast symbolic system that produces every community and through which it is perceived, it is divided and makes its purposes" (p. 28). From this point of view, he says, the social imaginary operates as regulatory forces of social life (p. 28), function for which they require social discourses and their emission devices, particularly the mass media (p. 31).

It is possible to deduce, then, that there is a link between the notions of representation and social imaginary, since both point to a form of knowledge or web of meanings shared by a community; however, they are distinguished by their logical connection: any representation implies the existence of that knowledge, which is better and more deeply described in the literature by the concept of social imaginary. In other words, it is logical to postulate that the representations are not possible without the presence of imaginary. Imaginary are representation matrixes (Gómez, 2001, p. 198). From this perspective, representation and imaginary constitute a double object of investigation.

A DOUBLE OBJECT OF INVESTIGATION

Traditionally, the concept subject of investigation or study points to the object or focus of the investigation, that is, to what we want to know, describe or explain (Hernández, Fernández & Baptista, 2010, p. 13; Barriga & Henriquez, 2003, pp. 79-80). So it is assumed that the object of study is something essentially measurable and therefore manageable, which in turn can lead one to believe that it is always limited, reduced. But this does not happen with society, which by definition is immense, to the point of being, as a phenomenon, all-embracing (Luhmann, 2006, p. 55). And the same can be said of communication, given the variety of intellectual traditions that support its theory, from Rhetoric to Cybernetics (Craig, 1999).

Is it possible to conceive, then, the existence of a double object of study? Is it possible to investigate the communications of a community about a topic to finally look into their worldview about it?

From the perspective of social discourse (Angenot, 2010), it is possible, for all mediatized speech would be an historical fact -or social fact, to paraphrase Durkheim-, i.e., would be subject to an empirical

scientific study, because it is independent of individuals (Angenot, 2010, p. 23). In this context, all mediatized discourse can be considered representation of the speakable and thinkable in a given place and time (Angenot, 2010, p. 27), since all language is ideological (Voloshinov, 1976, pp. 19-27).

If add to this the fact that advertising and propaganda speeches are strategically built to achieve a social purpose (Russell, Lane & King, 2005, pp 32-34; Jowett & O'Donnell, 2012, pp 44-49), it is possible to argue that these media discourses are practices of representation through which society itself is objective, with their visions and beliefs (Angenot, 2010, p. 46).

Consequently, the study of society from communication would be possible through the analysis of the existing representations in the mediatized social discourse, if this is taken as an object of preliminary study, as a resource for abstraction and identification of the imaginaries shaping -and explain- certain social phenomena.

SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS AND ISOTOPY

From the universe of semiotic concepts and methods available, in this study it has been chosen the field of Narrative semiotics (Greimas, 1987). Such election is held in two premises: the essentially narrative character of advertising discourse (see Cook, 1992, p 139 et seq.; Goddard, 1998, p 27 et seq.), and the fact that the story is a speech highly provided of meaning.

From the semiotics perspective, says Courtes (1997), one of the first possible articulations of perception and understanding that the human being achieves, about himself and the world, lies in the logical distinction between permanence and change (p. 99). It is thanks to that, he adds, that the human being gives meaning to his/ the universe (p. 99). Therefore, the story, which can be defined as a speech of action -advance, learning, transformation, etcetera-, as "the passage from one state to another state" (p. 100), is a speech highly provided of sense. In addition, everyday experience shows that the most elementary form of communication is based on talking about places, events, moments, people and their actions committed or suffered; view this way, the narrative is the organizing principle of almost any speech (Zecchetto, 2005, p. 152).

The semiotic study of narrative, therefore, can not concentrate only on observing models or types of texts; the key is in the analysis of the constituent forms of meaning in that quality: the narrative structures (Greimas, 1973, 188 p.). However, these structures

are at an intermediate level of complexity, because they only manage to shape content already semantically articulated at an elementary level, while supporting the concrete discourse (Greimas, 1973, pp. 188-189). Considering such configuration, the semiotic analysis of the story involves three levels, sorted according their degree of depth: the discursive, narrative and semantic (Martin & Ringham, 2000, pp 8-13.).

The discursive level of semiotic analysis of the story is based on three areas: the figurative component, grammatical-syntactical devices and limited component (Martin & Ringham, 2000, pp 8-9.).

The first, point Martin & Ringham (2000), corresponds to the elements in the text that refer to the physical world, aspects of reality that can be grasped by the senses and give the speech its bond with the concrete reality (p. 64 speech), as shapes, sizes, objects and places. One of the keys of this analysis is the discovery of isotopies or groups of signs with meanings or common denominators, that seeks to identify frequencies and distributions in the text (p. 9). For example, the recurring use in a text of adverbs of time -yesterday, today, before, after, etcetera- can be an *isotopy of time* (p. 77). This research focuses on this level and type of analysis.

The second area of the discursive level, always by Martin & Ringham (2000), corresponds to formal elements of the construction of the text, such as the use of active or passive voice in verbs (p. 9). For its part, the declarative component corresponds to the analysis of the images of the speaker and the hearer and the resources used for its strategic positioning, as deixis (p. 9).

To fully understand the concept of isotopy is necessary to explain those of lexeme, seme and classeme.

While the universe of words in a language may seem immeasurable, says Lyons (1984, p. 88), from a grammatical point of view it is feasible to reduce it to those minimum units that do not have formal variations. For example, he adds, the terms /canto/, /canta/, /cantamos/ y /cantaría/ [/I sing/, /he|she sings/, /we sing/ and /would sing/], indeed being words, are merely derivations or forms of the same original unit: the verb /cantar/ [/sing /] (p. 88). This is because in all these forms applications of the same meaning are found: "produce with the voice melodious sounds" ("Sing", n.d.). Then, /sing / is a lexeme or vocabulary word (p. 88), i.e., a linguistic expression of the possible meanings attached to a word (Martin & Ringham, 2000, p. 80).

In other words, lexeme it is a linguistic unit or term-object observable in conversation or text (Greimas, 1987, p. 42). The notions of seme and classeme, however, define semantic abstractions.

Seme is the lowest common denominator in a unit of meaning (Martin & Ringham, 2000, p. 115), and is understood as a basal element of significance that emerges before a different element; therefore, has a differential function, and can only be captured within a set or structure (Courtes, 1980, p. 44). Consequently, the seme belongs not to the level of linguistic expression -like the lexeme-, but to the level of content (Beristain, 1995, p. 435). It is a decomposition of content.

Therefore, the identification of semes is not equivalent to the recognition of lexical roots. An example: the words /hijo/ and /hija/ [/son/ and /daughter/] share the same root (hij-); however, since the sema is the lowest common semantic denominator, to find it, the thinking should be not in the building of the words but on their meaning. What they have in common it is that both define forms of affiliation, i.e., of kinship by descent from a father and/or mother; accordingly, a suitable seme for /hijo/ and /hija/ [/son/ and /daughter/] can be *generation* (Courtes, 1980, p. 44) or *offspring*. Also, in both words there is a semantic component that distinguishes them from each other: gender. Therefore, one could say that of /hijo/ and /hija/ [/son / and / daughter/] emerge, also, the semes masculinity and femininity, respectively (Courtes, 1980, p. 44). Then, /hijo/ [son/] = offspring + masculinity.

From this example it can be seen that the semantic decomposition requires both knowledge of the language and of certain cultural and contextual factors. Taking into account that the original lexemes are words of vocabulary (Lyons, 1984, p. 88), the main tool for the formulation of semes exercise will always be the dictionary (Grupo de Entrevernes, 1982, p. 145).

Classeme is a seme of generic character, i.e., it defines a particular class of objects, as with the seme *animal*, applicable for example to the words /dog/, /cat/ o / mouse/ (Martin & Ringham, 2000, p. 34). That is why classeme is also called contextual seme (Grupo de Entrevernes, 1982, p. 146). Classemes of a text define certain isotopies to ensure homogeneity; therefore, a discursive sequence is an isotopy when it has one or several recurring classemes (Courtes, 1980, p. 48).

So, isotopy can be understood by the group of redundant set of semantic categories or classemes allowing the uniform reading of the text, as this results from partial readings of statements and resolution of ambiguities; in that sense, thanks to the notion of isotopy a whole text can be placed in a homogeneous semantic level (Courtes, 1980, p. 48).

But this definition corresponds to only one type of isotopy: the so-called semantic isotopy (Grupo de Entrevernes, 1982, p. 148). It is also possible to recognize other type, called semiological isotopy, determined by nuclear semes redundancy, i.e., not categorical (Grupo de Entrevernes, 1982, p. 150). For example, the word /treasure/ can be analyzed as the group of semes *met*, *precious* and *quantity*; in turn, the seme *precious* can be in the core of lexemes as /gem/, /gold/ and /ring/; this frequency allows to recognize an isotopy of value.

In the next section these concepts will be operationalized to identify key variables of analysis and their observation method.

METHODOLOGY

The overall objective of this study is to characterize, at least partially, the representations and imaginaries present in the discourse of the major political sectors of the country today -the ruling Nueva Mayoría [New Majority] and the opposition Alianza por Chile [Alliance for Chile]-, from their television spots during the ballotage of the presidential campaign of 2013. In the understanding that all speech is a representation of the imaginaries that explain or contextualize the social experience (see theoretical framework), it is postulated that the identification of the isotopies or redundant sets of semantic categories in the discourse of both sectors can describe their worldviews.

In this context, it is expected to answer the following research questions: (Q1) What are the most frequent isotopies in each electoral TV space? (Q2) What are the main similarities and differences in the speech isotopies of both candidates? (Q3) Are there gender isotopies in their speeches? (Q4) What imaginaries support their speeches?

The units of analysis of this research are the spots of the electoral TV space for balloting between Michelle Bachelet and Evelyn Matthei, issued between December 1st and December 12th 2013. The videos were obtained in December 2013 from the web sites of each candidacies. Each video lasts about 5 minutes.

This article will report the comparative results of three instances: the first episode (December 1st), the episode of the electoral TV space mid-term (December 7th) and the last episode (December 12th).

The method used for the study of the spots was the analysis of the speech from the linguistic content of the messages, both in the texts present in the video -through animations and generation of characters- as in the voice over, testimonies and songs. That is, the image interpretation is excluded. This is explained by the difficulty in establishing semantic categories in the image.

Adam and Bonhomme (2000, p. 243) recognize that the extension of the linguistic argumentative models to the visual sign -for example, to identify visual rhetorical figures- has not borne fruit, because while the language has a limiting and linear syntax, which allows a relatively clear construction of certain structures, the image has a more open and specialized topography, which does not allow more than just some generic operations, such as inclusion and juxtaposition. Similarly, the authors add, as the language has a morphology built on a double articulation of classifiable and coded (phonemes and lexemes) units, the image has a plastic based on color components (color) and geometric (shapes) essentially non-coded (pp. 243-244).

From this point of view, the image has a lexical deficiency that deprives it of any intrinsic semantics (Adam & Bonhomme, 2000, p. 244), because even in the case of an image that means through imitation -an icon, following Peirce (1986, p. 30)-, the interpretation of the observer can easily carry it to unexpected meanings. On the other hand, the syntactic gaps of the image, as the absence of connectors equivalent to those of the language, limit their deployment for logical argument, whose essence is the chain of deductive sequences; it is for this reason that the advertising image never comes alone, without linguistic message, however small it is (Adam & Bonhomme, 2000, p. 244). And, as Barthes claimed (1986, p. 36), the linguistic message sets the floating chain of meanings present in the image.

To facilitate the study we chose to analyze the spots according to their scenes and sequences, and not by their shots. While a shot is an uninterrupted image captured by the camera or exposed on the screen, a scene is a series of thematically ordered shots in a determined space-time -an action that happens in one place-, and a sequence is a thematic set of scenes (De Valk & Arnold, 2013, p. 480).

Registration of linguistic messages of the spots was based on the identification of the following variables: date of issue; candidacy; scene or sequence time location and duration; description of the scene or sequence; text on the video of the scene or sequence; principal character(s) -those who speak- in the video of the scene or sequence; text of the speech or testimony of the scene or sequence; text of the music or soundtrack of the scene or sequence.

The identification of semes is made available from the definitions in the Dictionary of the Spanish language of the Royal Spanish Academy (RAE), in its 23th edition, available online (www.rae.es).

As seen, the analysis of semes can be carried to the extreme to identify these minimum units of meaning in each word of a text. However, this makes the exercise impractical. To avoid this, we chose to analyze only the semes of those keywords within the most relevant syntactic structures thematically, in the context of dialogue or statements. Also, although the registration was based on a transcript of the full texts, there are only considered for the analysis of semes those words most useful for identifying isotopies: nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

For example, the first sequence of the first electoral TV space of Bachelet seeks to present some of the key points of her program, linking scenes of the candidate in a massive event and a visit to a young couple in their home. The speech at the concentration (MB_con) is mixed with the dialogue between Bachelet (MB) and the women (W1):

> MB_con: Goog afternoon. How are we friends?
> (Cut; W1 receives MB at her home)
> MB: Hello, good afternoon. How are you?
> W1: Fine, thank you. And you?
> MB: Well, fine. Excited with whats coming.
> W1: Things are going to change, ah?
> MB: Shure are going to change!

In this excerpt may be noted that both expressions of greeting (/Hello/) as those of courtesy (/Good afternoon/, /How are you?/) are not as relevant to the message as those that give the ideological position that seeks to manifest (/Excited with what is coming/, /Sure are going to change!/). Following this logic, in this study only the underlined words are considered for identification semes. For example, the following can be proposed:

> /Excited/ = *willingness* + *optimism* + *femininity*
> /Change/ = *conversion* + *difference* + *novelty*

RESULTS

The semiotic discourse analysis applied to the language messages of the ballot spots for the presidential TV space in 2013 allows to warn that the most recurrent isotopies in each campaign (Q1) are very different (Q2), even in its treatment of gender factor (Q3), which realizes various imaginaries in both clusters, consistent with its historical ideological positions as well as with the electoral situation (Q4).

So, while the Bachelet TV space is highlighted by an *isotopy of inclusion*, manifested, for example, in apparent recurrence of the word /all/ (eg. slogans "Chile of all" and "All with Michelle"), the television campaign of Matthei opted for an *isotopy of possibility*, both expressed in the slogan "It's possible" as in the testimonials of the candidate herself and her supporters.

A clear example of the isotopy of inclusion in the Bachelet TV space is the first sequence of the Dec. 12 episode, in which various political and cultural characters make a call to public support:

> Michelle Bachelet: This December 15th I need you all.
>
> Alejandro Guillier: **All**.
>
> Camila Vallejo: **All**.
>
> Iván Fuentes: **All**.
>
> Manuela Martelli: **All**.
>
> Carolina Goic: **All**.
>
> Jorge Pizarro: **All**.
>
> Karol Cariola: We are **all** with Michelle.
>
> Eduardo Ibeas: **All** with Michelle.
>
> Paulina García: **All**.
>
> Felipe Harboe: **All** with Michelle.
>
> Rabindranath Quinteros: **All** with Michelle.
>
> Alejandro Navarro: **All** with Michelle.
>
> Marco Antonio Núñez: **All** with Michelle.
>
> Catherine Mazoyer: **All**...
>
> Alejandro Guillier: ...and **all** (the women) with Michelle.
>
> Carolina Goic: This December 15th...
>
> Camila Vallejo: ...**all** with Michelle.
>
> Manuela Martelli: **All** with Michelle.
>
> Benjamín Vicuña: We need you **all**.
>
> Michelle Bachelet: This december 15th votes for the Chile of **all** of us.

The isotopy of inclusion is mainly built from this keyword (/all/ = *people + inclusion + totality*), but also from others in the animated texts of the slogans like /majority/ (= *people + inclusion + generality*) and from the use of concepts related to the Chilean group, as /nation/ (*persons + identity + totality*), /together/

(*persons + set + inclusion*) and /country/ (*space + community + identity*):

> (All the TV spaces)
>
> Nueva **Mayoría** [New Majority]... Chile of all of us... **All** with Michelle... Michelle President.

> (December 1st TV space)
>
> Michelle Bachelet (in concentration): Because this is not a task of a single president, not of a party or group of parties, nor is of a single political bloc. It is the task of a **whole [toda] nation.**

> Michelle Bachelet (in dialogue with a woman, at her home): So I'm counting on you ...
>
> Woman: Count on me.
>
> Michelle Bachelet (in concentration): I invite you, then, to build **together** the Chile of **all**.

> (December 7th TV space)
>
> Michelle Bachelet: When you vote you do not vote only for you; you vote for Chile to change, for **everyone [todos y todas]** who live in our **homeland**.

An example of the isotopy of possibility in the TV space of Matthei is the final speech of the candidate in the episode of December 12th, in which she alludes to her unexpected situation like flagwoman[3] (/chance/ = Circumstance + random + possibility), the dual status of /privilege/ (= possibility + advantage + concession) to qualify for the Presidency and vote, while linking the ideological basis of her program with the campaign slogan (/yes you can/ = statement + possibility + capacity):

> Evelyn Matthei: I arrived to this campaign almost by **chance**, I did not searched it. But you do not know the **privilege** it is to be a candidate for President of Chile, because I really dream with a fair Chile, with Chile at peace. (...) This Sunday is election day and you have the **privilege** to vote. Go and vote. **Choose** what kind of society you want for our country. (...) **It's possible**. **It's possible** to be a fairer Chile. **It's possible** to be a Chile at peace. **It's possible** to be a Chile where we all progress. **It's possible** to be a Chile with opportunities for all. (...) What I ask is that you vote. If you vote **it's possible.** I'm sure. Lets win on December 15th, and thank you very much everyone.

This general isotopy is also evident in the explicit calls for its adherents to citizen participation and the song that accompanies the sequences of the candidate at concentrations:

(TV space December 7th)
Felipe Kast: If you voted for Evelyn and you are taking someone who did not vote in the first round, **it's possible** to win this election.

(TV space December 1st, song)
Voice: When you feel the force leaves you / When you think you will not reach it / Never forget that, when one proposes, **it's possible.**
Juan Castro: I am Juan Castro, mayor of Talca, and here we vote for Evelyn Matthei because with her it's possible.
Jaime Bellolio: **It's possible.**
Marcela Sabat: With your vote plus my vote, **it's possible** to win this election.
Felipe Kast: **It's possible.**
Voice: Because **it's possible**...
Mario Olavarría: **It's possible**, a fairer Chile.
Eduardo Soto: Here, at the O'Higgins Region, we support Evelyn because **it's possible.**
Voice: Although you feel that this seems impossible / Chile needs you to go to vote / Because with your vote nothing is irreversible / Let's turn it around, because Chile will win / **It's possible**...
Woman: For chileans to be happier.
Group of people: **It's possible**.
Voice: **It's possible**, **it's possible.**

This difference in the main isotopies may be due to the joints of the electoral process: while Bachelet, considered from the start as the favorite, sought to attract voters to legitimize her victory, Matthei needed to convince an elusive electorate and probably afraid of a crushing defeat, given the conditions of her nomination (see note 3).

In the pragmatic and ideological dimension, both campaigns are also distinguished. In the case of Bachelet, the isotopy of inclusion is complemented by an *isotopy of rights*, manifested in the recurrence of arguments about the need for a new Political Constitution, the use of concepts such as education / free/ (= *favor + entirety)* and general messages about / benefits / (= *good + benefit):*

(TV space December 1)
Camila Vallejo: For Chile to be of all of us, we need to build together a **new Constitution**, truly **democratic**, **participatory** and **inclusive**.
 (...)
Alejandro Guillier: Build the Chile we want, **fair** and **caring**, is **everyone's** responsibility.
Camila Vallejo: That is why, this December 15th vote for a **new Constitution.**

(TV space December 1)
Announcer: When you vote for Michelle you are voting for... a **free** education of quality in **all the levels**, for **all**.

(TV space December 7th)
Michelle Bachelet: We can all improve our work. With better **scholarship** program to study English the Chileans beneficiaries will be more. More training for a Chile of all.

Matthei's campaign, however, with the possibility isotopy exhibits an *election isotopy*, expressed in the proposals for improving public health and their perspectives on the needs of the middle class:

(TV space December 7th)
Evelyn Matthei: Today there are some people who are in Fonasa [National Health Fund] and can buy a voucher and go to a doctor of **their choice**. But there is a group, especially the group on Tranche A, which does not have that **possibility**, and we want to give them **free choice** to all.

(TV space December 12th)
Evelyn Matthei: What we want is to **support** the middle class, the middle class that is the heart of Chile. It is that middle class that **strives** for their children to be more, for them to study, to go to college, going to an institute. It is the middle class that **pays taxes** and has been deferred for so long. (...) You are the ones that have made Chile; you who **will form the next Chile.** (...) Yes it can be a Chile at peace. Yes it can be a Chile where we all **progress**. Yes it can be a Chile with **opportunities** for all.

Regarding the gender component, a difference is noticed. Although in both TV spaces the condition of hierarchy and capacity of the candidates is explicitly, manifested for example in the use of the term /Presidenta/ [/(Madam) President/] (= *person + power + republicanism + femaleness)*, in the Matthei's campaign is recurrent to list attributes linked to her courage and independence, which sets an *isotopy of authority*, while in Bachelet some need is hinted to accompany the bearer in her task, an issue that sets an *isotopy of care*:

 (Matthei TV space, December 1st)
Lily Pérez: And women see in you a **woman** who as a labor minister **you** *guapeaste* [growled] half the world.
Marcela Sabat: They realized that **you have courage** and you **have authority**. Like them in their houses, and **that's the big difference** I think we have to mark with you.

(Matthei TV space, December 7th)
Evelyn Matthei: First I ask people to trust me. Because you

know that **I face whoever stands in front of me**, if there is an injustice in the way.

(Matthei TV space, December 7th, "Why should we vote for Evelyn?")
Grupo 1: One!
Sujeto 1: Because with her no woman will earn less than 300 luquitas [thousand chilean pesos].
Grupo 2: Two!
Sujeto 2: Because **they don't come with stories to her.**
Grupo 3: Three!
Sujeto 3: Because she was Labor Minister and **gave more jobs.**
Grupo 4: Four!
Sujeto 4: Because **she represented the regions** in Congress for 17 years.
Grupo 5: Five!
Sujeto 5: Because she wants us seniors to pay less in public transport.
Grupo 6: Six!
Sujeto 6: Because **they don't come with stories to her.**
Grupo 7: Seeeven, uh!

(Bachelet TV space, December 1st, song)
DJ Méndez: I don't know who is right / Just don't lie to me, **don't break my heart / I know it's not easy**. It's **difficult your mission** / But **you are not alone**, listen to your nation.
Chorus: Michelle, Michelle…
DJ Méndez: Sing, Chile!
Coro: Chile of all, oh, oh…
Michelle Bachelet: **Join** the **dream we share**. This December 15th vote for the Chile of all.

Finally, in the sum of the isotopies of each TV space is possible to recognize imaginaries specific to each conglomerate. In the case of Bachelet, to the isotopy of including are added those of rights and care, which together foreshadow part of the progressive-statist ideology, proper of of the Nueva Mayoría [New Majority] and of the socialist militancy of the candidate. In the Matthei campaign, however, to the isotopy of the possibility, explained rather by the electoral situation in the sector (see note 3), are added those of election and authority, which actually refer to the neoliberal ideology of the Alianza [Alliance] and the militancy of its bearer.

DISCUSSION

From the analysis of the isotopies present in the spots of the TV space of the presidential ballot election 2013, between Michelle Bachelet and Evelyn Matthei, it has been possible to recognize specific aspects of imaginary or worldviews -support of ideologies- of the two Chilean main political conglomerates.

It has been seen that the most recurrent isotopies in each TV space, of inclusion in the case of Bachelet, and the possibility in the case of Matthei, essentially represent the context of their electoral projects: while the candidate of the center-left aimed at strengthening her winning image in a context of predictable abstention, the bearer of the right sought to motivate her adherents to participate in the process, despite the apparent lack of motivation suggested by the polls.

The biggest differences, however, were found in the secondary isotopies, concerning gender and ideological visions. Bachelet's TV space sought, by the isotopies of rights and care, to show the candidate as a sensitive woman and committed with certain institutional changes considered urgent. Matthei's, however, chose to represent the bearer as a strong, capable woman, confident that the best way was the development of opportunities and individual freedoms. As explained, these visions would coincide with the imaginary of the left and right in Chile, respectively.

This research hopes to be the first of a series to study more deeply the discursive representation or figurativization of imaginary sayings. For this it is important to expand the corpus of analysis to other advertising forms (eg. printed posters and radio ads, not regulated like television), texts strategic-ideological (eg. government programs) and messages transmitted by other means (eg. websites, Twitter).

Methodologically, this first step proves effective, but it is also necesary to recognize the difficulty in defining (naming) the isotopies objectively. Because the cited literature, concerning the matter, does not provide any concrete signs regarding methods and tools beyond dictionaries and the cultural background of the analyst. Consequently, another one of the expectations of this research is to develop in the future instruments to facilitate both, the observation of cases as drawing conclusions.

FOOTNOTES

1. All references to the legal texts cited, as well as the results of the 2013 elections, come from official texts available on the website of the Electoral Service (www.servel.cl), recovered in March 2015.

2. In the presidential election PRI participated with its own candidate: Ricardo Israel.

3. Matthei assumes the candidacy of the Alianza [Alliance] on July 20, 2013, three days after the official bearer, the UDI militant Pablo Longueira, resigned citing personal problems. Longueira, who had won the sector's primary in June, had also unexpectedly assumed the candidacy of his party after the abandonment of the first candidate, Laurence Golborne. Until accepting the campaign, Matthei served as labor minister in the government of Sebastian Pinera.

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