

MULTIMODAL DISCOURSE: AN ANALYSIS OF TWO POLITICAL ADVERTISING VISUALS

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ABSTRACT

This study is interested in the persuasive and compelling modalities used by advertisers in political campaign advertising images, applied to persuade and impact their audiences. In this respect, this research focuses on two political campaigns posters, chosen by a non-random sampling procedure, commissioned by the Republic of Turkey current ruling party, and their main opposition, during the lead-up of the 2023 General Elections in Turkey. In this endeavour, a multimodal discourse analysis is utilised due to the study involving language and semiotic processes in a visual medium. In an effort to interpret the representational, interactional, and compositional meanings provided by the various parts of the chosen images, three metafunctions will be used. The results demonstrate that the visual grammar and multimodality-based theoretical framework may be adapted to the discourse of political advertisements. It was additionally found that the framework identified representational, interactional, and compositional processes, which contribute to the social interpretations of the images.

Keywords: Turkish Elections, Turkey, Multimodal Discourse Analysis, Political Advertising.

Citation: KÖKSAL, F. N., ERİŞEN, H. (2023). "Multimodal Discourse: An Analysis Of Two Political Advertising Visuals", İMGELEM, 7 (12): 249-268.

Atıf: KÖKSAL, F. N., ERİŞEN, H. (2023). "Multimodal Tartışma: İki Siyasi Reklam Görseli Üzerine Bir Analiz", İMGELEM, 7 (12): 249-268.

Başvuru / Received: 24 Nisan 2023 / 24 April 2023

Kabul / Accepted: 06 Haziran 2023 / 06 June 2023

Araştırma Makalesi / Research Article.

INTRODUCTION

Watched by the four-corners of the world is the 2023 Turkish elections. Since the Justice and Development Party's (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP) reign in leadership from the year 2002, the government and its President since 2014, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, has had their lovers and their haters. Internationally, the leader of the Turkish state has been regarded as a force to be reckoned with during the last 20 years. Erdoğan's government had, during its early years, overseen much development in the state, particularly economic (Ciddi & Esen 2014) and was the catalyst for EU membership negotiations (Bechev 2022). AKP was deemed as a beacon of hope for the Muslim World, symbolising that democratic governing is possible in a Muslim society (Ciddi 2009), regardless of their faith-based roots (Hale & Ergun 2010). Overtime, however, Erdoğan's rule had the Turkish nation divided by large, despite the fact they have maintained the support to keep them in power. While a majority of the population supported the

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AKP government, it seemed almost half of the nation, those that identify more with secularism (Heper & Toktaş 2003), deemed Erdoğan and his government as becoming increasingly authoritarian, and drifting further from the west, a notion held internationally (Bechev 2022). The Turkish leadership was viewed by many as “no more than a façade, behind which radical Islamists hope to impose an authoritarian Islamist State” (Hale & Ergun 2010: xi-xii).

The Turkish debate relating to politics and religion is unique in that Turkey is, by constitution, a secular state, unlike any other Muslim state (Hale & Ergun 2010), and historically has always been closer to the west (Lewis 1994). This is an important factor for non-supporters of AKP, deriving from a legacy of the Republic of Turkey’s founder, Kemal Atatürk, who established the republic with the notion that the states legitimacy did not rely upon its connections to Islam (Hale & Ergun 2010). Those hoping for the fall of the AKP government accuse them of distancing from Kemalist principles. One of which is their long-standing opposition (Ciddi & Esen 2014), the Republican’s People Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP). CHP’s voice has impact, due to maintaining following and support from a noteworthy section of the Turkish public, and who’s policies of their own presentation are ‘Kemalist,’ firmly against the connections of religion and state. CHP once again stands as AKP’s main competitor in the elections, with Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu as Erdoğan’s opponent. Kılıçdaroğlu has been the leader of CHP since 2010, thus opposing Erdoğan for the past 12 years. The two are well-versed in their counterparts policies, have come head-to-head on a number of issues, projects, and policies across the state they compete for now, with their values and policies representing a divided Turkish nation, those that believe that the Kemalist tradition should continue, in all of its dimensions, and those that are pro-AKP and happy with how the current government leadership has prevailed thus far.

It is no surprise that during the lead-up to the elections, Turkey has been saturated in political discourse in a multitude of forms. Political discourse infuses and impresses itself upon culture across a number of areas and platforms, reaching its intended audience via entertainment media, healthcare, children’s apps, and even software (Machin & van Leeuwen 2016), thus, dominant political ideologies are not just restricted to the political sphere, and meaning can be made via multiple semiotic processes interacting with one another simultaneously. However, when it comes to the political sphere, politicians attempt to utilise all possible semiotic resources available to them, in an attempt to deliver their desired messages and establish their preferred meanings. AKP and CHP are no exception, making their attempts at influencing the voting public. One traditional form of political discourse utilised by both the main parties are

political advertising, displayed on billboards, printed on transport, or shared digitally. Such forms of political discourse tend to be effective because within just a few seconds of seeing a visual, much meaning can be transcended to the viewer. According to Nimmo (1995) political images can reinforce, revolutionise or, alter the preconceived notions in relation to the candidate depicted. This is made possible because visuals are devices that maintain numerous rhetorical tools and details (Rodriguez & Dimitrova 2016), such as depictions, symbols, and metaphors, which audiences take on as frames over time. Visuals uphold “a number of different condensing symbols that suggest the core frame” (Gamson & Stuart 1992: 60). Messages in this way are rendered easier to remember and understand (Entman 1993). At times, via the details interlaced in the visuals, certain themes are teased out (Borah 2009; Rodriguez & Dimitrova 2016), and at times, these could be ideological positions (Griffin 2004). As such, political messages can be transcended quickly and effectively, and both AKP and CHP utilised this form of political discourse within their campaigns.

Relevant to this study is the study of signs, as it is the signs utilised in the posters that come together to form the whole of the visual, working together to convey a message and effect upon the viewer. How the viewers of the visuals interpret the signs prevalent within the posters is an entire scientific area of study. Thus, the study of visual forms of discourse is undertaken by Semiotics, known to be co-founded by Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce, which is the “study of signs” (Chandler 2007). There are several definitions in relation to what semiotics indeed involves. One such definition, and accepted as the broadest one, is that of Umberto Eco’s, who proclaimed that “semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign” (Eco 1976). In this sense, it can be accepted that semiotics is not just what is referred to as ‘signs’ within everyday speech, but in fact, anything that ‘stands for’ something else (Chandler 2007). Based on this, words, sounds, images, odours, objects, and gestures, are all forms of signs. Semiotics for Ferdinand de Saussure is a science “which studies the role of signs as part of social life” and investigates “the nature of signs and the laws governing them” (Saussure 1916/1983:15-16). For Charles Sanders Peirce, however, it is a formal doctrine of signs that is related closely to logic, and he elaborates further by stating that “nothing is a sign unless it is interpreted as a sign” (Peirce 1931-58:2172). What Peirce is referring to here is that things only become signs when they are invested in meaning, and thus, anything can become a sign the instance someone interprets it as ‘signifying’ something, as into say that the thing is actually standing for something else. This process of signification is performed rather unconsciously and is carried out via their relation to familiar systems of conventions (Chandler

2007). Interested in the rhetorical messages that AKP and CHP attempted to convey prior to the elections, this study will perform Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2001) multimodal discourse analysis upon the two main visuals shared by these parties. This form of analysis has been chosen due to its focus upon how meaning is established by multiple modes of communication (Jones 2021) and to extract the ideologies across the varying semiotic resources (Machin & van Leeuwen 2016) that the literature has put forth are used by political individuals.

Turkish Political Sphere

From the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the Caliphate of the Muslim world, to a war of national resistance and economic struggles, when the Republic of Turkey was established, its founder and leader of the war of independence, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, tried to further secularise (Reed 1954) the polity and society in Turkey (Heper & Toktaş 2003). In this measure, Atatürk, who had lead Turkey through a war of national resistance from European (Christian) forces (Hale & Ergun 2010), was loved and trusted by the Turkish nation. Atatürk established the Republic of Turkey in 1923 and continued with secularising reforms (Bechev 2022; Reed 1954). Thus, over the years, Turkey increasingly secularised (Heper & Toktaş 2003; Lewis 1994), and wouldn't be as developed in economic, cultural, and political terms, as it is today without them (Hale & Ergun 2010). The Atatürk legacy remains in the official memory politics of Turkey, his reforms still abided by a large section of the population who had taken on this secular discourse (Reed 1954). "Attachment to Kemalism became an article of faith" (Hale & Ergun 2010: xvii-xviii). From the date of Republic of Turkey's establishment in 1923, till the date of his death in 1938, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ran as Turkey's president and the founder and leader of CHP, to be succeeded by İsmet İnönü, who was known to be more moderate with relation to religious affairs (Reed 1954). From 1945 onwards, there was an increase of opposition parties across the Turkish political landscape (Kalaycıoğlu 2001), and with them they brought back to the agenda religious interests. From this period onwards, the government, on its own initiative in part, and responding to popular demand from the public (Heper & Toktaş 2003), accorded more attention to Islam (Reed 1954). From 1969, religiously oriented political parties increased, despite the fact they "adapted themselves to the secular and democratic system" (Heper & Toktaş 2003:159). They were all promptly shut down via a court order in 1971, for not abiding with Kemalist principles of a secular state, with further party closures experienced in 1980. The effects of these parties prevailed upon the Turkish society. However, so did democracy. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Turkish left began to revive once again, and Regardless of the political developments and the roles played by each of the parties that were

present across the Turkish version of democracy over the years, the Turkish political sphere has always been regarded as having a “concentration of power at the central level” (Ayan 2010:197). Studies have indicated that there are ‘oligarchic tendencies,’ ‘overly centralised structures,’ and ‘highly disciplined party leaderships’ (Turan 1988; Özbudun 2000). The leading two political parties for the 2023 general elections; AKP and CHP, are historically and inherently deemed as authoritarian, the AKP party observed as displaying a hegemonic form of authoritarianism and CHP deemed as displaying an oligarchic form for authoritarianism (Ayan 2010).

When it comes to Erdoğan’s rule, however, it was initiated in a form that was appreciated by many, including the international forum. He was popular since his mayoral candidacy for Istanbul in 1994 (Heper & Toktaş 2003) and topped a poll in July 1998, with 15.2 percent of respondents regarding him as Turkey’s best politician (Pamuk 2001). Further, polls in June and July 2001 displayed that a plurality and majority of voters (65.7% in June), thought that a new political party to be led by Erdoğan would be successful (Pamuk 2001), and summer 2002 survey results projected that a plurality of voters supported AKP. As demonstrated, Erdoğan was a popular political figure, and currently still receives notable support by the voting Turkish public that could keep AKP in power, however, there is also a large section of the Turkish nation, who identify more with the Kemalist principles, and who regards him as a politician with continued Islamic tendencies, with an inclination towards political Islam, which they feel he obscured previously (Heper & Toktaş 2003).

As the leader of CHP, Kılıçdaroğlu has had the difficulty of contending with a dominant party system, since he has come to lead the party. “Close observers of Turkish politics have noted that the CHP is not a credible governing alternative to the AKP because it has failed to advocate an electoral agenda, which represents a diverse array of voter demands” (Ciddi & Esen 2014: 420). Due to this, the administration of Kılıçdaroğlu has exerted revamping efforts into the party’s ideological platform, as well as its institutional and structural composition, in an effort to convince the voting public that the party and its cadres are changing (Ciddi & Esen 2014). This came after large criticism to the previous and long-lasting Deniz Baykal administration (Ayan 2010), and its electoral stagnation by CHP party supporters. Kılıçdaroğlu had a difficult task on his hands and displayed he was listening to the feedback, when he and his team took to work, reviving Atatürk’s party. Kılıçdaroğlu has been effective in putting CHP back in the game, and in order to place the party’s image as centre and put the party closer to progressive groups within the society, invited a number of popular journalists, intellectuals,

academics, and union leaders, to join his efforts, thus simultaneously streamlining the party's outdated image (Ciddi & Esen 2014). Kılıçdaroğlu has successfully undone some of the previous damage caused upon CHP's image and following, increased the supporters, and strengthened the party's structure, all in the face of the dominating party leadership of AKP.

In the case of Turkey, from the end of the 19th century when secularism was introduced to the Turks by a weakening Ottoman empire, Turkey remained in part a secularist state, leaning more towards democracy and western principles, while part remained in their traditional form. As demonstrated, when the opposition parties found place in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, and the more traditional voices began to once again be represented, part of the nation began to re-connect with Islam, while part of the society opposed this. Indeed, the Atatürk legacy is an important factor in the political divide across the Turkish public, a divide between the "state-dominated centre and the periphery" (Hale & Ergun 2010: xviii). Those that view Erdogan's Turkey as increasingly de-secularising, are those who tend to adhere to the Kemalist principles still 100 years after the establishment of the state. This has always been the biggest issue that reflects upon the voting habits of the Turkish public, a nation who are inherently politically divided, a 150 year maintained legacy. Aside to the political divide amongst the Turkish nation, it has also been seen that the economic and political developments in Turkey have contributed to Erdogan's decreased popularity, and Kılıçdaroğlu's continued opposition against AKP, as well as his party reform efforts have, in turn, increased CHP's popularity, all considerable factors that will certainly impact upon the votes in May 2023, and factors they will need to consider when developing their campaign material. The meanings that the audience take on by the campaign elements of either party, will need to be persuasive in all the areas of concern and ambition for the state.

The Power of Political Discourse

Humans are driven to make meaning and are referred to as *Homo significans* (meaning makers) by Chandler (1995). Our species has succeeded in establishing meaning by creating and then interpreting signs. Thus, any form of signifying process, whether the spoken language, music, or a photograph, are representational systems that convey meaning (Hall 1997). It is these signifying systems that allow us to identify with or reject meanings that do not resonate with us as individuals within collective groups. These signifying processes are the means through which identification is made possible, and how we assimilate into particular identities and cultures (Hall 1997), made possible via the extra-linguistic elements of discourse (society, ideology, and culture) (Fairclough & Wodak 1997).

Discourse is reference to the capacity of resources in the establishment of meaning that constitutes to social reality. Kress and van Leeuwen (2001: 24) define discourse as “socially constructed knowledges of (some aspect of) reality”. There are two assumptions with relation to discourse; first, is that it relates or ‘exists’ within language, and second, that discourses ‘just exist’ regardless of material realisations of it. Wodak states that “Discourse means anything from a historical monument, a lieu de memoire, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations to language per se” (2009: 3). According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), discourse is socially enacted, and is a space in which ideological work is carried out, thus, both power and social relations are negotiated via and within discourse. In this sense, it can be put forth that power relations are discursive, and thus, discourse is power (Said 2003). Van Dijk (1993) deems discourse as an enabling tool within the discursive establishment of power relations. In this sense, discourse circulates within the social field and contributes to the reproduction of dominance, and constitutes the emotional life, conscious and unconscious mind of the individuals that they seek the governing of (Weedon 1987).

The proliferation of multimedia has meant that opinions, thoughts, ideas, ideological positions, and the like, can be conveyed via a multitude of modes and resources (Cheng 2021). One form of discourse that is ideologically laced is political discourse, utilised by political figures to convey their messages to the public for a number of reasons, whether to ‘persuade’ or ‘change their minds’ (van Dijk 1993), inform them, gain their support, or deter them from another political body. Political discourse is applied in the effort of gaining power by the political figure applying it. There are many forms of communication political figures apply to convey their messages, and during the lead up to elections, all forms possible will be utilised, which they believe will impact upon the voting public. As well as political speeches at congresses, that are often televised to reach the masses, political figures will share pictures and texts on social media, political advertising on public transport and billboards, distribute leaflets, commission televised advertising, and attend televised debates on political debate shows, to name a few ways in which they attempt to reach voters. Whichever form of communication a political figure utilises to convey their political messages, it is known that “modal resources can be used by [sign-makers] in a given social context,” (Jewitt, Different approaches to multimodality, 2009) in an effort of best serving their interests. And serve their interests they do, as the literature has indicated that discourse (Fairclough & Wodak 1997; van Dijk 1993; Wodak 2009), and resources of different semiotic modes (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001; Machin

& van Leeuwen 2016; Jewitt 2009), “can ‘interact’ with one another within a multimodal ensemble” (Wong 2016), successfully making the political case intended by the political figure.

Multimodality in Political Advertising

Advertising serves as a persuasive power and is therefore crucial to modern politics, since it seeks to alter attitudes or behavioural patterns with relation to a product, service, or concept, through mass media. The political party, candidate, or ideology is promoted and adopted via planned advertising strategies. Due to this, political communication involving the development, preparation, and delivery of messages to influence voter attitudes and behaviours in favour of the candidate or party, including advertising, is essential during election periods (Tan 2002; Uztuğ 1999). Political commercials, which become increasingly prevalent during election seasons, allow political parties or candidates to stand out to voters and effectively deliver their views. By using symbolic language made up of words, stories, and images, political advertisements, the politically adapted counterpart of commercial advertising, ensures that political players obtain power (Yavaşgel 2004).

Since the 1977 general elections in Turkey, political advertising, which first gained popularity in the USA after World War II and then spread to Western Europe, has also gained popularity in Turkey. The process which began with newspaper ads created for Süleyman Demirel of the Justice Party in the general election of 1977, continued with the use of advertisements in election processes, and it strengthened its importance and place, especially in 1991, with the involvement of foreign advertisers. Political parties and candidates understood that they couldn't win the election using just pamphlets, flags, or slogans, so they hired skilled advertisers to manage their election campaigns. Today's very effective political commercials for election campaigns leave remnants of sociocultural traits of the society they live in. Political commercials use a variety of terms to communicate with voters' emotions and thoughts, in an effort to sway them in a particular direction. Applications for political advertising that use symbols, signs, gestures, images, and colours as rhetorical devices, have a multi-layered structure. This structure should be taken into consideration while analysing political commercials as a result (Zeybek 2015).

Political advertising, as an example of multimodal discourse, works with a range of various semiotic elements, such as language, visual imagery, colour, and the interaction of three dimensions, in contrast to conventional text or speech. Advertisers frequently employ persuasive language and multimodal styles in their messages, in an effort to persuade audiences.

Multimodality, in the opinion of Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), provides a tool to analyse how language and pictures interact. Kress and Leeuwen's (2001) *The Grammar of Visual Design*, influenced by Halliday's (2004) *Systemic Functional Grammar* MDA, is now a brand-new area of study for linguists. MDA's primary focus is on both linguistic (oral) and non-linguistic (visual, audio and other) semiotic sources, because it embodies a variety of resources or modes (including language, image, music, gesture, and architecture), based on the power of sensory modalities (such as visual, auditory, tactile, and kinesthetic).

According to Halliday, language is organized into three simultaneous configurations, each of which standing for a different metafunction in the construction of meaning. These include (1) textual metafunction, which links linguistic components (such as clauses) together to form complete, coherent texts, (2) interpersonal function of language, which expresses the role of relationships and identities of individuals in social interactions between people, and (3) identical function, which expresses the speaker's experience of the world. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), visual design, like all semiotic modes, satisfies these three requirements and incorporates Halliday's concepts into the semiotic analysis theoretical framework as representational, interactive, and compositional metafunctions.

According to the representational metafunction, this component includes the narrative process and the conceptual process. The conceptual patterns of Kress and van Leeuwen are static and reflect the participants, in terms of classes, structures, or meanings, whereas their narrative patterns serve to depict the narrative patterns dynamically, as well as unfolding actions and events, processes of change, temporal spatial arrangements, and spatial arrangements. The second component proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen is based on Halliday's interpersonal function, and involves the interaction between the creator and the viewer (interactive participants) of the image. They contend that the gaze of the portrayed participant, the person's proximity to the audience, and the participant's vantage point, all contribute to how producers visually encode social meanings. The compositional metafunction of Halliday is the third dimension of the frame. Here, the emphasis is on the structure of the whole, how the representative and interactive pieces are connected to one another, and how they come together to form a meaningful whole.

Methodological Approach

The research aims of this study, which is based on a qualitative research method, is to examine the multi-layered structures and meaning formation of posters that are designed with

a political advertising focus, for the 14 May 2023 Turkish general elections. Qualitative research can be defined as “research in which qualitative data collection methods such as observation, interview, and document analysis are used, and a qualitative process is followed, to reveal perceptions and events in a natural environment in a realistic and holistic manner” (Yıldırım & Şimşek 2016: 41).

Via the non-random sampling method, advertisement posters commissioned by two different political parties (CHP and AKP) were selected for the study and examined according to the Multimodal Critical Discourse approach introduced by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). The Grammar of Visual Design by Kress and Leeuwen (1996), with its inclusion of reading images, has made MDA into a new research field for linguists under the direction of Halliday's (2004) Systemic Functional Grammar. According to Halliday, linguistics is the study of how individuals exchange meanings via the use of language, and language is a systems resource for expressing meanings in context. The primary emphasis of MDA is on the equal stress of both linguistic (verbal) and non-linguistic (visual, auidial, and other) semiotic resources because MDA embodies a variety of resources or modes (including language, image, music, gesture, and architecture) that are on the strength of sensory modalities (such as visual, auditory, tactile, and kinesthetic). However, Kress and van Leeuwen utilize various words for the same concepts in accordance with Halliday's theory: representational in place of ideational, interactive in place of interpersonal, and compositional in place of textual. The representational meaning is concerned with how relationships between individuals in the image are depicted in the visuals. The social relationships between interactants and the evaluative perspectives that participants adopt toward one another and the environment the text represents are the key topics of the interactive meaning. Through three interconnected systems, the compositional meaning connects the representational and interactive meanings of the image (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006: 177).

An advertising, which is representative of multimodal discourse, uses a range of distinct semiotic resources, such as language, visual image, color, and typography, in contrast to ordinary text or talk. Through a variety of channels, advertising discourse generates social meanings and symbolic value and has an impact on interpersonal interactions. By performing a multimodal analysis on the commercial, this study integrates the less well-known aspect. By using three fundamental metafunctions—representational metafunction, interactive metafunction, and compositional metafunction—to analyze the advertising chosen for the study.

Analysis

Representational Metafunction

Conceptual and narrative patterns make up representational metafunction. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), conceptual patterns serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, and temporary spatial arrangements, while narrative patterns serve to represent participants in terms of their class, structure, or meaning, or in other words, in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence. A vector is a defining characteristic of a narrative visual, a "proposition"; of which conceptual structures do not have. The participant from whom the vector emerges in action processes is known as the *Actor*, and the resulting structure is non-transactional. Moreover, the actor in whole or part, is the vector, which can be examined through factors such as size, composition placement, contrast with the background, colour saturation or conspicuousness, sharpness of focus and the "psychological salience" that particular participants have for the audience (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006).

Figure 1 is a political advertisement commissioned by CHP, containing the image of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu as the main participant, typically as an actor. Kılıçdaroğlu has a smile on his face and is gesturing with his hand in the form of a greeting, with his gaze looking outside of the frame. As a political actor, he is a superordinate participant, while the other participants in the background are subordinate. Focusing on Kılıçdaroğlu's gaze, it can be interpreted that the eye-line generated is a vector, which originates from the visual figure to an unknown object, because the participant's eyes appear to be looking at something that the observer cannot see. Because this process is one that is reactional, and the participant is reacting to an unknown element, here his classification as a 'reactor' is possible. To the background of the visual, frames depicting or reminding of distressing incidents in Turkey from recent years, such as femicides, earthquake victims, health workers, farmers, and the Turkish lira, are displayed. The positioning of these objects underneath Kılıçdaroğlu's photograph provides them a significance in this advertisement. In addition to all these elements of the visual, the text accompanying them all is vital, written on the image's bottom side. The text "Ben Kemal, Geliyorum" (I am Kemal, and I am on my way), underlines Kılıçdaroğlu's political stance. It is also observed that there is increasingly effective use of colour in figure 1. Trust, accountability, and honesty are shown in the image via the navy blue utilised in the background. Visual elements include viewpoint, vector, participant as actor, color, and written text, following Kress and van Leeuwen. Taking figure 1, designers employ each of these components on purpose to make the advertising more persuasive to the viewer. This frame's specific goal is to evoke sentiments of identification or

empathy in the spectator by stimulating their imagination. Additionally, it aims to create an approachable connection between the viewers and the social representation of the image.

Figure 2 is an example poster taken from the AKP campaign. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the head of AKP and the current president of the Republic of Turkey, is shown as a prominent participant in the visual. With his forward stare and a smile on his face, Erdoğan is gesturing. A number of processes present a conceptual image realistically; for instance, the classificational process reveals that among the participants in the visual, Erdoğan's image is the predominant one. Erdoğan is the sole participant based on the representational dimension. He appears to be standing still, and the observer is unable to see what his eyes are fixed upon. As a result, it is possible to assume that the eye-line formed is a vector extending from the actor to the unidentified item. Here, Erdoğan may also be categorised as a 'reactor,' because the process is a reactional one, and the participant is responding to an unknown element. Because the visual is a non-transactional reactional process, it is possible for the observer to experience a high sense of empathy or identification with the participant who is being portrayed. The phrase "Türkiye yüzyılı için, doğru adam, doğru zaman" (For Turkey's century, the right man, the right time), which appears to the left of Erdoğan, also embodies another representational meaning, alluding to Erdoğan's position in the future. When it comes to colour, the selection of blue for the background of the visual promotes the concept of confidence. Differently from figure 1, a custom logo prepared for the Republic of Turkey century anniversary and the logo of AKP, is located under the main phrase of the advertisement.

Interactive Metafunction

Interactive meaning is realised via the means of four factors: contact, social distance, attitude, and modality. In contact, the viewer takes on the role of an invisible onlooker and becomes the subject of what Kress and van Leeuwen refer to as "the viewer's dispassionate scrutiny" (2006: 116). In terms of the direction of gaze as a semiotic and kinaesthetic resource, whereby it is often observed that political figures use a direct gaze with the viewer, in order to enact an interactive relation between the social actor represented in the visual and the viewer (Van Leeuwen 2008; Wong 2016), the visuals analysed for this study both took a different approach. As such, the eyes of the social actor in Figure 1 are not looking directly at the spectator, but rather towards something that is not in the picture. Therefore, figure 1 is an example of an "offer" image, in which the participant who is shown offers himself to the observer as a subject for consideration. There is a similar presentation in figure 2 also, where the eyes of the image are not gazing directly towards the viewer, thus also serving as an

illustration of an "offer" image, in which the participant is presenting himself to the viewer as a topic for reflection. Applying such a kinaesthetic resource (Jaworski & Thurlow 2009) within a social context in both cases, develops a momentary enactment, with the presence of imaginary relations between the social actor and the viewer (Jewitt & Oyama 2001). When it comes to social distance, choice of distance can imply various relationships between the participants being represented and the spectator's, and the image's design itself can give the viewer a sense of proximity or distance to the person who is being represented. When it comes to advertising, it always defines frame size in respect to the human body. In a close shot, for example, the head and shoulders of the subject are visible (close personal distance), whereas in an extremely close shot, less is visible (intimate distance), as per Kress and van Leeuwen (2006). When it comes to a medium shot, the individual is roughly cut off at the waist (near social distance), and at the knees in the medium picture (far personal distance). The entire figure can be seen in a medium long shot (far social distance). The human figure takes up almost half the height of the frame in a long shot (public distance), and anything "wider" than that is considered a very long shot (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). The shot size in figure 1 is a medium close shot, with the placement of an image in the entire frame, and a close-to-medium-close view utilised in the advertisement, to heighten the sense of connection and intimacy. However, according to Edward T. Hall's (1964) 'proxemics' study, which Kress and van Leeuwen refer to in an effort to explain how social relations are determined via the different fields of view in images, far personal distance is depicted with the placement of the image in figure 1, due to the area from the head to the waist being visible. This means that a less intimate and personal relationship is being represented between the participant and the viewer. Looking at the placement of the image in figure 2, the head and the shoulders of the participant are visible. Therefore, a close shot is used to heighten the sensation of connection and intimacy, enabling a close personal distance and intimate relationship between the represented participant and the viewer. Again, according to Hall's proxemics study (1964), the relationship between the participant and the viewer intimately increases, proportionately to the decreasing distance between them. Evaluating according to the attitude/angle function, it is observed that the angle of the gaze being at eye-level of the represented participant in figure 1, as opposed to a high or low angle, conveys that the image is mimicking equality. When the image is at eye-level, an equal relationship between the participant and the viewer is established, there is no power hierarchy, with this "one of the gang" effect helping audiences engage with characters. In addition, figure 1 also features a wide plan and high-space-character relationship. As per Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), the degree of the angle impacts the degree of involvement, detachment, and power.

The represented participant in figure 2 has a low angle eye-level, thus, if the portrayed participant is viewed from a low perspective, it gives the appearance as though they are the ones in control of the connection. Image modality is another element of the interactive dimension within the framework, which relates to how viewers assess the realism of images. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) view modality as interactive rather than representational, as they claim that modality judgments are social and dependent on what is deemed as real within the social group for which the representation is primarily designed. In figure 1, there is full colour saturation, and a diverse range of colours in terms of maximum scale value. Also, in terms of contextualization, a detailed background is observed, with maximal representation of the participant's details. The context in which an image is utilised will determine how realistic it looks. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), different representational domains, such as scientific, abstract, naturalistic, and sensory, have various coding orientations, which lead to various definitions of high modality (realism). In this line of thinking, when it comes to figure 1, it can be said that the contextualization, representation, and illumination values are high, thus increasing the modality (realism) of the image. On the other hand, figure 2 displays full colour saturation and the highest possible scale values, and additionally doesn't have a thorough background explanation or a thorough display of participant details in terms of contextualization. Therefore, there is a high modality (realism) in orientation achieved in figure 2, with amplified modality marker values, such as full colour saturation, that makes an image appear more than real when compared to the standard naturalistic coding orientation. Due to the amplified modality marker values, such as full colour saturation and a wide spectrum of hues, figure 2's high modality (realistic) orientation is attained in comparison to naturalistic coding's conventional orientation. When it comes to what is worn by the social actors in each of the figures presented for this study, it is observed that the use of the Turkish flag pin on the blazers on both of the candidates is an obvious attempt at a statesmanship appeal (Grabe & Bucy 2009). While the pin on Figure is quite distant and cannot be seen clearly, the one on figure 2 is clearer and thus provides an increased statesmanship to the candidate over the candidate in figure 1.

Compositional Metafunction

Compositional metafunction consists of three categories: information value, framing and, salience. The arrangement of the pieces in the visual maintains an information value. The participants and syntagms that link them to one another and the viewer, are placed in such a way that they are given the precise informational values associated with the different "zones"

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of the image, such as the left and right, top and bottom, centre, and margin (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Greater emphasis on the centre portion of photographs is indicated by the centre and margin composition. Figure 1's centrally located political actor is the key participant and takes up the majority of the composition. The viewer's attention may be drawn to the image by its placement, leading them to accept the poster's message. The slogan of the political actor "Ben Kemal, Geliyorum," is placed at the centre bottom of the image, which has future oriented meaning. In the same sentence, the phrase "Geliyorum" is written with capitalized letters to emphasise the effectiveness of the image and to grab the viewer's attention. Moreover, the placement of other items at the background of the image determine the sub-message of the whole text and increase the attractiveness of the poster, with relation to social context.

With regards to figure 2, a significant portion of this visual is taken up by the illustration of Erdoğan to the right side. Such positioning highlights the primary participant's significance. The written text is positioned to the centre of the left side, with the logo at the bottom of the text. Also, the text "Türkiye Yüzyılı İçin Doğru Adam Doğru Zaman" is used in bold and capitalized, to lure the attraction of audiences.



Figure 1: An example of political advertisement



Figure 2: An example of political advertisement

CONCLUSION

When discourse is taken to hand, the characteristics of particular forms of discourses and the shape of discursive organisation are discussed in the tradition of how the discourses appear in the mode of language. Kress and van Leeuwen's (2001) approach takes on both the position that discourse exists independently from its mode of realisation and that it can also be located within the mode of language, as well as many other modes. Put simply, discourse is present in all semiotic modes available within a particular culture, as a means of realisation (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001). In this direction, this study looked at political advertising imagery in relation to the representational, interactional, and compositional meanings of Kress & Leeuwen's (1996) meta-functions. This helped the researcher understand the meanings conveyed by different modes in conjunction with the language in the context. The significance and profundity of each mode in a setting contribute to the potency and beauty of the image. As meaning was created, both the participants and other elements in the photos had an impact on one another. Thus, in line with previous literature, the present research established once again that resources from different forms of semiotic modes are able to interact with one another in an ensemble that is multimodal in nature (Lemke 1998; Jewitt 2009; Wong 2016).

The multimodal construction in both of the advertisements effectively communicates and accomplishes the goal of the ad—promoting the elections. The research indicates that the images represented appear to be idealized individuals with positive attributes. The social relationships formed between the participants and the spectator also seem to deepen the identities that are on show. The major participants in both of the photos in figures 1 and 2 are both depicted as actors and there is a non-transactional process.

Figures depict the election's spirit, but Figure 1 also depicts the contemporary social climate due to background images. Figure 1 shows a far personal distance with a medium close picture and an eye-level angle is employed, thus, there is no imbalance between the participant and the viewer. However, figure 2 shows a close personal distance with a close shot, and there is a low angle employed, giving the appearance that the actor is the one in control of the connection. In figures 1 and 2, the use of blue and its hues conveys to the viewers a vivid and positive image, by making a trustworthy and sincere impression. Additionally, avoiding eye contact creates a strong connection between promise and future hope.

One important conclusion that can be put forth from the examinations carried out, is that images have the capacity to express meanings that are multilayered. Images, as semiotic

resources, may be able to play a bigger part in communication, with the development of visual semiotic theory. Finally, in terms of the written language used in the posters, figure 1 compliments the welcoming style employed in the visual by using a discourse on common language, whereas figure 2 takes a more masculine approach. Even if the phrase "right man" alludes to power rather than the "right person," it can be recognized as a language that justifies the country's disparity of women's aspirations, which is evident in many domains, particularly the political and social ones. Here, the language used in the advertisements was both extremely deceptive and persuasive and was purposefully created in this manner in order to draw in and persuade the audience or users.

As an overall conclusion, to persuade individuals, advertising designers employ a variety of approaches. The three primary meanings (representational, interactive, and compositional) are expressed in all modalities in a textual and visual environment, and this conclusion can be drawn from the knowledge of how language interacts with other media. It is possible to understand the underlying meanings in discourse, according to social semiotics.

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