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DEDICATION

To my beloved parents Manuel Enrique Blanco Alvarez and Ana Margarita Barroso Parada who have always been my constant source of inspiration. All I have and will accomplish are only possible due to your unconditional love and sacrifices. Thanks for always encouraging me to have determination, self-discipline and give my best in everything I do. Thanks for teaching me the most important things in life, to believe in myself, in my dreams, and in God.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the problem

This M.A. thesis proposes to analyze the political discourse of the multimodal texts that the two major political parties involved in the 2016 Puebla gubernatorial election produced and extensively distributed through the medium of billboards in a statewide election. The thesis is part of a larger study which investigates how political parties express their particular ideologies, construct social identities and construct power relations through the medium of billboards in a nationwide political campaign (Witten, Castineira and Flores, 2013). The study intends to examine the role that billboards play in the construction and dissemination of political propaganda in Mexican state-wide politics and provide a discussion of how social actors make use of these multimodal texts.

In order to accomplish these goals, the investigation performs a multimodal discourse analysis on a series of photographs of the gubernatorial billboards that were collected during the campaign period from April 3rd to June 5th, 2016. Multimodal discourse analysis refers to a type of analysis that goes beyond the linguistic elements of a text and considers additional modes being employed such as visual images, color, page layout, sound effects and more (Kress & van Leuween, 2001; 2006). Because this investigation analyzes texts that are highly multimodal in nature, multimodality and multimodal analysis are important tools in exploring how text producers achieve their goals in disseminating political discourses.

This investigation also adopts a critical lens in its approach to data analysis. Luke (1995) points out that critical discourse analysis operates under the assumption that language should be studied in its social context where “human subjects engage in the negotiation of knowledge, identity, and social relations in the everyday patterns of institutional life” (p. 12)
with a particular focus on how “power and identity are legitimated, negotiated, and contested
toward political ends” (ibid., p. 12). Luke (1995) goes on to explain that critical discourse
analysis is concerned with shedding light on the manner in which…

dominant discourses in contemporary cultures tend to represent those social
formations and power relations that are the products of history, social formation,
and culture…as if they were the product of organic, biological, and essential
necessity. By this account, critical discourse analysis is a political act itself, an
intervention in the apparently natural flow of talk and text in institutional life that
attempts to ‘interrupt’ everyday common sense (p.13).

There are many scholars who are critical of critical approaches to discourse analysis. For
example, Keat (1981) questions the simplicity of the epistemological foundations of critical
theory, and Roderick (1986) points out that critical approaches to research are just as
ideological as the approaches that they proscribe. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) point
out that a more fundamental critique of critical theory is that it “has a deliberate political
agenda, and that the task of the researcher is not to be an ideologue or to have an agenda, but
to be dispassionate, disinterested and objective” (p. 32). Critical scholars rebuke these claims.
According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000), critical theorists argue:

the call for researchers to be ideologically neutral is itself saturated with laissez-
faire values which allow the status quo to be reproduced, i.e. that the call for
researchers to be neutral and disinterested is just as value laden as is the call for
them to intrude their own perspectives (p. 32).

These advocates of critical research claim that such an argument is tenable because
much behaviour (including research behavior) is the outcome of particular illegitimate, dominatory, and repressive factors, illegitimate in the sense that they do not operate in the general interest…researchers can no longer claim neutrality and ideological or political innocence (ibid., p. 28).

The discussion above sheds light on the complex issues involved in this debate as research practitioners struggle to define the nature and purpose of research. Complex issues such as these are not easily resolved, and in large part, one’s stance depends on paradigmatic subscription. As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) point out:

ontological assumptions give rise to epistemological assumptions; these, in turn, give rise to methodological considerations; and these, in turn, give rise to issues of instrumentation and data collection. This view moves us beyond regarding research methods as simply a technical exercise; it recognizes that research is concerned with understanding the world and that this is informed by how we view our world(s), what we take understanding to be, and what we see as the purposes of understanding (p. 3)

Due to the political nature of this investigation, a multimodal critical discourse analytical approach seems particularly appropriate because the producers of these texts are explicitly seeking to gain power. Adopting an analytical approach that facilitates the deconstruction of the discourses that social actors produce as they strive to persuade the public to grant them positions of power seems particularly appropriate.
1.2 Significance of the Study

As globalization and technological trends continue to influence manners and means of communication, the corresponding multimodal texts become increasingly sophisticated (Witten, Castineira & Flores, 2013). Iedema & Stenglin (2001) stress the importance of this trend, claiming that multimodality is “blurring the traditional boundaries between and roles allocated to language, image, page layout, and document design” (p.31). This phenomenon has changed the way that we conceive the nature of human communication and the texts that are produced as a result (Baldry & Thibault, 2006; Kress, 2000). Such change is not without consequence as Luke (1995) recognizes:

the 21st-century citizen will work in media-, text-, and symbol-saturated environments…[where] work, consumption, and leisure depend on their capacities to construct, control, and manipulate texts and symbols. It should not be surprising, then, that many of the new social conflicts…involve the production and consumption of texts, access to and legal control over texts, and terms of reference. These are battles over contracts and billboards [my emphases], ‘infotainment’ and cable TV rights, pornographic software and racist slurs, rap lyrics and textbooks, battles over what we call each other and how we present ourselves in face-to-face and electronic encounters, whether in courts of law and legislatures, classrooms and staffrooms, on the internet or on the streets. Fighting words indeed: texts and identities, work and culture (pp. 5-6).

This battle over texts is directly reflected within the current investigation as candidates and political parties attempt to control the dominant discourses that characterize themselves and their opponents. These discourses that are produced by distinct actors in the political process might be interpreted as a dialog by viewers, to which they must eventually
assign meaning. Kelly, Luke and Green (2008) suggest that within such a discursive framework “Disciplinary knowledge entails more than acquiring basic skills or bits of received knowledge. It also involves developing identity and affiliation, critical epistemic stance, and dispositions as social actors participate in the discourse and actions of a collective social field. From this perspective knowledge is not held in archives and texts, but is constructed through ways of speaking, writing, and acting. Thus, knowledge is continually tested, contested, and reconstructed through the emerging genres” (p. 46).

The current investigation seeks to explore the manner in which producers of political texts use multimodal design in order to achieve their political goals. As the quotes above suggest, these goals necessarily “depend on their capacities to construct, control, and manipulate texts and symbols” (Luke, 1995, p. 5) as they attempt to develop social identities and affiliations and express epistemic (or ideological) stances (Kelly, Luke & Green, 2008). Exploring the manner in which these candidates seek to gain political power seems to be particularly warranted.

1.3 Context of the research: The 2016 gubernatorial elections in Puebla

Gubernatorial elections in Mexico take place every six years. Traditionally, three main parties contend for this political office in Puebla, which include: 1) the Partido Accion Nacional (PAN), 2) the Partido Revolucionario Institucional and 3) the Partido de la Revolucion Democratica (PRD). However, due to a poorly financed campaign and a scarcity of billboards produced by the PRD, it has been decided to eliminate this party and their candidate, Roxana Luna Porquillo, from the current study. This decision was further supported by the PRD’s poor results in the election as they received less than four percent of
the total vote. The Puebla Gubernatorial election was held on July 5, 2016: The PAN, which rules the current government in Puebla, formed coalitions with smaller political parties that included: the Partido del Trabajo (PT), Partido Nueva Alianza (PANAL), Compromiso por Puebla (CPP) and Pacto Social de Integracion (PSI). The gubernatorial candidate for the PAN was Jose Antonio Gali Fayad. The PRI also formed a coalition with smaller political parties including: Partido Verde Ecologista de Mexico (PVEM) and the Partido Encuentro Social (PES). The PRI gubernatorial candidate was Blanca Alcala Ruiz.

The official campaigning period, monitored by the Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE), lasted from April 3 to June 5, 2016. This gubernatorial period will last only 20 months instead of the usual six years due to a decision by the federal government to align statewide gubernatorial elections with the federal elections in 2018 in an attempt to reduce the number of election periods and their associated costs in Mexico. The winner of the current gubernatorial campaign will begin governing on February the first, 2017 and finishing on December 13th 2018. In Chapter three of this thesis, a more in-depth description of the political parties involved in the election will be provided pertaining to their historical tendencies of belonging to the right, center or left of the political continuum. An in-depth historical overview of the candidates will also be provided.

1.4 Research Questions

In order to explore these issues, the following research questions will be addressed:

- How do the gubernatorial candidates construct distinct social identities on billboards in the state of Puebla?
• How is party/candidate ideology constructed on billboards by the three gubernatorial campaigns in the state of Puebla?

1.5 Conclusion

The current chapter outlined the general aims and objectives of the current study. It attempted to provide a rationale for performing the study and establishing its pertinence within the field of critical studies and multimodal discourse analysis. The following chapter will provide a review of scholarly literature that is meant to serve as a foundation for the subsequent analysis and conclusions to draw on. Chapter three will outline the methodological framework that the study employs and provide a historical overview of the political parties and candidates in order to contextualize the investigation. Chapter four provides the analysis of the multimodal texts (political billboards), which are the object of the current study, and Chapter five provides a discussion of the general findings that the investigation produced.
Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The following sections provide a background discussion on relevant issues surrounding how meanings can be made, distributed, interpreted and analyzed in multimodal texts. In doing this, we intend to build a rationale for the methodological choices that were made for different facets of analysis within this research process.

2.2 On Multimodality

Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) point out that, “[a]ll texts are multimodal. Language always has to be realized through, and comes in the company of, other semiotic modes.” (p. 187). Iedema and Stenglin (2001) define a multimodal text as “one in which a number of different modes (words in headings and headlines; images and the written texts themselves) are integrated to form a composite whole” (p. 195). Kress, Jewitt, Ogborn and Tsatsarelis (2001) rather boldly claim to have proven conclusively that “meaning is made in all modes separately, and at the same time, that meaning is an effect of all the modes acting jointly” (p. 1). These notions are of utmost importance to an investigation that attempts to explore the nature of a complex genre (see section 2.3.6) such as presidential campaign billboards, which is characterized by a rich variety of multimodal texts. Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) stress that “it is essential that we develop modes of text analysis which can adequately describe the interplay between the verbal and the visual, and adequately analyse visually expressed meanings” (p. 187). Kress et al. (2001) state that multimodal analysis requires a descriptive framework “derived from the specific characteristics of the mode itself” (p. 3). Therefore, in order to deal with the complexity of multimodal communication, a variety of analytical
techniques which are appropriate for different modes of representation is required. Keeping the above in mind, we will discuss in further detail the strengths and limitations of particular analytical techniques which are appropriate for the analysis of the multimodal texts examined in this research. Furthermore, we will argue that a mixing of methodologies from distinct disciplines such as linguistics and sociology among others might complement each other in order to maximize methodological strengths while minimizing limitations.

2.3 On pragmatics

As will be demonstrated, different phases or waves (see section: 2.4.1.1) of the presidential campaign are characterized by distinct discourses that were placed on billboards during particular moments of the campaign. These waves seemed to be fulfilling different semiotic goals or purposes according to the sequential time that they were released for public consumption. Semiotic goals or purposes naturally lead us into the field of pragmatics and the notions of meaning and context that are relevant within that field of study. Therefore, a brief discussion of pragmatic theory relevant to this study will be presented below.

Pragmatic theory is concerned with explaining how interlocutors bridge the gap between sentence meanings and speaker meanings (Grice, 1957). While sentence meaning refers to the explicit meanings (locutionary act) that are encoded in a particular utterance, speaker meaning (illocutionary act) refers to a speaker’s communicative intention (see Austin, 1962; Searle, 1975). Levinson (1983) comments that by adopting speaker meaning “as the scope of meaning in pragmatics…we shall include most of the phenomena that we want to include, like the ironic, metaphoric and indirect implications of what we say” (p. 19).
Such distinctions in meaning as those discussed above and how interlocutors are able to
distinguish between potential meanings lead us to *speech act theory*.

The foundations of speech act theory were developed by Austin (1962) and further
systematized by Searle (1969) who proposed that “speaking a language is performing speech
acts, acts such as making statements, giving commands, asking questions, making promises,
and so on” (p. 16). In other words, “linguistic expressions have the capacity to perform
certain kinds of communicative acts” (Blum-Kulka, 1997, p. 42) or carry *illocutionary force*.
This notion prompted Searle (1969) to assert that “speech acts…are the basic or minimal
units of linguistic communication” (p.16), and “a theory of language is part of a theory of
action” (p. 17).

Searle (1975), suggesting that there may be an infinite number of speech acts,
classified speech acts into five types of utterance based on their felicity conditions, which are
specifications for their appropriate usage. Levinson (1983, p. 240) provides a concise
summary of these five main types of speech acts which include:

1. **representatives**, which commit the speaker [text producer] to the truth of
   the expressed proposition (paradigm cases: asserting, concluding, etc.)

2. **directives**, which are attempts by the speaker [text producer] to get the
   addressee to do something (paradigm cases: requesting, questioning)

3. **commissives**, which commit the speaker [text producer] to some future
   course of action (paradigm cases: promising, threatening, offering)

4. **expressives**, which express a psychological state (paradigm cases: thanking,
apologizing, welcoming, congratulating)
5. **declarations**, which effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs and which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions (paradigm cases: excommunicating, declaring war, christening, firing from employment)

While the classification above has been subjected to criticism, it is considered one of the most influential typology of speech acts (Verschueren, 1999; Blum-Kulka, 1997; Levinson, 1983). Both Levinson (1983) and Blum-Kulka (1997) point out that it lacks a principled basis of classification, while Verschueren (1999) points out that the categories are not “mutually exclusive” and that “actual language use contains many types of [speech] acts which…would have to be called hybrids” (p. 24). Regardless of this criticism, Searle’s (1975) typology has been chosen to explain the pragmatic function(s) that each billboard accomplishes within each temporal/semiotic wave of the campaign. This is because it remains the most influential typology of speech acts and is adequate to describe all of the speech acts identified on presidential campaign billboards in the current study.

### 2.4 On systemic functional linguistics as an analytical tool

Halliday (2004) pose the question “what are the basic functions of language, in relation to our ecological and social environment?” (p. 29). In attempting to answer this question, he develops the construct of *metafunctions* of language, which operate together to create a system where “grammar is seen as a network of interrelated meaningful choices” (p. 31) that serves as “a recourse for making meaning” (p.31). He proposes that “we use language to make sense of our experience [ideational metafunction], and to carry out our interactions with other people [interpersonal metafunction]” which means that language must “interface with what goes on outside language [context]: with the happenings and conditions of the
world, and with the social processes we engage in” (p.24). However, language must also “organize the construal of experience, and the enactment of social processes, so that they can be transformed into wording [textual metafunction]” (ibid., p. 24). Halliday further describe the ideational metafunction as being dedicated to transforming facets of human experience into meaning through lexicogrammatical resources (p. 29). The interpersonal metafunction refers to:

   enacting our personal and social relationships with the other people around us. The clause of the grammar is not only a figure, representing some process...it is also a proposition, or a proposal, whereby we inform or question, give an order, or make an offer, and express our appraisal of and attitude towards whoever we are addressing and what we are talking about. This kind of meaning is more active: if the ideational function of the grammar is ‘language as reflection’, this is ‘language as action’ (Halliday, 2004, pp. 29-30).

The textual metafunction can be regarded as an “enabling or facilitating function” to the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions in order to “build up sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity” (ibid., p. 30).

While Halliday’s conceptualization of how language and situational contexts intersect seems plausible, it does not provide a broader perspective of the sociocultural conditions in which interaction is always embedded. This absence of systematic social analysis is problematic as Cicourel (1992) points out when saying:

   Language and other practices are interdependent. Knowing something about the ethnographic setting, the perception of and characteristics attributed to others, and broader
and local organizational conditions becomes imperative for an understanding of the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of communicative events (p.79).

Having recognized certain shortcomings of SFL, this analysis does consider the three metafunctions of language mentioned above when attending to the “text dimension” (see section 2.3.9) of the billboards. However, in order to demonstrate relationships between sociocultural/historical events and text production and consumption practices, additional analytical tools are necessary, which are discussed below.

2.5 On geosemiotics

In order to appropriately describe, analyze, historicize and contextualize presidential campaign billboards (see Caldas-Coulthard & van Leeuwen, 2003 on ‘critical social semiotics’), we believe that it is necessary to consider the principles of what Scollon and Scollon (2003) term, Geosemiotics. They define Geosemiotics as “the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs in the world [our stress]. By ‘signs’ [they] mean to include any semiotic system including language and discourse” (p. 110). Scollon and Scollon (2003) explain that the goal of Geosemiotics is to examine the way that “three broad systems of social semiotics are interconnected at any site of social action—the interaction order, visual semiotics, and place semiotics” (p.7), which are discussed in turn below.
2.6 The interaction order

Goffman (1983) describes the interaction order as a “domain of activity” without direct implications to norms and rules “that is in fact orderly, and that this orderliness is predicated on a large base of shared cognitive presuppositions” (p. 5). Goffman goes on to say that “[t]he workings of the interaction order can easily be viewed as the consequences of systems of enabling conventions, in the sense of the ground rules for a game, the provisions of a traffic code or the rules of syntax of language.” (ibid., p. 5). Scollon and Scollon (2003) adopt this concept within their geosemiotic framework, describing it as “the current, ongoing, ratified (but also contested and denied) set of social relationships we take up and try to maintain with the other people who are in our presence” (Scollon & Scollon 2003, p. 16).

Goffman (1983) points out that psychobiological elements are of utmost importance in the interaction order and that “emotion, mood, cognition, bodily orientation, and muscular effort are intrinsically involved” (p. 3). He explains that:

It is not only that our appearance and manner provide evidence of our statuses and relationships [our stress]. It is also that the line of our visual regard, the intensity of our involvement, and the shape of our initial actions, allow others to glean our immediate intent and purpose, and all this whether or not we are engaged in talk with them at the time.

Correspondingly, we are constantly in a position to facilitate this revealment or block it, or even misdirect our viewers” (ibid., p. 3).

Goffman (1983) uses the term characterization to indicate how individuals construct an image of one another through direct observation of the kinds of behaviors and appearances described above. He maintains that this characterization is organized around two types of identification: “the categoric kind involving placing that other [individual] in one or more
social categories, and the *individual* kind, whereby the subject under observation is locked to a uniquely distinguishing identity through appearance, tone of voice, mention of name or other person-differentiating device.” (p. 3). These characterizations will be a crucial point in our analysis as we examine the potential roles that individuals may assume or be assigned through the use of presidential campaign billboards.

In identifying the basic substantive units encountered in the interaction order, Goffman (1983, pp. 6-7) establishes five main categories. The first category refers to interaction in public places where Goffman identifies “singles” (a party of one) as opposed to “withs” (a party of more than one). The second category refers to *contact*, where individuals interact face-to-face or otherwise. The third category refers to *arrangements*, whereby “persons come together into a small physical circle as ratified participants in a consciously shared, clearly interdependent undertaking” (p. 7). The fourth category refers to the *platform format*, where an activity is performed before an audience. This platform format allows for a large number of individuals to concentrate on “a single focus of visual and cognitive attention” (p.7). The fifth category refers to celebrative social occasions such as a wedding.

While Goffman’s (1983) interaction order deals primarily with face-to-face interaction, these relationships can also be observed in visual images. This leads us to consider visual semiotics.

### 2.7 Visual Semiotics

Visual semiotics refers to the representations of Goffman’s (1983) interaction order in images and signs. Scollon and Scollon (2003) maintain that in visual images. There are
relationships among the participants within the picture frame; ...relationships among those who make the picture and further between those who make the picture and the participants within the picture; finally there are also relationships between those who are in the picture and those who are viewing it [our stress] (p. 84).

Scollon & Scollon (p. 86) adopt the semiotic systems developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) which include participants (represented and interactive), modality, and composition. Iedema and Stenglin (2001) rightly point out that these signifying systems are culturally sensitive, and that the analytic principles based on these systems were developed to explore how multimodal meanings are expressed in Western societies. Nevertheless, we feel that these principles are largely applicable to the Mexican context since Mexico is, in large part, a Westernized country. However, research has shown that local cultural considerations have to be taken into account and incorporated into any analytical framework dealing with multimodal analysis (see Scollon, 2003). Keeping the above in mind, we find Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) framework useful and merits further discussion.

2.8 Participants

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) there are two kinds of participants which can include represented participants and interactive participants. A represented participant may refer to any construction element used in a multimodal text, including a visual image, a block of linguistic text, a chart, logo or other meaning making resources. Interactive participants refer to “the people who communicate with each other through images, the producers and viewers of images” (ibid., p. 114).
Kress and van Leeuwen (1999) provide analytical techniques that are useful in demonstrating how social interactions and social relationships are constructed between both represented and interactive participants. They stress that visual images are “produced in the context of real social institutions, in order to play a very real role in social life” (ibid, p. 379). They continue to explain that readers/viewers may ultimately identify with or reject the way that the text addresses them, yet they will understand how they were addressed due to an implicit understanding of how multimodal texts represent social interactions and relations (ibid., 1999).

According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) the gaze of a person represented in an image can construct at least two types of relationship with the viewer/reader. When the subject of an image enters into direct eye-contact with the viewer, it makes a demand (ibid., pp. 116-124), requiring the viewer to enter into some kind of imaginary relation with the represented participant. Images in which the subjects direct their gaze elsewhere constitute an offer (ibid.). In this case, “the viewer is not object, but subject of the look, and the represented participant is the object of the viewer’s dispassionate scrutiny. No contact is made” (Kress & van Leeuwen 1999, p.383). The choice between ‘offer’ and ‘demand’ must be made whenever people are depicted, and the choice suggests different relations between the image and the viewers, making viewers engage with certain images and remain detached from others (ibid, p. 384).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006, pp. 124-129) argue that the type of shot used in visual images also constructs different kinds of relationship with the viewer. A close shot of a subject suggests an intimate relationship, a medium range shot suggests social familiarity, while long shots suggest that the viewer and subject may not be acquainted. The analyses
presented in this study consider the different kinds of participants mentioned above, and the modality of participants within billboards is discussed below.

2.9 Modality

In regards to visual images, modality has to do with true representations of reality. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) maintain that “a social semiotic theory of truth cannot claim to establish the absolute truth or untruth of representations. It can only show whether a given ‘proposition’ (visual, verbal or otherwise) is represented as true or not” (p. 154). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) argue that an image which is closest to naturalistic representation is considered to have the highest modality. As texts are made less naturalistic in regards to color, contextualization, representation, and brightness, their modality is lowered.

2.10 Composition

Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) argue that composition in multimodal texts contributes to the potential meanings that viewers/readers might assign to these texts. They argue that composition simultaneously involves three signifying systems that structure multimodal texts, bringing “the various elements of the page together into a coherent and meaningful whole” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 188). These signifying systems include: information value, salience and framing, which are discussed below.

Information value (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 177) refers to the notion that the zones of visual space within a multimodal text endow textual features with particular kinds of meaning. Kress and van Leeuwen (2005, p. 189), influenced by SFL, suggest that the horizontal axis of a visual text is often used to oppose the elements on the right and left section of the text, where the elements on the left are presented as the Given and the elements
on the right are presented as the New. While the Given is presented as “common-sense and self-evident”, the New is presented as “problematic, contestable, the information at issue” (ibid., p. 189). On the other hand, the vertical axis is often used to polarize the upper and lower sections of the visual text, where elements positioned at the top are presented as the Ideal and elements positioned at the bottom are presented as the Real. While the Ideal represents “the generalized, or the essence of something,” the Real attends to “the specific, or the instance” (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 189). Other multimodal texts have a Centre element with participants that flank it as Margins. Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) claim that “for something to be presented as Centre means that it is presented as the nucleus of the information to which all the other elements are in some sense subservient” (p. 196), usually resulting in a lack of polarization, where there is “no sense of division between Given and New and/or Ideal and Real” (ibid., p. 196).

Salience refers to the way that the composition of a text can draw the readers’/viewers’ attention to certain textual elements by means of placement in the foreground or background, relative size, contrasts in tone or color, differences in sharpness, framing, and more (Kress & van Leeuwen 2005; Rose 2005). Kress and van Leeuwen (2005) suggest that the assignment of salience allows a text to maintain a crucial aesthetic balance while playing a vital role in structuring a message and setting up reading paths. They explain that:

without balance, co-ordination in space is not possible. Balance forms an indispensable matrix for the production and reception of spatially organized messages… [and]…our affective relation towards it. Via this affective process the effects and functions of a message are deepened, and it is in such aspects that
ideology, affect and subjectivity become inextricably mixed. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 201).

Framing is the final signifying system that Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) consider in composition. Framing devices, such as framelines, serve to connect and disconnect certain elements of a text simultaneously (ibid, p. 177). However, “connection and disconnection are a matter of degree” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2005, p. 203) and the degree to which elements are strongly or weakly framed affect the way that a reader/viewer perceives the nature of this separation. Iedema and Stenglin (2001) suggest that strong framing is suggestive of an “ordered world” while allowing elements to blend into the textual surroundings is suggestive of a “less ordered and less constrained world” (p. 196). Iedema and Stenglin (ibid.) also point out that connections in a text can be realized through vectors, which refer to “a line formed in the image by one or more of its participants” (p. 199) through means of pointing with a limb or direction of gaze.

Although this summary of Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) analytical framework for exploring multimodal texts is by no means exhaustive, we believe that it is sufficient to illustrate its role in our analyses of presidential campaign billboards. We now turn to the third social semiotic system that is utilized in our study and completes Scollon and Scollon’s (2003) Geosemiotic framework.

2.11 Place semiotics

Scollon and Scollon (2003) point out that place semiotics is concerned with “the ways in which the placement of discourse in the material world produces meanings that derive
directly from that placement” (p. 22). They elaborate on three elements of place semiotics which include: code preference, inscription, and emplacement. Code preference “extends features of Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual semiotics to analyze the placement of linguistic codes in a sign as a way of signaling…legal and social relationships among languages in the speech community” (ibid., p. 22). Inscription explores the “material out of which a sign (or other semiotic system) is constructed as a meaning making system” (ibid, p. 22). Finally, they argue, emplacement entails the analysis of three systems, examining whether a form of discourse is decontextualized, situated or transgressive (ibid, p. 22)

2.12 On ethnography

In order to demonstrate relationships between sociocultural/historical events and text production and consumption practices, methods of data collection and analysis from the ethnographic tradition have been adopted for this study. Harklau (2005) points out that one of the hallmarks common to most modern ethnographic studies is the “emerging consensus that micro-level processes of interaction are embedded in or mutually constitutive with macro-level processes of societal economic, cultural and political structures” (p. 188). However, Harklau (ibid.) observes that “researchers often use the term ethnography generically without situating their work in specific intellectual and methodological traditions” (p. 188).

The term ethnography “refers to a range of diverse and ever-changing research approaches originating in anthropological and sociological research…[whose purpose] is to come to a deeper understanding of how individuals view and participate in their own social and cultural worlds.” (Harklau, 2005, p. 179). Postmodern approaches to ethnography draw
on the work of authors like Geertz (1973), explicitly rejecting scientific epistemology (Harklau, 2005, p. 181). Geertz (1973) actually describes ethnography as being an “interpretative” science (p. 5) in search of meaning, much like the work of the “literary critic” (p. 9). Geertz (1973) defines ethnography as “an elaborate venture in…“thick description”” (p. 6), which has the object of describing how “a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures… are produced, perceived and interpreted [our stress]” (p. 7), and analysis consists of “sorting out these structures of signification…and determining their social ground and import” (p. 9). From this perspective, “culture is not a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context [our stress], something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described” (ibid., p. 14).

It is this postmodern ethnographic tradition that we have adopted for this research. While the study could not be considered entirely ‘ethnographic’, we utilize thick description from both an ‘emic’ and an ‘etic’ perspective in order to adequately contextualize the multimodal texts under investigation. As Harklau (2005) points out, “all ethnography entails a tension between representations of participants’ emic perspectives and the abstractions and interpretations layered on them by the ethnographer’s etic perspective” (pp. 188-89). In order to provide such thick description, alternative field methods such as life histories, photography and videotape, written documents, data documenting historical trends, and surveys (ibid., p.180) were utilized in this study. In doing this, we provide the explanatory means that Norton (2000) describes when characterizing ethnography as

a method of analysis that returns the researcher to the actualities of what people do on a day-to-
day basis under particular conditions and in defined situations … ‘history’ is not to be relegated to the collection of ‘background data’, but rather becomes an integral part of the explanation of the regularities explored in any specifics (p. 21).

The literature review presented above, covers a wide range of topics from diverse fields such as linguistics, sociology, and politics among others. It is meant to provide the theoretical basis for an eclectic methodological framework which is appropriate for the analysis of multimodal texts.
3.0 Introduction

As previously stated, this investigation analyzes the political discourse of the multimodal texts that the two major political parties involved in the 2016 Puebla gubernatorial election produced and extensively distributed through the medium of billboards. The thesis forms part of a larger study which investigates “how parties express their particular ideologies and construct social identities” (reference Witten, year, 2010 p.46). The study examines the role that billboards play in the construction and dissemination of political propaganda in Mexican state-wide politics and provide a discussion of how social actors make use of these multimodal texts. In order to explore these issues, the study addresses the following research questions:

- How do the gubernatorial candidates construct distinct social identities on billboards in the state of Puebla?
- How is party/candidate ideology constructed on billboards by the gubernatorial campaigns in the state of Puebla?

The current chapter provides an overview of the methodological techniques that were employed to carry out the current study. A description of the gubernatorial election process is provided as well as the candidates and their parties. The manner in which data was collected and analyzed is also provided.

3.1 The 2016 gubernatorial elections in Puebla

Gubernatorial elections in Mexico take place every six years. Two main parties contended for the Puebla Government on July 5, 2016: The first is the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), which represents the incumbent government in Puebla and formed a political
alliance/coalition with four smaller political parties (PT, PANAL, CPP and PSI) called ‘Turquesa.’ The candidate for the PAN was Jose Antonio Gali Fayad (or Tony Gali). Interestingly, Tony Gali produced billboards that advertised his campaign as a representative of only the PAN and others that represented him as a representative of the coalition; however, it is clear that he established himself principally as a PAN candidate over the course of the campaign. The second party that contended for the Governorship was the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI), whose candidate was Blanca Alcala Ruiz (or Blanca Alcala). The PRI formed an alliance/coalition with three smaller parties (PVEM y PES) that is called ‘Nueva Alianza.’ Blanca Alcala also produced a limited amount of billboards where she advertised herself as the representative of the coalition, but the large majority of her billboards presented herself as the candidate of the PRI. The official campaigning period, monitored by the Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) lasted from April 3 to June 5, 2016. It is worth noting that this gubernatorial election is considered a special election because the period in office will last only 20 months instead of the usual six years. The reduced period is taking place in order to save money and reduce an environment of ‘constant campaigning’ by realigning gubernatorial elections to match with the federal elections that will take place in 2018. As such the governing period of the winning candidate ranges from February 1st, 2017 and finishes on December 13th, 2018.

3.2 The candidates

Jose Antonio Gali Fayad has been involved in the public sector for a couple of years. He was the regional manager in the Pacific - Center Evaluation and statal administrator of Taxes in the Servicio de Administracion Tributaria (SAT) of the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit. He also served as a delegate of the National Commission for the Protection and
Defense of Users of Financial Services, secretary of Communications and Transport of the state of Puebla and general manager of the Institute for Public Assistance of the State of Puebla. He accompanied the governor of Puebla, Rafael Moreno Valle Rosas in his coalition campaign “Compromiso por Puebla” in alliance with the PAN, PRD, Convergencia and Nueva Alianza parties. He was the Secretary of Infrastructure state government of Puebla which he left to become the mayor of the city of Puebla.

Antonio Gali Fayad was registered in the State Electoral Institute (IEE) as a candidate for governor of Puebla in representation of the coalition "Sigamos adelante” which is constituted by the Partido Accion Nacional (PAN), Partido Nueva Alianza, Partido del Trabajo (PT), Partido Compromiso Por Puebla (CPP) and the Partido Pacto Social de Integracion (PSI), for local elections carried out on June 5th 2016. “Accompanied by representatives of different political forces that conform the “Sigamos Adelante” Coalition, Gali pledged to work ahead, for the common good and good results as continuing to promote the progress of Puebla for children, young women, men, elderly people and people with disabilities as satisfying their needs and achieving a more equitable and work from the basis.”

Blanca Alcala Ruiz has a long career in politics. She has been involved in politics for more than 25 years in which she has served in local and federal politics. She served as the first female mayor in the history of the city of Puebla in the period of 2008 through 2011; she has also served as the local secretary of finances and administration, sub secretary of social development, general manager of the DIF local system, general manager of Instituto Poblano de la Mujer, senator of the republic with license from the state of Puebla during the period 2012 through 2018. She is an active member of Partido Revolucionario Institucional since 1981 where she has carried out three important responsibilities. She has served as CEN
delegate of Colima state and vice rector of the XXI PRI national assembly; General Secretary of the CEN member of the national political council; General Secretary of the PRI local committee and president of the local committee in Puebla city.

Blanca Alcala Ruiz has also been a speaker in a variety of conferences. Some of the conferences in which she has been a participant are the Banco interamericano de desarrollo, the OEA and Conferencia Mundial de Cuidades Patrimonio de la UNESCO. Blanca Alcala Ruiz has also been chosen as the President of the National Association of Mexican cities which belong to UNESCO; vice president of the Organizacion de Cuidades Patrimonio de la Humanidad and president of the Latin and Caribbean parliament. On February 28, 2016, Blanca Alcala was selected by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional as a candidate for the governor of the State of Puebla in 2016 local elections for the period 2017-2018 as representing the coalition PRI, PVEM and PES. During the election registration, Blanca Alcala proclaimed, “Los convoco a una causa común, vamos a recuperar Puebla y combatir la pobreza, así como la exclusión, además de evitar la imposición y frenar los despidos injustificados.”

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

The data collected for this research primarily consists of a corpus of photographs that were collected between April 3rd and June 5th in the city of Puebla, Mexico. These photographs were categorized and selected according to political party, cultural/historical specificity and multimodal complexity. The data collection procedures for the current investigation began on the first official day of the campaign. Gubernatorial campaign billboards were identified in the city of Puebla and photographs were taken in order to
document the billboards appearance. The researcher noted the date and location where each billboard appeared in order to document distinctions between the types of billboards that might have appeared within distinct ‘waves’ of the campaign (Witten, Castineira & Flores, 2013) and different areas of the city…i.e…higher versus lower socioeconomic sectors of the city. After the entire corpus of billboards were collected and documented, billboards were selected for analysis. The criteria for analysis is discussed further below.

3.4 Billboard Selection

As Witten, Castineira and Flores (2013) point out, it is not uncommon for researchers to initially gather more data than is feasible to actually analyze within the space constraints of a research such as this. Most of the gubernatorial billboards of the campaign that were distributed within the city of Puebla (the urban center and capital of the state) were captured. This study is focused particularly on this region of the country and only briefly examines one billboard from a rural area of the state, which was included only because of its unique nature and to demonstrate the need to perform similar studies that compare rural versus urban political campaigns. That said, it simply not possible to present analyses for every billboard that was produced for the campaign under investigation. This leads to issues of selection for inclusion and exclusion and what the criteria for such selection entail.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) point out that “meanings belong to culture, rather than to specific semiotic modes…and the way that meanings are mapped across semiotic modes…is culturally and historically specific” (p. 2). This also includes cultural and regional variations (ibid.); thus, an important criteria for selection in this study involved the inclusion of billboards which illustrated local meaning making resources in that citizens of this region
might recognize and exploit. As such, the study may make a contribution to local multimodal meaning making processes within this central region of Mexico.

Another consideration for selecting billboards for the current study was a temporal dimension regarding the sequence in which campaign billboards appeared for public consumption. As Witten and Castineira (2010) point out, presidential campaign billboards in Mexico “seemed to be sequenced in temporal and semiotic waves” (p. 85) that come out at distinct moments during the campaign period in order to accomplish different goals. While Witten and Castineira (2010) identified three distinct waves during a presidential election in Mexico, the current study identified only two during the campaign. The first wave consisted primarily of the candidates ‘introducing’ themselves to the electorate while the second wave extended a political agenda, discredited the other candidate and developed interpersonal relationships with the electorate. Finally, the actual multimodal complexity of the texts that were produced is a consideration for selection. The current study tries to provide a representative sample of each wave of the election that demonstrate the variety of multimodal complexity and resources that were employed during the gubernatorial campaign. Finally, a third wave of the election process was detected, which could be considered a ‘post-election wave’ where in a rural area of the state of Puebla, a billboard was produced that ‘Thanked’ the electorate for their support of Toni Gali. Because such a billboard had never previously been detected within the larger study, it has been included in this study even though it is outside the scope of urban centers of Mexico. It has been included in order to provide an argument that rural areas of Mexico may need to be studied in future research in order to provide a more holistic picture of how political billboards are used in the Mexican context.
Chapter 4- Results

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the data analysis will be presented. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the billboards were distributed to the public in a sequence that represented distinct phases of the gubernatorial campaign…i.e. ‘waves.’ The data analysis in this chapter is presented in the same order, and one billboard from each candidate is analyzed for each wave of the campaign (see chapter 3, section ??). The analyses for each candidate for each wave is presented below.

4.1 PRI First wave: Pensando en Todos

The first wave of the campaign could be considered from a pragmatic perspective as the candidates’ ‘introduction’ to the public. The message on this billboard from the PRI, ‘pensando en todos’ is relatively simple and appeals to the Mexican electorate as a whole. The billboard presents the candidate’s name and face in an introductory manner. An analysis of the represented participants of the billboard is presented in further detail below as well as the manner in which the various modes combine to create the holistic meaning of the text.
4.1.1 Photographic Image

As the text consumer first views the billboard, their eyes will probably be drawn to the most salient participant of the text, namely the large image of the candidate, Blanca Alcala, which covers almost the entire left-hand side of the billboard, the “given region” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) the given region presents information that is ‘taken for granted’ or widely accepted. It is worth noticing that it is an extremely high modality image (35 mm quality) with the candidate facing the camera, in Kress and van Leewuen’s (2006) terms, “making a demand” of the reader. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) call this a “demand” photo, where the candidate, demands “the ‘goods-and services’ that comprise a particular social relation” (p. 123). In this case, she seems to simply be ‘demanding’ the text consumers’ attention. She wants to be acknowledged and later
recognized by these text consumers in subsequent campaign propaganda. The camera angle is almost symmetrical; however, the candidate is positioned just above the viewer, empowering her slightly over the potential voter, yet not in a completely dominating role. Her white shirt blends into the white background of the billboard, making her face and hair even more salient as the boundaries of her torso disappear into the billboard’s background. The color white, often associated with purity and cleanliness, clearly dominates the billboards color palette, probably meant to convey a message of anticorruption to the text consumer.

4.1.2 Linguistic text

The second most salient element of the billboard then becomes the linguistic text “PENSANDO EN TODOS” [THINKING ABOUT EVERYONE] which is the slogan of the billboard. The linguistic text is in all capital white letters, which are made visible by a rectangular, grey frame that simultaneously creates a vector connecting the linguistic text and the candidate’s head. This vector seems to serve as a type of pseudo thought bubble, making the candidate responsible for the message. The size and placement in the upper section of the billboard provides the reader with “a logical reading path from image to text” (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 204). The slogan offers a variety of potential meanings. The phrase “pensando en todos”, in Spanish might be interpreted as ‘thinking about everyone’ or ‘taking care of everybody’.

4.2 PAN First wave: Sigamos Avanzando

As we saw in the previous billboard, the ‘first wave’ of the PAN’s campaign could also be considered the candidate’s ‘introduction’ to the public (see section 4.1 above). The message ‘Sigamos Avanzando’ is again rather simple and appealing to the Mexican
electorate; however, the message is also a direct reference to the fact that this candidate represents a continuation of the PAN administration that currently held the gubernatorial office. The billboard also presents an image of the candidate surrounded by young, prospective voters, along with the candidate’s name, Toni Gali. An analysis of the represented participants of the billboard is presented in further detail below as well as the manner in which the various modes combine to create the holistic meaning of the text.

Figure 4.2
4.2.1 Photographic Image

As the viewers begin to interact with the billboard, they realize that the candidate is interacting with young people. The candidate is placed in the center of the picture among young middle class citizens, who we assume are prospective voters. The image represents an interaction between the candidate and the young people with a friendly smiling expression, which is a “visual invitation” (Kress & van Leeuwen, p. 123) to interact with the candidate. The image of the candidate is salient among the young people because of a series of contrasts within the image. The older male candidate is surrounded principally by young females; however one can only see the females’ faces. Their torsos are not captured in the image. The image of the candidate, on the other hand, captures his torso, and the light blue shirt in combination with his position in the center of the billboard makes him the dominantly salient participant in the image. The candidate is not wearing a tie, assembling a semi-formal “personal front” (Scollon & Scollon 2003, p. 57). The way that the candidate interact with the young citizens provides a greater sense of solidarity between the candidate and youthful prospective voters. Furthermore, the candidate is portrayed at a “close personal distance,” creating an “imaginary” relationship between the viewer and the candidate, allowing the viewer to “imaginarily come as close to public figures as if they were…friends” (Kress & van Leeuwen, p. 125-126).

4.2.2 Linguistic text

The second most salient element of the billboard then becomes the linguistic text “SIGAMOS AVANZANDO” [WE CONTINUE ADVANCING] which is the slogan of the billboard. It is located in within a solid rectangular royal blue (the PAN’s color) frame that covers the
entire ‘real’ zone of the billboard (Kress & van Leeuwen, p.126). The word ‘SIGAMOS’ is in all capital white letters with the word ‘AVANZANDO’ below it in all capital red letters. Both are made visible by the rectangular framing across the bottom of the billboard. A white vector in the shape of an arrowhead connects to the two words and directs the viewers’ gaze to the logo of the PAN, which is also made visible by the contrast of white against the blue framing. The PAN logo is then followed by the candidate’s name in all white letters placed above the job title that the candidate is running for, ‘Gobernador’ in all capital red letters. The design and the strategic use of vectors and colors create a clear reading path for the viewer which conveys the message that progress will continue if voters continue to place their trust in the PAN and, in this case, Toni Gali for Governor.

4.2.3 Composition.

According to Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) composition of images relies on the interelation of three systems: information value, framing and salience. In Kress & van Leeuwen (2006) terms, information value refers to how elements are placed in the image to give a particular value. In this billboard the main focus is on the center. The image of the candidate which is placed in the center draws the reader attention with the purpose of identification as the reader/viewer notices equaly among the candidate and the voters.
4.3 Second wave; trabajar sin descuidar lo mas importante

This billboard (Figure 4.3) corresponds to the second wave, after candidates constructed their identities, they provide the viewer with proposals. This analysis will cover the composition, the linguistic text and the visual image of the billboard.

4.3.1 Composition

This billboard has a composition that may be considered a “triptych” which combines Given/New and Center/Margin elements (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 197-198). Kress and van Leeuwen (ibid.) state that “[t]he triptychs in modern magazines and newspaper layouts are generally polarized, with a ‘Given’ left, a ‘New’ right, and a centre which bridges
the two and acts as ‘Mediator’” (p. 198). We note that in the center of the billboard there is a line connecting the linguistic text (center) to Blanca Alcalá’s picture (given). These lines serve the purpose of simultaneously connecting (Mediator). The center, which bridges the Given with the New is constituted by the framed text which is the proposal: “Trabajar sin descuidar lo más importante, horario especial a madres trabajadoras, Blanca Alcalá gobernadora.” (to work without neglecting what is most important, special schedule to the working mothers, Blanca Alcalá as a governor.)

4.3.2Linguistic text

In the center we find a linguistic text that reads “Trabajar sin descuidar lo más importante, horario especial a madres trabajadoras, Blanca Alcalá gobernadora.” (to work without neglecting what is most important, special schedule to the working mothers, Blanca Alcalá as a governor). The propositional context of the ‘Trabajar sin descuidar lo más importante’ is presented in gray tiny letters in the ideal part of the image. The propositional content of the slogan is precise which means that Alcalá is willing to provide working mothers with necessary tools to continue working and developing as professionals as well as being able to attend their children. The linguistic text is completed with the slogan ‘Blanca Alcalá Gobernadora’ (Blanca Alcalá as a governor). The propositional content of the last part of the slogan conveys that the proposal can be achieved by making Blanca Alcalá the governor of Puebla. Interpreted in this manner, it would function pragmatically as an assertion, falling into the speech act category of expressives.
4.3.3 Visual image

Blanca’s picture appears in the given part of the billboard. Blanca is presented in the billboard as material we already know “common sense and self-evident … presented as established” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 1998, p. 189). The candidate is depicted in the image as a strong leader by engaging the viewer with full eye contact (Kress & vanLeeuwen 2006, p. 140). Blanca is wearing a white shirt, ‘giving off’ the impression of formality that corresponds to what Scollon and Scollon (2003), based on Goffman (1983) call the ‘personal front’, which refers to “a kind of identity kit that one assembles out of the mixed bag of objects one might wear or carry” (p. 57). This picture has high modality, since the colors used present the candidate as he is and the colors of the party are depicted in the image. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006. pp. 154-174).

In the center of the billboard, it is observed a proposal bridging the given with the ideal. In the ideal region a woman with a smile upon her face carrying a baby is portrayed representing the New/Ideal “new is the good news” (Kress and Van Leewuen, 1998, p. 190) which creates a sense in the viewer of achievement about the proposal bridging the given (Blanca) with the ideal (the happy woman with a baby).
4.4 second wave: seguridad para todos

Figure 4.4

This billboard (figure 4.4) belongs to the second wave of the gubernatorial campaign, where the candidate continues to build his identity. The composition of this multimodal text will be analyzed in terms of photographic image and linguistic text and composition.

4.4.1 Photographic image

As the viewer begin to interact with the billboard, they realize that the candidate is interacting with elderly. The most salient element of the billboard is the name of the candidate, highlighting his last name with the color of the party he is allied, turquesa (turquoise), which is the name of the party.
The second most salient feature of this billboard is the candidate who is placed in the New/Ideal part of the billboard among old citizens, who we assume are prospective voters. The candidate is placed in front of the multitude of elderly people representing leadership. The image of the candidate is salient among elderly because of a variety of contrasts within the image as the color of the hair of the represented participants who surround him as well as the hand is inviting the viewer to join and vote for him, while the friendly smiling expression functions as a kind of “visual invitation” (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p.123) to interact with the candidate as creating a sense of “imaginary” relationship between the viewer and the candidate, allowing the viewer to “imaginarily come as close to public figures as if they were…friends” (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 125-126). It can be noticed that the candidate is wearing a white shirt, ‘giving off’ the impression of formality that corresponds to what Scollon and Scollon (2003), based on Goffman (1983) call the ‘personal front’, which refers to “a kind of identity kit that one assembles out of the mixed bag of objects one might wear or carry” (p. 57). It is observed the candidate is wearing a white shirt without a tie, assembling a semi-formal “personal front” (Scollon & Scollon 2003, p. 57).

### 4.4.2 Linguistic text

In the Given/Ideal region we find a linguistic text with propositional content that reads ‘seguridad para todos #soy turquesa’ (security for everybody #I am turquoise). The white color in which the propositional content is written precisely conveys peace and harmony. In the given/real part of the billboard we find the slogan as well as the name of the candidate which are the most salient feature of the text due to its size.
4.4.3 Composition

The composition structure of the billboard offers further insights into the overall meaning making that it accomplishes as an integrated text. The most salient element of the billboard is the name of the candidate presented in the foreground and framed in the given/real part of the billboard with linguistic text as the slogan of the party Tony Galy mainly represents the Partido Accion Nacional (PAN). Framing, as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) maintain, may serve this double function of ‘separation’ and ‘connectedness’, where the latter can be realized in many ways. It can be emphasized by vectors, by depicted elements…or by graphic elements, leading the eye from one element to another, beginning with the most salient element, the element that first draws the viewer’s attention (p. 204).

The second most salient feature in the composition of this billboard is Tony Galy, who is in the new/ideal part of the billboard with propositional content as linguistic text.
4.5 Third wave: El ridiculo vs la gobernadora

Figure 4.5

This billboard (figure 4.5) belongs to the third wave of the gubernatorial campaign, where the candidate have already constructed their identities as well as made proposals. Currently the candidates attempt to deconstruct the identity of its opponent with a series of attacks. The composition of this multimodal text will be analyzed in terms of photographic image and linguistic text and composition.

4.5.1 Photographic image

In this billboard, the most competitive candidates of this gubernatorial campaign are juxtaposed in comparison to the viewer. This is a billboard produced by Blanca Alcala. As it is observed, Blanca’s opponent, Tony Galy, is depicted as a cartoon which are meant to expose the social ills of society, Jimmo (2014). Rockson (2008) contends “cartoons use visual
imagery…to provide social explanations through caricature and humour” (p.124). It is emphasized the capability of cartoons to point out and comment on social issues. His words:

Cartoons are therefore ‘constructive’ because they provide a certain notion of the social world, and the discourse which they engender. They are also a means to accomplishing acts, but perhaps the most prominent is how ‘rhetorically organized’ cartoons can be in ‘manufacturing’ an option of social reality within a world, offering varied competing constructions.

According to Sani et al. (2012) political cartoons are aimed at constructing valuable arguments, provide specific knowledge on contemporary social issues, address crucial issues as well as they artfully criticize political leaders and their contemptible practices. Sani et al. (2012) also stand that political cartoons engage humor in projecting salient issues encouraging society to expect a change. In their words:

Considering its communicative feature, humor is usually shared between interactants and portrays social, psychological, cognitive processes, cultural norms and value judgment. In addition, it is further described as a kind of play that relieves people from intensities of stressed life…. This feature of humor is apparently found in political cartoons which through its graphic depictions ridicule political leaders and their policies deemed by cartoonists as bad or inappropriate. These depictions are aimed at correcting faulty behaviors and enforcing social norms. Also, the satirical attacks provide a sort of relief to people from the stress of oppressions by the tyrants.

In this billboard, Blanca Alcala ridicules Tony Galy as a cartoon projecting him as a tyrant. This depiction is based on Gali’s behavior on his campaigns in which he performs dances
and jokes in front of his followers. The purpose of Blanca is to influence the viewer to reorient or reshape their opinion about Tony Galy as guiding them to perceive him as an ill for the society, Jimmo (2014).

4.5.2 Linguistic text

As will be demonstrated, the slogan on this billboard is highly aggressive. First, “El ridiculo” (the ridiculous) refers to the candidate Tony Galy because while he was doing his campaign, when he presented himself in front of his followers, he used to make jokes and be funny. Therefore, this is a direct attack on the behavior he presented, using the word “ridiculo” as a metaphor for the things he did when he interacted with the voters during his campaign. In this billboard, the purpose of Blanca is to let the viewer’s know she is serious by using the linguistic expression “La governadora” as she emphasize he is not serious but ridiculous. Cameron (2003) sees incongruous analogies between domains as signaling the presence of metaphor, since these analogies may be interpreted in various ways in different contexts. In this case, the presence of the lexical item “ridiculo” seems incongruous in the context of a gubernatorial campaign. Thus, in Lakoff’s (1986) terms, the candidate is ‘conceptualized’ by the linguistic expression “ridiculo”.

4.5.3 Composition

This billboard is clearly divided into two parts by a frame. Tony Galy is in the given part of the billboard portrayed in a dark cartoon. Blanca Alcala is in the new part of the billboard. Both sides are considered a ‘close shot’ (head and shoulders).
There is a linguistic text (discussed below) in bright yellow color on Tony Galy’s side on the Given/ideal region of the billboard. The use of bright yellow implies negative emotions to the viewer. Wright (year) contends too much yellow in the wrong tone in relation to the other tones in a color scheme, can cause self-esteem to plummet, giving rise to fear and anxiety. The use of bright colors show low modality since they are ‘hyper-real’ (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006 pp. 154-174), achieving the purpose of attracting the eyes of the viewer. There is a linguistic text (discussed below) in white letters on Blanca Alcalá’s side on the New/real part of the billboard. The use of white letters in the linguistic texts implies a positive effect on the viewer and represents clarity, purity, cleanliness and efficiency, Wright (year).

**4.6 Third wave: una tlaxcalteca para los poblanos**

![Figure 4.5](image)

An analysis of the represented participants of the billboard (figure 4.6) is presented in further detail below as well as the manner in which the various modes combine to create the holistic
meaning of the text. This analysis will focus on the photographic images, the linguistic texts, and composition.

4.6.1 Photographic image

There are three photographic images on this billboard that relate to each other. We consider Tony Galy’s images as the “main participant”, which overlaps and partially obscures the center image. Blanca Alcala is depicted in desaturated colors that tend toward the same hue of “distant” blue (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 72) which represent this picture has low modality. However, the center image (Blanca) plays an important role as a “secondary participant” (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, p.72). The potential salience of the center image has been reduced since the colors are desaturated, (ibid., p. 72). However, the composition of the billboard invites the viewers to examine the image carefully (ibid., p.202).

Holistically, Tony Galy is the most salient element due to its size, sharpness of focus, high color saturation, and the sharp contrast between the high modality of the candidate photo and the low modality of the center image next to him (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 201). The candidate is portrayed at a “close personal distance,” creating an “imaginary” relationship between the potential voters and the candidate, allowing them to “imaginarily come as close to public figures as if they were…friends” (ibid., p. 125-126). He is in a frontal shot, further reinforcing the imaginary relation between the viewer and the candidate (ibid, p. 118), while the friendly smiling expression functions as a kind of “visual invitation” (ibid., p. 123), creating a sense of confidence in the potential voters.
to interact with the candidate. Tony Glay is depicted Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) call this kind of frontal shot a “demand” photo, where the person represented in the image, demands “the ‘goods-and services’ that realize a particular social relation” (p. 123), in this case, voting for the candidate.

The billboard was released for public consumption after Blanca Alcala depicted Tony Galy as a cartoon in a billboard. This is a respond to the attack.

4.6.2 Linguistic text

As will be demonstrated, the slogan on this billboard is highly aggressive and racist. First “¡un poblano para los poblanos! ” (A poblano to Poblanos) means Tony Galy was born is Puebla, suggesting the voters he is like them as creating identification among the viewers. Secondly, “¿Una Tlaxcalteca para los poblanos?” refers to the origins of Tony Galy’s opponent, Blanca Alcala who is from Tlaxcala, a city next to Puebla. The purpose is to emphazise she is not from Puebla and suggest the voters she be should not be the governor of a city in which she was not born. It is important to high light this is a racist act. Therefore, this is a direct racist attack from Tony Galy towards Blanca Alcala.

4.6.3 Composition

This billboard has a composition that may be considered a “triptych” which combines Given/New and Center/Margin elements (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 197-198). This layout opens up to a 3-panel internal arrangement. The structure of the “triptych” is a simple symmetrical margin-center-margin organization in which the center acts as a mediator between the ideal-real.
In this billboard Tony Galy is portrayed in the left side which represents the given region. Blanca is depicted in the center of the billboard as mediates the given (Tony) with the new side of the billboard in which is presented the slogan and the colors of the PAN, the party Tony Galy belongs to. There is a linguistic text (discussed below) in the real part of the 3 panels in the billboard.

As it is observed, the most salient elements of the billboard are the given (Tony Galy) and the new parts of the billboard in which the slogan of his party is presented due to the sharpness of focus and color contrasts to the center element, Kress & Van Leewuen (2006).

As it is observed the 3 panels are divided by frames. The function of the frame is to divide one element from another while making a distinction among them.

The composition of this billboard leads the viewer to compare and connect the 3 elements and interpret it in a holistic way.
4.7 Fourth wave: Tony Gali thanks

Figure 4.7

This billboard (Figure 4.7) corresponds to the last wave, after the elections in which Tony Galy obtained the larger number of votes and was won the elections. This billboard is part of the campaign because Tony Galy thanks the viewers/voters for obtaining their vote. This analysis will cover analysis of the photographic image, the linguistic text and the composition of the billboard.

4.7.1 Photographic image

As the viewers begin to interact with the billboard, their attention should be drawn to the image of the candidate on the left hand side. The candidate’s image is the most salient feature of the text due to its sharpness of focus, high color saturation, and the contrast between the high modality of the candidate photo and the lower modality of the background image in front of which the candidate is placed (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p.201).
In contrast to his presentation in the second wave, in which he was introducing himself to the viewers, and positioned himself among middle class, young and elderly people, he is presenting himself above a crowd of all type of people which represents leadership and power. It is observed that farmers are raising his hands as they were showing the winner and presenting him as his leader as well as empowering.

The candidate is portrayed at a “close personal distance,” creating a relationship between the viewer and the candidate, allowing the viewer to “imaginarily come as close to public figures as if they were…friends” (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 125-126). He is in a frontal shot, further reinforcing the imaginary relation between the viewer and the candidate (ibid, p. 118).

4.7.2 Linguistic text

The word, “thanks” is the most salient element of the text due to its size and placement in the center of the linguistic text in the billboard, offering the reader a logical reading path from image to text (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006, p. 204). The linguistic text seems to offer a complementary message to the photographic image, hence the former candidate shows gratitude for getting the votes of Venustiano Carranza town by saying “gracias por u confianza” (thanks for your trust).

The second most salient elements of the linguistic text are the name of the former candidate as the slogan of the party that are placed in the upper section of the billboard. It is also observed a graphic with numbers, demonstrating the percentage of votes the former candidate received from Venustiano Carranza people and the percentage of votes the opponent party acquired, which were less. Graph-internal multimodality (Acarturk et al, 2008) allow
viewers to construct internal mental representation of the text. Graph comprehension is inherently multimodal not only with the text that accompanies a graph, but also with respect of graphical integration and textual elements on the graph, (Acarturk et al, 2008).

4.7.3 Composition

In the layout of this billboard, it is observed a given, new structure. In the given region of this billboard the candidate is depicted above a crowd of people bridging this depiction of him as a leader with a flecha to the new part, giving a sense of ongoing movement, progress and improvement, in which the linguistic text is presented. The linguistic text which involves a promise, ¡vamos a cumplir! (we are going to keep our promises), is presented in the new part of the billboard as something is yet not known, hence something to which the viewer must pay particular attention to. This is the key information of the billboard from this holistic perspective.

In the new part of the billboard there is linguistic text in the ideal and real part of it. In the ideal part, it is observed the name of the candidate as well as the slogan of the billboard “sigamos avanzando” (keep advancing) and ¡Gracias! (thank you) which is the idealized or generalized essence of the information, it is also the most salient part. The real part of the new, presents more specific information as the community he is grateful about their vote as well as the extention of the promise of the ideal ¡vamos a cumplir! (we are going to keep our promises).
Chapter 5

5.0 introduction

In this section of the study, we provide a discussion of what constitutes this study and the implications of how social actors make use of these multimodal texts as well as the social purposes, represented participants, composition, power relations and a conclusion. It has been demonstrated in studies before that billboards are significant in political propaganda in Mexico. In this study, we continue to demonstrate that billboards continue to play an important role in political propaganda in central Mexico. This study, which focused on gubernatorial campaign billboards, demonstrated that they are multisemiotic texts that utilize a variety of modalities to achieve their social purposes.

5.1 Social purposes

When analyzing the social purposes of gubernatorial campaign billboards, it is important to recognize that billboards are only one tool that are exploited in order to accomplish the overriding sociopolitical goal of the larger presidential campaign, namely, to gain power by winning the gubernatorial campaign. In the analysis, (see chapter 4) we found that billboards follow a pattern of persuasion or manipulation in order to obtain the viewers/readers votes. However, it is differentiate persuasion and manipulation. Van Dijk (2006) claims that; the crucial difference in this case is that in persuasion the interlocutors are free to believe or act as they please, depending on whether or not they accept the arguments of the persuader, whereas in manipulation recipients are typically assigned a more passive role: they are victims of manipulation. This negative consequence of manipulative discourse typically occurs when the recipients are unable to understand the real intentions or to see the full consequences of the beliefs or actions advocated by
the manipulator … Obviously, the boundary between (illegitimate) manipulation and (legitimate) persuasion is fuzzy, and context dependent. (p. 361)

In the case of billboards, it is possible that some voters understand the intentions of the political parties and the consequences of voting for their ideological position, while other voters will not. We agree with van Dijk (ibid.) in that manipulation involves society, discourse and cognition. Manipulation is a social phenomenon – especially because it involves interaction and power abuse between groups and social actors – a cognitive phenomenon because manipulation always implies the manipulation of the minds of participants, and a discursive – semiotic phenomenon, because manipulation is being exercised through text, talk and visual messages” (p. 361)

On the other hand, “persuasion is viewed as a case of communicative non-coercive goal hooking” (Poggi, 2005, p. 297) where the persuader “leads a persuadee to pursue some goal out of a free choice, i.e., by convincing him/her that the proposed goal is useful for some other goal that the persuadee already has. This persuasion and/or manipulation may be achieved on gubernatorial campaign billboards (re)constructing identities, creating relationships with voters, building a sociopolitical agenda and more. In the case of the gubernatorial campaign billboards, a variety of represented participants are combined such as images, colors, linguistic texts, vectors and more.

5.2 Represented participants

In the analysis of this gubernatorial campaign billboards, we found that certain represented participants within the billboards are obligatory whereas other are optional as it is draw in the table below.
The obligatory represented participants listed above were present on all billboards analyzed in this study, regardless of political party or wave, while the optional represented participants were found only on some of the billboards under investigation. As Bhatia (2004) points out, generic structure “is not static, fixed or prescribed, but is often flexible, negotiable or sometimes contested” (p. 123). In our analyses, we notice the dynamic nature of the presidential campaign billboard as a genre, particularly as the different pragmatic goals in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obligatory represented participants</th>
<th>Optional represented participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Candidate picture</td>
<td>• primary slogan (most salient slogan on the billboard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Background</td>
<td>• candidates names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• frames</td>
<td>• photos of others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• social media (web page address, facebook page, twitter, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• secondary slogans (less salient slogans on the billboards)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Party logos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• the word “gobernador/gobernadora”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• iconic figures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
each temporal/semiotic wave seemed to require different forms of realization. For example, during wave 1 of the campaign when candidate identities were initially being (re)constructed, candidate photos, party logos and social media (web page address, facebook page, twitter, etc) primary slogans and the word gobernador/gobernadora seemed to be an obligatory represented participant while in third wave, party logos, slogan and social media were optional participants. Furthermore, we can also observe the emergence of new represented participants on billboards such as post-modern shapes and colors, web page addresses, facebook pages, twitter links and new linguistic and visual features.

5.3 Composition: the combination of semiotic modes.

The composition (information value, salience, framing) of gubernatorial campaign billboards is another feature which allows text producers to strategically and creatively combine and arrange represented participants on billboards in ways that become meaningful to text consumers. In this study, gubernatorial campaign billboards seem to primarily utilize composition strategies that polarize elements placed within different regions of the text(Given/New, Ideal/Real) “polarizing composition strategies afford billboard producers more opportunities to offer discourses that are open to flexible interpretations among heterogeneous discourse communities, enabling candidates to express ideological positions to varying degrees and enact multiple identities according to” (Witten, 2010, p. ). Nevertheless, in this investigation was identified a billboard combining Given/ New and Center/Margin elements (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006, pp. 197-198) in a composition that may be considered a “triptych” which bridges the Given/New with the center and acts as a mediator. For example, if the billboard utilize elements that polarize it, a candidate may enact the role of leader, father and protector on a single billboard depending on the way the
reader/viewer chooses to interpret it. On the other hand, if a billboard is combining center Given/New and Center/Margin elements which bridges and mediates both of them serves to connect and lead to a reasonably rigid interpretation to viewers/readers. It is worth noting that in wave 1 and 2, the linguistic text defined the political stances of each party when considered in isolation. Regardless, the political ideology continues to be accomplished through a combination of features in composition (information value, salience and framing). On the other hand, in wave 3 and 4 the political stances of each party seem to be achieved on gubernatorial campaign billboards through a combination of composition strategies (information value, salience, framing). The PRI expressed a conservative political ideology through the use of strong framing (right angles and rectangles) and desaturated colors. The PAN expressed a conservative, traditional, political ideology by using strong framing (right angles and rectangles) in combination with symbolic saturated colors (party colors).

As it has been demonstrated before, Strategic composition seems to continue to shape, extend and transform the potential meanings of the linguistic texts placed on presidential campaign billboards.

5.4 Power Relations

As it has been previously demonstrated, the predominant goal of billboards is for politicians and political parties to gain power. In this study, we have identified three dimensions of power relations that are reflected in gubernatorial campaign billboards. In the first dimension, we believe that parties want to become more important than the other candidates in order to win enough power to succeed in the gubernatorial campaign.
In the second dimension, we see the candidates’ fight for power to become the governor. Finally, in the third dimension, we see power exercised over the candidates through their final votes. We see power circulating in multidimensional power struggles between the electorate, the political parties and the presidential candidates in the way Foucault (1980) describes below:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather as something which only functions in the form of a chain….Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power (p. 98).

5.5 Conclusion

With this investigation, we have contributed to the field of multimodal, multisemiotic discourse analysis by addressing billboards in a gubernatorial campaign in central Mexico which has not been explored before. We have carried out this study based on the little investigations focused on multimodal, multisemiotic discourse analysis regarding billboards in political campaigns done before combining analytical frameworks in order to explore the multimodal nature of this type propaganda in political discourse. We have demonstrated this study has been carried out combining analytical frameworks.

We have explored this study by using the three-dimensional framework provided by of Fairclough’s (1992a, 1995). We have demonstrated that in order to describe and interpret billboards using Fairclough’s (1992a, 1995), it is also necessary to analyze sociopolitical context in which political actors use multimodal discourse in billboards.
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