Constructing the Meaning of Security Through Military Equipment Advertisement: A CDA of Boeing's F-15EX in Indonesia

Sigit Andrianto[1]

{sigit.andrianto.fisip@upnjatim.ac.id[1]}

Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jawa Timur, Indonesia[1]

Abstract. The advertisement for the Boeing F-15EX fighter jet was published in the Indonesian media Kompas newspaper. It not only informs the public about a fighter jet specifications but also constructs public understanding through its discourse. This paper seeks to dismantle the discourse behind this advertisement by using a qualitative approach. By using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), based on Margaret Wetherell's framework, this paper finds that the advertisement constructs a discourse of security associated with ownership of advanced military equipment. This discourse gives benefits for global defence corporations such as Boeing, as it normalises the idea that security must be achieved through the procurement of military systems. This security discourse also marginalises the alternative approaches to getting security without warfare. This study contributes to the limited literature on global defence corporations advertisement as a site of ideological construction in mainstream media.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis; Defence Systems Security; Technology.

1 Introduction

Mass Media products are not only used as a medium to transfer information. Mass media products, such as advertisements, are also used to construct reality. They promote a particular understanding through the formation of discourse [1]. This discourse operates through language or a system of signs [2]. Language carries ideology that serves particular interests. In practice, based on Bourdieu [3], discourse can function as an instrument of power. This is possible due to its capacity to define and produce knowledge [4].

A full-page advertisement for Boeing's F-15EX fighter jet was published in Kompas newspaper on 14 April 2025. The advertisement consisted of a headline on verbal and visual elements that focused on technology and security. Amid ongoing geopolitical dynamics and national defence policies, this advertisement cannot merely be interpreted as a medium for conveying information. This advertisement, published on a national media outlet such as Kompas, exemplifies how an advertisement potentially influences the national discourse of security. Boeing's advertisement, published in the Kompas newspaper, presents an intriguing case to be analysed. Boeing's advertisement can be seen in the following figure 1:

ICISPE 2025, August 04-05, Semarang, Indonesia
Copyright © 2026 EAI
DOI 10.4108/eai.4-8-2025.2368377



Fig. 1. Advertisement for Boeing in Kompas Newspaper (Source: Kompas Newspaper)

This advertisement is significant to be analysed in the context of Indonesia's current position in global conditions. This advertisement is related to the role of Indonesia in international politics and ongoing conflicts in several countries.

Before this advertisement was published, Indonesia's Defence Minister, with a military background, visited Boeing's facility in St. Louis. He announced plans to procure 24 F-15EX fighter jets following the visit in 2023. This decision was taken based on consideration of geopolitical dynamics conditions. The Minister of Defence believed that strengthening the military with advanced technology is essential [5]. Afterwards, the minister reaffirmed that the Ministry of Defence had conducted a study and recommended the purchase of the F-15EX fighter jets. At that time, the final decision was still awaiting approval from the central government [6][7]. Interestingly, on the same day the Boeing advertisement was published in Kompas, Robert Novotny, Executive Director of Fighter Business Development at Boeing Defence, Space & Security, visited Indonesia to discuss the follow-up to the memorandum of understanding related to the procurement [8].

The advertisement for Boeing should not be interpreted merely as a promotion of a fighter jet. Rather, it is a discursive practice that promotes knowledge through a combination of visual and verbal elements. Furthermore, it can influence public opinion and political decision-making.

A considerable number of studies have examined discourse in mass media, including the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in advertising. Most existing studies focus on commercial advertisements. At the same time, research on military issues is also extensive, although it tends to focus mainly on policy and geopolitical considerations. There is a study of war reporting in Gaza warfare conducted by Amer [9]. This study analysed how political and social actors were represented in media coverage of the Gaza war of 2008–2009. There is also a study by Merkl-Davies & Koller [10] using CDA that focused on the analysis of a chairman's statement of a UK defence firm, not in an advertisement. However, despite extensive research on media discourse and military studies, limited attention has been given to military or defence equipment advertisement as a site of ideological production, particularly in the Indonesian context.

This study aims to examine the construction of discourse on the F-15EX fighter jet advertisement published in the Kompas newspaper. This analysis is important to demonstrate that advertisements do not merely promote products but also contribute to shaping public understanding of national security. This study, therefore, contributes to bridging the gap between media discourse studies and defence studies. This paper aims to address the question: How is security discourse constructed through Boeing's fighter jet advertisement in the Indonesian context?.

2 Theoretical Frameworks

This study uses the concept of discourse as the foundation for dismantling the ideology behind Boeing's advertisement published in the Kompas newspaper. Discourse is understood as a system of knowledge that shapes and exercises power in modern society [4]. This concept emphasises the critical role of language in constructing meaning within the human mind. The concept of discourse helps provide a basis for seeing that there are hidden interests behind advertisements. It gives an understanding that the function of language in these advertisements is not only to transfer information but also to serve a social practice.

In the product of advertisement, discourse becomes a system of representation. It is formed by rules and practices that generate meaningful statements within specific historical periods. In other words, discourse constructs knowledge about a particular topic within a defined social and temporal framework. It is important to use Hall's concept of representation to understand how the meaning of security is produced within a discourse [11].

The process of representation happens in two major phases. The first is the world construction using maps of concepts, as we have to put external objects on internal concepts. In the second stage, these are articulated via systems of signs that take on various forms of language. It is a semiotic process, or the use of language in representing the social world [12]. In the case of the Boeing advertisement, representation is used to frame defence technology in a way that portrays it as national strength and security. It means that they are socially constructed via language.

The concept of representation is used to analyse how the meaning of security is presented through the verbal and visual elements in Boeing's advertisement. By using this concept, this advertisement is seen not only as an objective fact but also as a social construction. Discourse analysis offers the tools to uncover how such language and representation function within a specific social context. According to Eriyanto [13], discourse analysis examines language use as it relates to particular contexts. In this view, language is used for specific purposes and practices.

3 Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with a critical paradigm. Based on this paradigm, language function is not only a tool of communication but also an instrument of power. This critical study aims to get a better understanding of the nature and sources of social wrongs, the obstacles to addressing them, and possible ways of overcoming those obstacles [14]. The analysis uses Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), following Margaret Wetherell's framework, which is influenced by Michel Foucault's perspective on discourse. This framework is relevant because of its function to examine how discourse shapes representation, identity, and processes of exclusion within social practices. A full-page advertisement of the Boeing F-15EX fighter jet published in the Kompas newspaper on 14 April 2025 is used as the primary data in this study. This advertisement is treated as a multimodal text, combining both verbal and visual elements. There are headline text, descriptive statements, visual imagery, layout composition, and symbolic representations.

The analysis was conducted through interpretative reading of the advertisement, drawing on Wetherell's analytical framework [12]. The process consists of three main stages. First, the whole-text organisation. This step identifies the overarching narrative structure and the relationship between verbal and visual elements. Second, the analysis focused on the process of representation and imagery. This examines how meaning is constructed through language and visual positioning, involving how actors and objects are positioned. Third, the analysis identified marginalised and absent voices in the text. It is to uncover processes of exclusion.

In addition, a textual interweaving analysis is also used to examine how the advertisement performs discursive functions. There are four categories used, which consist of valuing, representing, relating, and identifying. All of these categories were used to interpret how meaning is organised and how particular perspectives are privileged over others.

The analysis focuses on interpreting patterns of meaning, discursive strategies, and their socio-political implications within the Indonesian context. To ensure analytical rigour, the interpretation was conducted by consistently relating textual findings to the theoretical framework of discourse and representation.

4 Findings and Discussion

The analysis of the advertisement was conducted following Margaret Wetherell's framework [12], which examines the interplay between verbal and visual texts in the Boeing F-15EX advertisement published on Kompas newspaper. The focus of the analysis is directed toward three main aspects: (1) whole-text organisation, (2) constructed imagery and the process of representation, and (3) marginalised and absent voices in the text. The analysis is presented as follows: The advertisement detail examined below is shown in Fig. 2.

4.1 Whole-Text Organization



Fig. 2. Enlarged details from the Boeing F-15EX advertisement.

	Element / Label	Original Text (Bahasa Indonesia)	English Translation
[a]	**Headline**	*Memperkokoh Masa Depan*	Strengthening the Future
[b]	**Body Copy**	*F-15EX paling mutakhir dengan kemampuan jarak jelajah, kecepatan, dan daya angkut terbaik di kelasnya telah hadir. Dirancang untuk berbagai peningkatan seperti sensor generasi berikutnya, daya angkut hipersonik, dan kerja sama antara manusia dan mesin—F-15EX dibangun untuk menjamin masa depan yang lebih aman bagi Indonesia.*	The most advanced F-15EX with best-in-class range, speed, and payload capabilities has arrived. Designed for various upgrades such as next-generation sensors, hypersonic payload, and manned-unmanned teaming—the F-15EX is built to ensure a safer future for Indonesia.
[c]	**URL / Call to Action**	*boeing.com/F-15EX*	boeing.com/F-15EX

The central theme highlighted in this advertisement is a secured guarantee of the future by the manufacturer through a defence system. This theme is explicitly articulated in the phrase "Strengthening the Future", prominently displayed at the top of the advertisement. This phrase presented in a large and striking font. Textual elements, particularly large and prominent text such as headlines, play a crucial role in capturing viewers' attention in print advertisements [15]. This phrase frames the entire message and establishes a narrative structure in which national security is equated with military strength. The headline is reproduced in Fig. 3.

[a] 

Fig. 3. The headline of the advertisement.

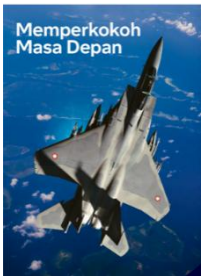


Fig. 4. The image of the Boeing F-15EX fighter jet.

In advertising, visuals and languages play a vital role in structuring the discourse [16]. The visual structure reinforces the verbal message through the depiction of a fighter jet in flight against a blue sky, with an archipelago beneath. The way a camera is positioned, or the angle, can determine how readers see things in a picture [17]. For example, in this picture, the camera is above, which makes the F-15EX Fighter Jet stand out. It makes the reader on the position of viewing the aircraft in complete control. The F-15EX Fighter Jet is in a position that makes it seem like it is in charge of a lot of space. Baranowski & Hecht [18] found that when people look down at something, the object can seem weak. This is what is happening in this picture, where Indonesia is seen from above. The camera angle is making the F-15EX Fighter Jet seem powerful. The aircraft image discussed in this section is shown in Fig. 4.

In the background of the F-15EX Fighter Jet, an archipelagic landscape is depicted. This shows the reader that Indonesia is a country with a lot of islands. This reinforces the idea that Indonesia needs to be able to control its airspace to be safe. Especially since Indonesia is a country with islands, it needs to have a good Fighter Jet to protect itself. However, this picture is also saying that Indonesia needs to buy military technology. This may reflect the broader interests of International defense corporations. The picture does not show all the ways to keep a country safe. It is only showing that having a military is important. This discourse aligns with the interests of defense corporations by normalizing militarized security solutions

Text, verbal elements and images, do not function in isolation. They had been shaped by and embedded within specific socio-political contexts. In this case, the discourse of security is linked to Indonesia's internal and external conditions. On external conditions, Yang & Zou [19] noted that there could be conflicts between Indonesia and China in the South China Sea and Natuna. Even though both countries are currently working together and being careful, there is still a lot of talk about security.

The advertisement says that such threats can be solved by getting defence technology. The main idea is supported by a description that uses words and technical terms. Phrases like "advanced" and "best in its class" and words like "hypersonic" and "next-generation sensors"

and "human-machine teaming" give a sense of modernity. The F-15EX is built to ensure a future for Indonesia, and that is the main point of the headline. This message is reinforced when it says, "The F-15EX is built to ensure a future for Indonesia.".

The way Boeing's advertisement puts together words and pictures creates a message that has a lot of capitalist ideology in it. The words in the advertisement do more than just give us information. They also tell us something about the ideas and beliefs of the people who made it[20]. According to Wetherell, the way things are presented is never just neutral. The advertisement is like a medium that tells the reader that having a military defence is the key to being safe in the future. Boeing's advertisement seeks to shape the reader's perception that military defence is very important for the future.

4.2 Constructed Visual Imagery and the Process of Representation

The advertisement for Boeing in the Kompas newspaper does not follow the conventional style of commercial advertising that overtly seeks to persuade consumers to purchase a product. Instead, the use of descriptive rather than persuasive language suggests an ostensibly informative intent. Nonetheless, Boeing engages in a deliberate effort to construct imagery, both of the product and of the company itself.

In this advertisement, Boeing is depicted as representing military strength, technological innovation, and global modernity. The visual representation of the F-15EX soaring prominently in a clear blue sky reinforces the image of Boeing as a defence entity capable of assuring both security and technological superiority to its partners. Rather than relying on lengthy narratives, the aircraft itself visually asserts Boeing's position. At the corner of the advertisement, there is Boeing's logo stating that the advanced technology that you are seeing was developed by Boeing.

Boeing's identity is reinforced through word choices/diction such as "most advanced," "best in its class," "next-generation sensors," and "human-machine teaming." Dictions are not only content knowledge units but also pragmatic meaning carriers whose functions go beyond their most commonly used semantic sense. Every word carries an implicit connotation and a hidden power, and word choice determines how concepts are framed, connected, and interpreted in discourse [21], [22]. In Wetherell's terms, this represents a strategy of identity positioning, in which Boeing is discursively positioned as a global leader in military technology, rather than merely a supplier. These superlatives implicitly position Boeing above its competitors, such as Lockheed Martin, without directly naming them. As Ward & Yates [23] noted, superlative language is a rhetorical tactic used to draw attention and assert quality, thereby overshadowing rival firms. Furthermore, Boeing's global Branding and authority are subtly conveyed through its minimalist logo. The presence of a multinational brand like Boeing implies that Indonesia is capable of engaging in partnerships with the world's leading defence corporations.

At the level of social praxis, Boeing's advertisement emerges amid rising regional geopolitical tensions and a global trend toward militarisation. Boeing positions itself within this global discourse as a guarantor of stability by offering modern military power. This discourse does not operate in isolation but reflects the interests of the global military industrial complex, in which defence corporations, governments, and political institutions are interconnected in sustaining the demand for military technology. This aligns with the ongoing increase in global

military expenditures. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), global military spending in 2024 rose by 9.4% compared to 2023, reaching $2.718 trillion USD. This reflects a worldwide shift in which governments increasingly prioritise defence over economic development, social welfare, and other civilian concerns [24].

Based on these conditions, this discourse suggests that Boeing positions itself as a strategic partner for Indonesia. Boeing can be not only a seller, but also a provider of future safety. This inequality is reflected in the structure of global arms trade networks, which are dominated by a small number of technologically advanced supplier countries [25].

Overall, Boeing positions itself as a key actor in Indonesia's narrative of national security. This imagery reflects a complex discursive practice in which corporate imagery is constructed within broader socio-political relations and embedded with particular ideologies.

4.3 Marginalised and Absent Voices in the Text

One crucial aspect of Critical Discourse Analysis, as emphasised by Margaret Wetherell, is to uncover who is included and who is excluded in the text, as well as how subjects and objects are ideologically positioned. The absence of certain actors or perspectives is never neutral. It constitutes a discursive operation that regulates power, authority, and meaning. In the Boeing F-15EX advertisement in the Kompas newspaper, particular perspectives are marginalised.

The advertisement excludes any critical perspectives or alternative discourses on arms procurement. The absence of alternative views reinforces a hegemonic discourse structure. It is normalising the dominant narrative that militarisation is the only effective strategy for securing the future. In Wetherell's terms, this exemplifies a naturalisation discourse. Particular narratives are given as common sense and placed without question. This obscures the ideological interests of global capitalism and the defence industry. The advertisement thus becomes more than a product promotion. It forms part of a broader effort by the global military-industrial complex to influence political decisions and national budgets.

Moreover, the advertisement omits any human presence, even though it briefly refers to "human-machine teaming". In advertising, meaning is created through visual structure [26]. It means that different visual structures lead to different interpretations. The absence of people in the picture, whether soldiers, regular folks or decision-makers, basically ignores the side of war. The social, economic and moral impacts of these technologies are not being discussed. The advertisement only talks about strength and safety as the keys to a future. It completely overlooks the effects on people. The human cost of war is not considered.

4.4 Textual Interweaving Analysis

The analysis continues by examining the interweaving of textual elements. It consists of valuing, representing, relating, and identifying [12].

In terms of valuing, the text constructs the Boeing-manufactured aircraft as a highly superior product. The text positioned Boeing as a defence manufacturer that surpasses its competitors.

This evaluative stance is presented through the use of superlative language and technical descriptors, reinforcing Boeing's place in the top tier of the global defence industry. Regarding representation, the advertisement constructs an image of Boeing as the optimal manufacturer of military equipment. The company is represented as the ideal partner for addressing both internal and external security threats. This positioning implies that Boeing is not merely selling a product but offering a strategic alliance for national defence.

In examining the relation, the advertisement implicitly presents a social relationship characterised by inequality in technology. On one side stands the producer of cutting-edge technology, and on the other, a consumer. The advertisement emphasises a partnership model in which Boeing supplies advanced technology while Indonesia merely receives it. There is no indication of knowledge transfer or collaborative development. Rather than proposing a cooperative arrangement that could enhance Indonesia's technological capabilities, the relationship depicted is one-directional. Indonesia is positioned as a passive end-user rather than an active co-developer. Based on the perspective of dependency theory, the advertisement reinforces a relationship of technological dependence. By the text, Indonesia is positioned as a consumer of advanced military systems produced by developed countries, rather than as an independent producer [27].

Lastly, in terms of identifying, Boeing presents itself as a technologically advanced company and a suitable partner for security collaboration. This partnership is framed around the construction of future security. Boeing interprets Indonesia's geographic condition, its vast archipelagic, as vulnerable to security threats. This is visually represented through the islands beneath a fighter jet. The portrayal conveys a sense of urgency to acquire advanced aircraft. However, this advertisement emphasised technological solutions, neglected humanitarian approaches as viable paths to reach peace. The framing that reduces national security to military capability alone, neglecting other dimensions of national resilience.

5 Conclusion

The advertisement for Boeing published in Kompas on 14 April 2025 constructs a discourse that procuring advanced defence technology is important for securing the nation. The advertisement highlights the F-15EX fighter jet and uses superlative and technologically advanced language to present Boeing as a leading actor in the global defence industry. Through this representation, Boeing is discursively constructed as a technological superiority manufacturer.

Boeing's advertisement marginalises social dimensions associated with military procurement. It does not address the potential implications of procuring advanced military equipment. The absence of a human figure in the advertisement neglected the alternative approaches to getting security without warfare. It is only presenting defence technology as an autonomous solution.

As a result, through this advertisement, Boeing promotes an idea of national security primarily in terms of military capability. It excluded alternative approaches, such as diplomacy, to reach national security. In other words, Boeing's advertisement promotes a technology-centred understanding of security.

References

[1] V. Labutina and I. Topchii*, ‘Construction Of Social Reality In Discourse Practice Of Network Media Content Commentary’, Cognitive-Crcs, Aug. 2019, pp. 220–229. doi: 10.15405/epsbs.2019.08.02.26.

[2] J. Williamson, ‘Decoding Advertisement, Ideology and Meaning in Advertising’, 1978.

[3] R. Breeze, ‘Critical discourse analysis and its critics’, *Pragmatics*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 493–525, 2011, doi: 10.1075/prag.21.4.01bre.

[4] Michel. Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Taylor and Francis, 2013.

[5] Kumparan.com, ‘Prabowo ke AS, Pastikan Kesepakatan RI Beli 24 Jet Tempur F-15EX ’, Kumparan.com. Accessed: May 13, 2025. [Online]. Available: https://kumparan.com/kumparanbisnis/prabowo-ke-as-pastikan-kesepakatan-ri-beli-24-jet-tempur-f-15ex-212QKbs4hBK?utm_source=chatgpt.com

[6] tempo.co, ‘Kemenhan Tunggu Keputusan Kemenkeu untuk Pembelian Pesawat Tempur F-15EX’, tempo.co. Accessed: May 13, 2025. [Online]. Available: https://www.tempo.co/politik/kemenhan-tunggu-keputusan-kemenkeu-untuk-pembelian-24-pesawat-tempur-f-15ex-1232662

[7] tempo.co, ‘Alasan Kemenhan ingin Beli Jet Tempur F-15EX’, tempo.co. Accessed: May 13, 2025. [Online]. Available: https://www.tempo.co/politik/alasan-kemenhan-ingin-beli-jet-tempur-f-15ex--1232694

[8] Kompas.id, ‘Boeing Akan Tindak Lanjuti Rencana Pengadaan Pesawat Tempur F-15EX’. Accessed: May 12, 2025. [Online]. Available: https://www.kompas.id/artikel/boeing-akan-tindaklanjuti-rencana-pengadaan-pesawat-tempur-f-15ex

[9] M. Amer, ‘Critical discourse analysis of war reporting in the international press: The case of the Gaza war of 2008-2009’, Dec. 01, 2017, *Palgrave Macmillan Ltd.* doi: 10.1057/s41599-017-0015-2.

[10] D. M. Merkl-Davies and V. Koller, ‘“Metaphoring” people out of this world: A Critical Discourse Analysis of a chairman’s statement of a UK defence firm’, *Accounting Forum*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 178–193, Sep. 2012, doi: 10.1016/j.accfor.2012.02.005.

[11] S. Hall, *Representation : cultural representations and signifying practices*. Sage in association with the Open University, 1997.

[12] Haryatmoko, *Critical Discourse Analysis (Analisis Wacana Kritis), Landasan Teori, Metodologi dan Penerapan*. Jakarta: PT. RajaGrafindo Persada, 2017.

[13] Eriyanto, *Analisis Wacana, Pengantar Analisis Teks Media*. Yogyakarta: PT. LKiS Printing Cemerlang, 2001.

[14] N. Fairclough, ‘Critical discourse analysis’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9780203809068.ch1.

[15] R. Pieters and M. Wedel, ‘Attention Capture and Transfer in Advertising: Brand, Pictorial, and Text-Size Effects’, 2004.

[16] A. S. Al-Subhi, ‘Metadiscourse in online advertising: Exploring linguistic and visual metadiscourse in social media advertisements, Journal of Pragmatics’, *J. Pragmat.*, vol. 187, pp. 24–40, 2022.

[17] M. Merkt, A. L. Weingärtner, and S. Schwan, ‘Digital images are hard to resist: Teaching viewers about the effects of camera angle does not reduce the camera angle’s impact on power judgments’, *Acta Psychol. (Amst).*, vol. 229, Sep. 2022, doi: 10.1016/j.actpsy.2022.103687.

[18] A. M. Baranowski and H. Hecht, ‘Effect of Camera Angle on Perception of Trust and Attractiveness’, *Empirical Studies of the Arts*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2018, doi: 10.1177/0276237417710762.

[19] Y. Yang and Y. Zou, ‘Development and national security: Indonesia’s Natuna Island and the South China Sea issue’, *Third World Q.*, vol. 45, no. 3, 2024, doi: 10.1080/01436597.2023.2270507.
[20] H. Kendrick and C. De-Poli, ‘Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) _ GOLTC’, *Global Observatory of Long-Term Care, Care Policy & Evaluation Centre, London School of Economics and Political Science*, 2024.
[21] G. Brookes and T. McEnery, ‘Correlation, collocation and cohesion: A corpus-based critical analysis of violent jihadist discourse’, *Discourse and Society*, vol. 31, no. 4, pp. 351–373, Jul. 2020, doi: 10.1177/0957926520903528.
[22] A. Khafaga, ‘Strategic lexicalization in courtroom discourse: A corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis’, *Cogent Arts Humanit.*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2023, doi: 10.1080/23311983.2023.2217585.
[23] C. Ward and D. Yates, ‘Personal Branding And e-Professionalism’, 2013. [Online]. Available: http://www.careerbuilder.com/share/aboutus/pressreleasesdetail.aspx?id=pr519&sd=8/19/2009&ed=12/31/
[24] Xiao. et al Liang, ‘Trends in World Military Expenditure, 2024. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. DOI: https://doi.org/10.55163/AVEC8366’, Solna, Sweden, Apr. 2025.
[25] G. D. Papadopoulos and L. Magafas, ‘The global arms and integrated circuits trade through complex network analysis’, *Soc. Netw. Anal. Min.*, vol. 15, no. 1, Dec. 2025, doi: 10.1007/s13278-025-01490-3.
[26] L. Lagerwerf, C. M. J. van Hooijdonk, and A. Korenberg, ‘Processing visual rhetoric in advertisements: Interpretations determined by verbal anchoring and visual structure’, *J. Pragmat.*, vol. 44, no. 13, pp. 1836–1852, Oct. 2012, doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2012.08.009.
[27] A. Stavrianakis, ‘The Arms Trade and the Transformation of Global Order: A Revitalized Research Agenda’, *Global Studies Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 2, Apr. 2025, doi: 10.1093/isagsq/ksaf033.