

**CONTEXT, MULTIMODALITY AND PERSUASION IN  
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS IN  
SELECTED NIGERIAN NEWSPAPERS**

**BY**

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## **CERTIFICATION**

I certify that this work was carried out by OLUYEMI ADETOLA ODUNSI in the Department of English, University of Ibadan, under my supervision.



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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to Almighty God, my creator and my ever-present guide. To Him alone is the honour and the glory.

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## ABSTRACT

Presidential election campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers deploy multimodal and persuasive discourse strategies, which are contextually predetermined to influence voters' decisions before an election. Existing linguistic studies on presidential election campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers focused mainly on persuasive effects from stylistic, metaphoric and satirical perspectives. However, little attention was paid to context and multimodal resources used in creating the effects. This study was, therefore, designed to investigate contextual representations in election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers. This was to determine context types, discourse issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures in the advertisements.

Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's Multimodality Theory, complemented by Richard Petty and John Cacioppo's Elaboration Likelihood Model, served as the framework. The descriptive design was adopted. Presidential election campaign advertisements of the two major and most popular political parties in Nigeria, All Progressives Congress (APC) and Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) were purposively selected. The advertisements published in 2015 and 2019 were purposively selected based on the transitional uniqueness of the period. Quota sampling was used to select two newspapers from the *Lagos/Ibadan axis* (*Punch* and *Nigerian Tribune (NT)*) and one from the *Kaduna/Abuja axis* (*Daily Trust (DT)*). Quota sampling was also used to select 40 advertisements from the newspapers (10 from *DT*, and 15 each from *NT* and *Punch*). The data were subjected to multimodal discourse analysis.

Three projected context types were identified: context of victory (CV), context of defeat (CD) and context of countering opponent's strategies (CCOS). Context of victory involved use of peripheral route of persuasion (PRP), which was characterised by low elaboration, credibility issues, positive self-presentation, emotional inducements and celebrity endorsements, requiring no critical thinking for readers' comprehension (*DT*). Context of defeat exhibited central route of persuasion (CRP) in high elaboration and logical presentation of facts aimed at provoking critical thinking (*Punch* and *NT*), while CCOS (*NT* and *Punch*) reflected integrated use of PRP and CRP made coherent through comparative listing of achievements and change of slogan to reflect new realities. Seven discourse issues were identified: leadership attributes (*DT*, *NT* and *Punch*), unemployment, insecurity, poverty reduction (*NT* and *Punch*), economic problems, education and infrastructures (*Punch*, *DT* and *NT*). In 2015, APC, as challenger, deployed more of CV and PRP, but as incumbent in 2019, it used more of CD and CRP (*Punch* and *NT*). Conversely, PDP, as incumbent in 2015, utilised CD and CRP, and as challenger in 2019, deployed CV and PRP (*Punch* and *NT*). Eight multimodal resources were identified: written words, pictures, drawings, typography, slogans, colours, statistical elements and logos (*DT*, *NT* and *Punch*). Four persuasive structures were identified: request and explication, problem and solution, question and answer, and quotation and question (*Punch*, *DT* and *NT*). These were used to indicate information value, salience and coherence in the advertisements and to justify the political parties' stances on various discourse issues before the elections.

Presidential campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers deploy context-determined persuasive designs meant to consolidate envisaged support, prevent likely defeat and anticipatorily counter opponent's strategies before an election.

**Keywords:** Campaign advertisements, Political discourse, Multimodal resources, Persuasive structures

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	i
Certification	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Tables	xi
List of Figures	xiii
List of Plates	xiv
List of Abbreviations	xv
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</b>	
1.1 Background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	9
1.3 Aim and objectives	10
1.4 Research questions	11
1.5 Scope of the study	11
1.6 Significance of the study	11
1.7 Operational definitions	12
1.7.1 Context	12
1.7.2 Multimodality	12
1.7.3 Persuasion	12
1.7.4 Election campaign advertisement	12
1.8 Chapter summary	12

## **CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

2.0	Chapter overview	13
2.1	Conceptual issues	13
2.1.1	Election campaign advertisement as discourse	13
2.1.2	Presidential election campaign advertisement: purpose and structure	14
2.1.3	Political campaign advertisements in the Nigerian print media	17
2.3	Empirical review	18
2.3.1	Stylistic studies on election campaign advertisements	18
2.3.2	Studies on metaphor and satire in election campaign advertisements	19
2.3.3	Works on linguistic and visual elements in Nigerian political campaign advertisements	19
2.3.4	Works on other non-linguistic elements in political campaign advertisements	20
2.3.5	Works on political campaign advertisements from multimodal perspectives	21
2.4	Theoretical framework	22
2.4.1	Context: meaning and features	23
2.4.2	Context in multimodal discourse analysis	26
2.4.3	Context in political election campaign	28
2.5	Multimodality and multimodal-literacy	29
2.5.1	Multimodality: Field, theory or tool?	34
2.5.2	Compositional meta-function in multimodality	41
2.5.2.1	Information value	43
2.5.2.2	Saliency	45
2.5.2.3	Framing	44
2.5.3.4	Alvarez method of multimodal analysis	45
2.5.3.5	Critiques on Multimodality	47

2.6	Persuasion	48
2.6.1	Features of persuasion	49
2.6.2	Persuasion and Elaboration Likelihood Model	51
2.6.3	Projection and persuasion	54
2.6.4	Persuasion in political campaign advertisements	56
2.6.5	Persuasive structure	57
2.6.5.1	Question -quotation as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement	57
2.6.5.2	Request-explication as persuasive structure in election campaign advertisement	58
2.6.5.3	Problem-solution as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement	58
2.6.5.4	Question-answer as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement	58
2.7	Chapter Summary	59
<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</b>		
3.0	Chapter overview	60
3.1	Research design	60
3.2	Sampling procedure	61
3.3	Analytical framework	61
3.4	Chapter summary	64
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS</b>		
4.0	Chapter overview	65
4.1	Projected contexts in Nigerian election campaign advertisements	65
4.1.1	Projected context of victory	65
4.1.2	Projected context of defeat	72
4.1.3	Projected context of countering opponents strategies	76
4.2	Context and discourse issues	80



4.2.1	Leadership issues	81
4.2.2	Unemployment	85
4.2.3	Security	89
4.2.4	Poverty reduction	94
4.2.5	Economy	96
4.2.6	Trade	99
4.2.7	Education	101
4.2.8	Road safety	105
4.3	Multimodal resources	109
4.3.1	Language as communicative mode	109
4.3.2	Picture as multimodal resource	114
4.3.3	Drawing as multimodal resource	118
4.3.4	Typography as multimodal resource	122
4.3.5	Slogan and logo as multimodal resources	126
4.3.6	Colour as multimodal resource	129
4.3.7	Statistics as multimodal resource	132
4.4	Persuasive structures in presidential election campaign advertisements	136
4.4.1	Request and explication as persuasive structure	136
4.4.2	Problem and solution as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement	140
4.4.3	Question and answer as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement	145
4.4.4	Quotation and question as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement	149
4.5	Discussion of findings	152
4.6	Chapter summary	154

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

5.1	Summary of the study	155
5.2	Conclusion	158
5.3	Limitations to the study	159
5.4	Suggestions for further studies	159
5.5	Contributions to knowledge	159

## **REFERENCES**

161

## LIST OF TABLE

**Table 2.1:** Different perspectives on meaning descriptions and representations. 36

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 2.1:</b>	Alvarez's (2016 ) four-step process in analysing a written text	46
<b>Figure 2.2:</b>	Petty and Cacioppo's(1986) persuasive model	53
<b>Figure 3.1:</b>	Analytical framework for the study	62
<b>Figure 3.2:</b>	A diagram describing context as foundation on which meaning representations and designs are built.	63

## LIST OF PLATES

<b>Plate 4.1:</b>	<i>The Nigerian Tribune</i> , Wednesday 21 Jan., 2015:4	66
<b>Plate 4.2:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> , Monday 23, Feb., 2015:11	67
<b>Plate 4.3:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> , Wednesday 21 Jan, 2015:4	69
<b>Plate 4.4:</b>	<i>The Nigerian Tribune</i> , Tuesday, Mar. 24, 2015	71
<b>Plate 4.5:</b>	<i>Punch Newspaper</i> Tuesday, Jan.1 2019:33; <i>Daily Trust</i> ,Jan.1, 2019:15	73
<b>Plate 4.6:</b>	<i>Punch Newspapers</i> Thursday, Feb.14 , 2019:18	75
<b>Plate 4.7:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> Monday, Jan. 19, 2015:51	77
<b>Plate 4.8:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> , Tuesday Feb. 1,2015:15	79
<b>Plate 4.9:</b>	<i>Punch Newspapers</i> Tuesday, Jan. 29 2019:29	82
<b>Plate 4.10:</b>	<i>Punch Newspapers</i> Tuesday, Jan. 30 2019:27	84
<b>Plate 4.11:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> Wednesday,Jan.23 ,2019 :11	86
<b>Plate 4.12:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Thursday, Jan.3. 2019:11	88
<b>Plate 4.13:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Wednesday, Feb 13, 2019:17.	90
<b>Plate 4.14:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> Feb. 8,2019:8 , <i>Punch</i> ,Feb.1,2019:24	93
<b>Plate 4.15:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Friday,Jan.11 2019:14 and <i>Daily Trust</i>	95
<b>Plate 4.16:</b>	<i>The Nigerian Tribune</i> , Wednesday Feb. 4, 2015.	97
<b>Plate 4.17:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> Monday, Feb 2 2015:11	98
<b>Plate 4.18:</b>	<i>Punch Newspapers</i> ,Sunday, Feb.10 2019:23	100
<b>Plate 4.19:</b>	<i>Punch</i> Jan.22, 2019:12	102
<b>Plate 4.20:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Monday,17 December 2018	104
<b>Plate 4.21:</b>	<i>The Nigerian Tribune</i> , Saturday, 21 Mar, 2015.	106
<b>Plate 4.22:</b>	<i>Punch Newspapers</i> Thursday, Feb 7 2019:17	108
<b>Plate 4.23:</b>	<i>The Nigerian Tribune</i> , Mar. 24, Tuesday, 2015	111
<b>Plate 4.24:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Thursday, 5 Feb. 2015.	113
<b>Plate 4.25:</b>	<i>The Nigerian Tribune</i> , Friday, Jan.. 30, 2015:2	115

<b>Plate 4.26:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> Wednesday, Mar. 25,2015:5.	117
<b>Plate 4.27:</b>	<i>Punch Newspapers</i> Tuesday, Jan.29 2019:29	119
<b>Plate 4.28:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Tuesday, Jan. 29, 2019;29	121
<b>Plate 4.29:</b>	<i>The Nigerian Tribune</i> , Tuesday Mar. 24, 2015:11.	123
<b>Plate 4.30:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Tuesday, Jan,1 2 2019:33	125
<b>Plate 4.31:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> , Friday, Feb.8 , 2019:3	127
<b>Plate 4.32:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> , Monday, Feb, 2., 2015:11.	128
<b>Plate 4.33:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> Thursday, Jan. 8, 2015:13	130
<b>Plate 4.34:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Friday, Feb 1, 2019:17	131
<b>Plate 4.35:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Sunday, 8 Feb., 2015:3	133
<b>Plate 4.36:</b>	<i>Punch</i> ,Thursday, Jan. 3, 2019:11.	135
<b>Plate 4.37:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Tuesday Mar.24, 2015: 6	137
<b>Plate 4.38:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Wednesday,Jan.21, 2015:4	139
<b>Plate 4.39:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Friday, Feb.1 2019:17.	141
<b>Plate 4.40:</b>	<i>Daily Trust</i> , Wednesday, Jan, 23, 2019:11.	144
<b>Plate 4.41:</b>	<i>Punch</i> , Tuesday, Feb.12 2019:22.	146
<b>Plate 4.42:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Sunday,Mar.22, 2015:22	148
<b>Plate 4.43:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Monday,Feb.9, 2015:15	150
<b>Plate 4.44:</b>	<i>Nigerian Tribune</i> , Monday,Jan.27, 2015:5	151

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APC –All Progressives Congress

PDP- Peoples Democratic Party

*NT-Nigerian Tribune*

*DT-Daily Trust*

CV-Context of victory

CD-Context of defeat

CCOS- Context of Countering Opponent' Strategies

PRP-Peripheral Route of Persuasion

CRP-Central Route of Persuasion

NLG –New London Group

INEC –Independent National Electoral Commission

USIP-United State Institute of Peace

FRSC-Federal Road Safety Commission

TSA- Treasury Single Account

INEC-Independent National Electoral Commission

RE.-Request and explication

PR -Problem and solution

QQ-Quotation and question

QA-Question and answer

CS – Consolidate support

PD-Prevent defeat

COS-Counter opponent's strategies





## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background to the study

Election campaign advertisements in the print media have become an integral part of pre-election communication strategies used by politicians to contextually represent discourse issues in order to secure favourable support and influence voters' actions. The discourse issues are often contextually configured through written words and images to express predetermined messages to specific audience through the print media. Generally, scholars, such as Franz and Ridout (2010), reveal that election campaign advertisements in the media have temporary persuasive effects, hardly absolute or measurable. Others, like Aduradola and Ojukwu (2013) conclude that sponsored election campaign messages like advertisements in Nigerian newspapers should be used to inform and persuade the electorate rather than deceiving or merely entertaining them. As multimodal configurations and communicative phenomena used in meaning representations in the media, they have been studied from stylistic, metaphorical and satirical perspectives to uncover producer's intentions and hidden meanings in them. In Duyile's (1987) opinion, political cartoons in the newspapers are used to increase the daily patronage of newspapers.

Another example is Osisanwo (2016), using Halliday's notions of social semiotics and interpersonal metafunction, identifies linguistic and discourse strategies deployed in the representation of social actors and Nigerian general elections in selected headlines and cover stories of two magazines published in 2003. This was done to uncover how linguistic patterns shape readers' comprehension of discourse representations in the print media. Many of these studies emphasise the ideas that persuasive effects in election campaign advertisements are of no simple and universal explanations; little or no tangible impacts, and are not easily measurable (Ansolabehere and. Iyengar, 1995; Franz and Ridout , 2010).

Other scholars think and believe that political advertisements in the print media are deliberately used to generate some persuasive effects through the use of linguistic and

visual resources (Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2013; Ademilokun, 2016 and Akpati, 2019). Nevertheless, politicians and their sponsors would continue to produce campaign advertisements in the print media as part of their pre-election communication activities and as means of reaching geographically scattered potential voters. However, persuading or creating persuasive effects in potential voters through election campaign advertisements in the newspapers is not an easy task because the advertisements communicate multiple issues of political concerns and societal values to both the informed and the not-so-informed readers within the time frames and places in which they are produced. So, these types of texts can be described as contextually projected multimodal configurations whose meanings may not be easily discernible and similarly interpreted by all readers.

Making sense of written campaign advertisements in the newspapers, according to Serafini (2012:158), “does not come to the reader ready-made, the text comes as semiotic potentials discoverable during the act of reading”. In other words, for readers to uncover and appropriately interpret implicit meanings and messages conveyed in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers, they must understand context-revealing factors such as shared knowledge between text producers and readers, peculiar societal realities and pervasive expectations of the electorate. Based on contextual knowledge, election campaign advertisers often deploy multiple meaning-making resources to clearly communicate messages meant to influence public acceptance or to prevent voters’ rejection of presented candidates before an election. It can be emphasised that winning an election is not an automatic communicative event that can be accurately predicted. However, to some extent, winning or losing an election can be contextually projected based on some identifiable and peculiar societal factors often multimodally reflected and relayed in campaign advertisements.

Election campaign advertisements as promise-making ventures for a better future can, therefore, be described as contextual projections which are meant to strengthen voters’ support, prevent defeat or weaken opponent’s strategies. Projection, in this sense, depicts expectations or envisioning of likely future events in an ever-changing political environment based on political parties’ stances on recurring policy issues, types of candidates presented and parties’ capacity to influence apathetic or swing voters.. Hence, as a complex, purpose-driven and arduous persuasive task, language use in election campaign advertisements is often ambiguous and layered in terms of their

meaning potentials as they capture the prevailing realities at the time of their production. This can pose some difficulties to readers' decoding of encoded messages and advertisers' achievement of the goal of influencing voters' electoral decisions.

However, relying on the language contents of encoded written messages to derive maximal meanings is limited as other modalities also shape the meaning contents of texts. Other semiotic properties such as pictures, colours, emoticons and other meaning-making modes are now contextually used with written words to construct and communicate persuasive intentions in election campaign advertisements. In this connection, readers need constant and updated knowledge about the realities and prevailing attitudes that inform the choice and selection of multimodal resources deployed in such texts. This is important in order to promote better understanding and deeper interpretations of implicit messages and their persuasive intentions which are contextually expressed and represented in election campaign advertisements.

Context is not a once-and-for-all phenomenon; but it is a dynamic and mutually shared experience likely foreseeable by both text-producers and readers in a particular society. As dynamic configurations, election campaign advertisements in the newspapers often deploy different multimodal resources to timely inform and warn members within a socio-political group about an impending danger. This is in consonance with Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) assertion that language and images are modes of communication developed for the communicative needs of a particular society. Happenings within a society are often foreseen and multimodally represented in election campaign advertisements for voters' attention and prompt actions, especially in situations of averting likely unpleasant experiences resulting from wrong leadership choices that may lead to economic downturns or general hardship within a sociopolitical group. Advertisers deploy these as messages through the combination of multimodal resources to create awareness, ease understanding of messages and influence readers' voting decisions before an election. Hence, being knowledgeable about the language of expression alone may not be enough for contemporary readers to effectively comprehend the multiple messages multimodally portrayed in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers.

Aside from this, readers also need to acquire multimodal literacy to know that politicians do not use the print media to simply present candidates or parties to the public for

recognition and identification purposes alone; politicians use the media to evaluate and inform the electorate on how a candidate from a particular party, based on competence, can be differentiated from others before an election. Similarly, the mass media also serve as the channels through which political intentions are expressed and presented to the public. In this connection, the "... media and politics are closely connected, without the media, the activities, actions, and plans of political parties will not be known to the voters" (Ejupi, Siljanonovska and Iseni 2014:3). In other words, the mass media transmit political plans and activities to the electorate during the period of election campaign in order to increase voters' awareness, knowledge and engender their active participation during an election.

Similarly, Iyengar and Simon (1999:159) assert that political campaign advertisements in the mass media provide "...information value..., socialising effects, and reinforcement of voters' prevailing predispositions or preferences ...." These are clearly tacitly reflected through the integrated use of multimodal resources aimed at persuading voters to get interested, be more involved and more informed about political issues that concern them. However, these intended effects may not be achievable when multimodal resources deployed in election campaign advertisements are too ambiguous and not visually appealing. Hence, election campaign advertisers often display their subtle ingenuity in the combined use of different linguistic and visual resources to create meanings, communicate intentions and attract readers' attention in campaign advertisements. Some of these resources can be so common and familiar to undiscerning readers leading such readers to focus only on the apparent linguistic or visual elements contained in an advertisement and inadvertently miss the implicit messages or persuasive intentions in such texts.

Most of the existing studies on visual texts focus attention on images and the connection between images and the written words in interpreting messages in multimodal texts. However, to Bateman (2016), multimodal analysts should no longer be preoccupied with simply describing the various semiotic resources involved in the construction of meanings in texts. They should focus more on uncovering causal mechanisms, correlations and inferential patterns or processes involved in composing persuasive multimodal texts in order to facilitate easy interpretations of such texts. Hence, unveiling the contextually projected meanings in election campaign advertisements can provide crucial insights to both producers' and readers' efforts at organising and understanding

the basic processes involved in the contextual production of persuasive messages aimed at influencing voting actions before any election. This study, therefore, examines how contextual knowledge determines the multimodal resources that advertisers deploy in presenting discourse issues and constructing persuasive campaign messages of the two major political parties in presidential election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers.

Political parties are integral parts of a democratic society. They provide alternatives from which the electorate can choose. According to Ware (1995:5), “a political party is an institution that seeks influence in a state often by attempting to occupy positions in government”. In order to achieve this objective, they provide means of identification based on what they stand for on economic policy, social or welfare issues. In his observation, Solanke (2013) submits that, in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, political parties are defined by their ideologies in managing the economy, solving the unemployment problem or fighting crime. It is, therefore, not common for politicians to defect from one party to the other in these countries. However, political parties in Nigeria are often identified based on personalities, ethnic base or religious affiliations rather than any stable ideology. In Nigeria, politicians defect to other parties at will in order to be in power or accrue access to those in power for personal aggrandizement.

These mentioned features characterise the composition of the two major political parties in Nigeria. The People’s Democratic Party is one of the two major political parties in Nigeria. It was founded in 1998. The logo of the party is an umbrella and its flag is made up of green, white and red parts. Its slogan is ‘Power to the People’. It is a party that won every presidential election between 1999 and 2011. The party was later defeated in the 2015. It was also defeated in the 2019 and 2023 presidential elections.

The All Progressives Congress (APC) is the other major political party in Nigeria. It was formed on 6 February, 2013 in anticipation of the 2015 elections. The party was the product of an alliance formed by the five main opposition parties in the pre-2015 general election context. These parties included the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), All Nigerians Peoples Party (ANPP), Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), a faction of the All Grand Progressive Alliance (APGA) and the new Peoples Democratic Party (PDP). The merger won the 2015 presidential election. Not only did it unseat the

incumbent president, the party also won the majority of governorship elections across the thirty-six states. The party is identified through its logo which comprises three colours: green, white and blue, and has a broom placed in the white part ; its motto is 'Justice, Peace and Unity'; its slogans: 'change' (during the 2015 elections) and 'Next Level' (during the 2019 elections)

Election is a conscious process where voters freely exercise their voting rights in choosing leaders who will represent them. To Anglin (1998), elections provide the pillar on which any democratic political system is built. Elections generally are platforms for citizens to perform their civic duties which are crucial within a society. Elections allow citizens to express their preferences for candidates of their choice and to ideally determine their leaders. Elections provide the avenue for the electorate to disclose their choices of candidates, policies and political parties. To win an election, politicians and political parties consciously and premeditatedly employ persuasive strategies to convince the electorate by using different symbolic representations when communicating their intentions and identities. Many of these symbols are derived from natural objects, and some are artificially constructed

Political elections in Nigeria feature tribal, religious and personal confrontations, which may be minimal or maximal. Akin to this observation is the propensity of Nigerian politicians to win at all cost through electoral malpractices such as rigging, violence, manipulation of results and intimidation of oppositions and their supporters using state security apparatuses and political thugs (Falola and Heaton, 2018). In the views of Sule et al. (2018), Nigerian elections are characterised by 'god-fatherism' which is usually used to influence the processes and outcomes of an election. According to Agbaje and Adejumobi, (2006), after Nigeria's independence in 1960, the country had organised nine general and numerous, state and local government elections. Of these elections, the 1979, 1983 and 1999 polls were conducted by military regimes to allow for transitioning to civil rule .The other elections held in 1964, 1983, 2003, 2007, 2011 and 2015 were conducted by incumbent civilian administrations. They were meant to establish democratic rule in Nigeria. To Falola and Heaton (2018), aside from the Nigeria's 2011 and 2015 elections, the other elections were characterised by attempts from the ruling parties to influence the outcomes of the elections. This pattern was reflected in the victories recorded by the ruling parties in the 1964, 1983, 2003 and 2007 elections (Ibeanu, 2007).

From 1979 to 2019, presidential elections have been held nine times in Nigeria. The first two elections were held in 1979 and 1983. Another was held in 1991 and was annulled. Subsequent presidential elections were conducted in 1999, 2003, 2007, 2011, 2015 and 2019. The voting pattern reflected ethnicity, religious affiliation and regional sentiment until 2015 when it became a contest between the incumbent party (the PDP) and the opposition party (the APC). Ordinarily, in this type of election, the incumbent was expected, as opined by Garecht (2015), to have some advantages over the opposition. The reason was that the incumbent had won the election before and possessed the advantages of an elected office holder like better coverage in the media, influence and greater popularity. To him, these factors did not reflect in the voting pattern and the preceding rigorous campaigns both in the print and broadcast media (newspaper, radio, and television). It should be noted here that the print media have been playing very significant roles in Nigerian politics since the commencement of election campaign in Nigeria. To Garecht (2015), many newspaper houses were founded and funded by federal and state governments and private individuals to enhance political visions and agendas of their founders. These include: *Daily Times*, *Nigerian Herald*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *Daily Sketch*, *The Nation* and *The Sun* among others.

The 2015 presidential election result in Nigeria attained a uniquely new dimension and height as it nullified the incumbency advantage and the huge resources spent on campaigning by the incumbent. Aside from this, Nigeria's 2015 election result was totally different from the previous elections in that the ruling party was voted out of office by the opposition party at the presidential poll without any post-election violence that usually characterised the previous presidential elections. The 2015 election changed the electoral history when the defeated party congratulated the president-elect before the official announcement of the result from the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The voting process during the election was also unique. It was the first time that technology was deployed to authenticate voters' eligibility before they cast their votes.

Before the 2019 presidential election in Nigeria, there were noticeable changes in the political and security situations in the country. These issues, according to Adeoye (2019) include:

1. increased rate of insecurity as observed in the activities of insurgents in the far north which was characterised by banditry, cultism, ritual killing, widespread kidnapping, farmer-herdsman clashes and rape;
2. electorate's disappointment with the ruling party due to the unmet expectations of the 'change agenda' and lacklustre performance of the leaders;
3. increase in interparty and intraparty conflicts;
4. perceptions that the electorate are now more politically conscious and enlightened; and
5. less emphasis on the ethnic affiliations of candidates.

Apart from all these, the prevailing political atmosphere in Nigeria before 2019 was captured in the United States of America's Institute of Peace's (2018) Special Report. The report x-rayed and summarised the change, continuity and risks to peace in Nigeria's political landscape. The authors observed that President Mohammed Buhari of the APC (the All Progressives Congress) was standing for re-election amid defections and intra-party crises. Aside from this, the United States of America's Institute for Peace's Report (USIP, 2018), emphasised some significant changes that manifested across the federation from 2015 to 2019 though their manifestations varied from state to state. They included among others:

1. Changing narratives of security and insecurity in the country;
2. Electorate's disappointment with the incumbent government due to unmet expectations;
3. Peaceful democratic transition in 2015 and the attendant expectations it raised for good performance;
4. Increased level of electorate's political enlightenment and higher expectations for improved performance by the election management body- INEC; and
5. Reduced level of division between the northern and southern parts of country.



The scenario in 2015 was that a southern Christian candidate faced a Muslim candidate from northern Nigeria. Notably, the major competitors in the 2019 presidential election were exclusively from northern Nigeria. Moreover, the USIP (2018) Report chronicled Nigeria's political situation - before the 2015 and 2019 presidential elections. These can serve as background information for explicating the meaning contents and persuasive strategies employed in the election campaign advertisements of the two major political parties before the 2015 and 2019 elections. This study, therefore, focuses its attention on the context-determined representations of issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures in the 2015 and 2019 Nigeria's presidential elections' campaign advertisements of the APC and the PDP in selected newspapers.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Most of the previous works on election campaign advertising in Nigerian newspapers have been done from the perspectives of stylistic, metaphorical and satirical representations with limited attention paid to persuasive effects of the advertisements. Generally, scholars, such as Franz and Ridout (2010), reveal that election campaign advertisements in the media have temporary persuasive effects, hardly absolute or measurable. Others, like Aduradola and Ojukwu (2013) conclude that sponsored election campaign messages like advertisements in Nigerian newspapers should be used to inform and persuade the electorate rather than deceiving or merely entertaining them.

Similarly, Sani (2014) examines how cartoonists employ verbal and visual devices, such as visual metaphors, to ridicule politicians and public officers in two Nigerian newspapers as a means of persuading and influencing public opinion. However, findings from Okpara et al. (2016) in their analysis of election campaign advertisements during the 2015 governorship election in Imo State, Nigeria, reveal that there was a relationship between voters' exposure to election campaign advertisements and their choice of candidates during an election. Also, Osisanwo (2016) identifies some linguistic and discourse strategies used in the representation of social actors and Nigerian general elections in selected headlines and cover stories from two magazines published in 2003. This was done to uncover how linguistic patterns shape readers' thoughts on discourse representations in the print media. Also, Felix and Olakunle (2017) report that exposing voters to political advertising did not have any significant effects on their voting decisions as observed during the 2015 general elections in Ondo State, Nigeria. Taiwo

Oamen (2018), using social semiotic tools with insight from critical discourse analysis, investigate election campaign advertisements in the newspapers to reveal how producers deploy semiotic resources like metaphor, layout and other typographical features in tactically portraying political candidates as being desirable or otherwise.

These previous studies focused on how election campaign advertisers used linguistic and/or non-linguistic resources in presenting and expressing sociopolitical issues and change agendas, rather than on how multimodal resources are integrated to contextually predetermine and facilitate voters' comprehension and interpretation of persuasive intentions in election campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers. This study, therefore, examines how contextual representations such as context types, discourse issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures are used in creating persuasive effects in the 2015 and 2019 APC's and PDP's presidential election campaign advertisements in some Nigerian newspapers.

### **1.3 Aim and objectives**

This study examines contextual representations in the 2015 and 2019 presidential election campaign advertisements by the two major parties: APC and PDP, in selected Nigerian newspapers. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- i. determine the projected context types in the selected presidential campaign advertisements;
- ii. examine the context-determined political discourse issues in the campaign advertisements;
- iii. explicate the multimodal resources used in composing the discourse issues in the campaign advertisements; and
- iv. account for the persuasive structures and their associated meanings in the selected advertisements.

### **1.4 Research questions**

- i. What types of context are depicted in the selected presidential election campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers?
- ii. What context-determined discourse issues are portrayed in the selected data?
- iii. How are multimodal resources contextually integrated in the selected data?
- iv. How are persuasive structures deployed in the advertisements and what are their associated meanings?

### **1.5 Scope of the study**

The study is restricted to how contextual representations such as context types, discourse issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures are used in creating persuasive effects in the 2015 and 2019 APC's and PDP's presidential election campaign advertisements in three Nigerian newspapers (*Punch* and *Nigerian Tribune (NT)*) from the Lagos/Ibadan axis and one (*Daily Trust (DT)*) from the Kaduna/Abuja axis. Forty full-page campaign advertisements in colour were purposively selected and subjected to multimodal discourse analysis.

### **1.6 Significance of the study**

This study is significant in uncovering types and roles of contexts as crucial determinant of discourse issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures in presidential election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers. The study is intended to enhance the creative ingenuity of copywriters and also to promote readers' interpretive capacities for unearthing hidden meanings in contemporary political campaign advertisements in the print media. Having identified three projected contexts, this investigation confirms Cook's (1999) submission that context is an "infinitely expandable" phenomenon. It also confirms Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) assertion that all communication is multimodal. Moreover, this study is significant in its contributing to the study of persuasion in election campaign advertisements as context-specific projections and purpose-driven and information providing multimodal configurations.

### **1.7 Definition of terms**

Definitions often provide crucial analytic insights and guide when conducting, and reading meanings into research. Thus, in order to clarify the meanings of some of the terms used in this study, definitions and explanations of them are given in this section.

### **1.7.1 Context**

Context provides and explains what, where, how and why of an idea or an event in which a text is produced.

### **1.7.2 Multimodality**

Multimodality refers to multiple meaning-making resources (both linguistic and non-linguistic) used in expressing and communicating thoughts.

### **1.7.3 Persuasion**

Persuasion describes an act of a person trying to convince others to believe in an idea or to perform a desired action.

### **1.7.4 Election campaign advertisement**

Election campaign advertisement can be described as a part of the pre-election communication activities meant to inform and influence voters' decisions before an election.

## **1.8 Chapter summary**

The chapter has provided background information for the study. It has also explicated the problem statement, aim and objectives, scope and significance of the study. The final part of it has defined the operational terms for the study. The next chapter will review the related literature and present both the theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

#### **2.0 Chapter overview**

In this chapter, the focus will be reviews of relevant concepts such as context, multimodality and persuasion, persuasion in election campaign advertisements, empirical literature and theoretical framework.

#### **2.1 Conceptual issues**

This section reviews some related concepts that are essential for clarity of the basic principles guiding the conduct of this study. This will be done in order to establish the strong conceptual underpinnings that can facilitate deeper understanding of the database.

##### **2.1.1 Election campaign advertisement as discourse**

Campaign advertisements have become an essential aspect of communication activities used in informing, persuading and mobilising the electorate before an election. They contextually deal with wide range of topical issues on politics, politicians, political parties and the electorate in the print media. Election campaign advertisements are described as a form of political discourse which Wilson (2008) refers to as linguistic tools in representing and communicating messages in politics. Political discourse also recognises language use as a tool of persuasion in a face-to-face interaction, in print or broadcast communication channels. However, campaign advertisements do not exhibit language alone in transmitting versatile and multiple ranges of context-dependent topical issues in texts meant to attract and influence readers to buy or accept an idea, a product or service. They also display contextual use of other multimodal resources such as pictures, colours and statistical elements as cohesive devices and choices in communicating and constructing persuasive structures and intentions. Analysing advertisements from a discourse perspective facilitates the understanding of different multimodal resources and patterns that advertisers deploy in creating meanings and issues in texts such as election campaign advertisements in the print media. Hence,

campaign advertisements such as presidential election campaign advertisements encapsulate three types of discourse: advertising, political and media.

Presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers exemplify media-driven discourse. It is defined by O' Keefie(2011) as forms of interactions which may be written or spoken through a broadcast channel targeted at non-present audience. It can also be defined as broadcast or printed compositions designed as information for public consumption through particular channels such as radio, television, websites, newspapers or magazines. Media discourse, especially in newspapers provides a more permanent and readily accessible information repertoire for research on topics such as multimodal and persuasive composition patterns in political campaign texts. As a media discourse, election campaign advertisements deploy linguistic and visual modes or resources in conveying messages or meanings to specific audience. It should be noted, however, that many of the previous studies focused more on the persuasive effects of political campaign advertisements with less attention paid to contextual and multimodal factors as means of predicting and determining persuasive directions in election campaign advertisements such as presidential campaign advertisements.

### **2.1.2 Presidential election campaign advertisement: purpose and structure**

Presidential election campaign advertisement as pre-election political discourse has become an important communication activity that politicians deploy to persuade and solicit voters' favourable support in order to win an election. It is also a means of generating awareness and making crucial information available to the electorate. Aside from this, political advertising provides the avenue for political parties and their candidates to mobilise their core supporters and, generate interest and acceptance of their agenda by the electorate through persuasion.

According to Alawode and Adesanya (2016), election campaign advertisement is a form of campaign used by political parties to reach and influence voters' decisions. It is public communication used in promoting a product, service or an idea. Nevertheless, reaching the voters and influencing their voting decisions involve the conscious selection of appropriate media for effective and persuasive communication within a geographical area because a medium used in an area may not be appropriate in another. For instance, in some places in Nigeria, newspaper advertisements may not be effective because of

the level of illiteracy in such areas; the use of radio or television advertisements may then be considered as a relevant option.

Furthermore, political advertising provides the platform for the dynamic creation of awareness and information about contestants' records of past achievements, stances on policy issues and points of view. These are contextually and multimodally communicated in election campaign advertisements in the print media. The dynamic, deliberate and predetermined deployment of multimodal resources in producing campaign advertisements in the print media often creates interpretation difficulties for undiscerning readers. There is, therefore, the need to formulate appropriate and effortless means of identifying and interpreting multiple strategies employed in the composition of election campaign advertisements, the circumstances that inspire their productions in order to facilitate readers' critical thinking and uncover hidden and relevant issues that may be considered important to the electorate.

Election campaign advertisements in the newspapers provide a channel for disseminating of information on what a political party and its candidates have to offer to the electorate who, in turn, may use the information so presented to evaluate candidates' character and competence before an election. This conforms to Brady's et al. (2006:3) assertion that "...a campaign period comes before the election to help electorate make political choice". In consequence, and because of the nearness of events, messages disseminated during this period are likely to register on voters' minds during the election. Therefore, there may be a connection between campaign effects and election outcomes. According to Iornem (1995), election campaign is a planned and coordinated series of political communication efforts and messages built around a candidate or political party and designed to win an election. These planned and coordinated activities are presented to the electorate through campaign advertisements and other means by candidates and their associates before an election.

Nevertheless, election campaign advertisement, as a form of advertisement, usually utilise established and recognisable multimodal features which are often integrated and designed to persuade and convey intended meanings to target audience. These features may include use of:

1. headline as an attention-catching strategy intended to attract readers;
2. sub-headings that extend the ideas expressed in the main headlines often written in smaller typefaces;
3. body copy to provide supporting details or information in a standard font;
4. legibility which enables texts of advertisements to be clear and easy to read or assimilate;
5. memorability strategies that enhance easy recall;
6. desirability features to stimulate and sustain the reading interests of people;
7. pictures serving as identical representations of any object or image;
8. colour as a visual resource to enhance meaning, symbolically establish identity, communicate mood or achieve structural cohesion in texts;
9. layout that indicate the appearance and arrangement of letters, images or characters used for printing;
10. logo as a graphic mark, symbol or stylised name to identify an organisation or a political party;
11. tagline to represent the brand identity overtime and accompany the logo.
12. hash tag (#) is often used to temporarily highlight a particular campaign trend, It is usually discarded after accomplishing what it is meant to achieve; and
13. Slogans that presents short, simple and easy to remember catchy phrases or words. (Source: Jefkins and Morrison, 2006; and Hofmann, 2014).

The above-identified features are usually contextually intermixed in different proportions and sequences in election campaign advertisements in the print media for the purpose of providing information or persuading the electorate before an election. Intermixing these features and elements have made persuasive messages in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers to be more complex and subtle.

Contemporary advertisements in the newspapers display the use of disclosure as an integral part of political messages that identify the individual or group that pays for campaign advertisements in the newspapers. Similarly, election campaign advertisements in the newspapers often end with calls to action which is described as mobilising techniques used in inspiring readers to take desired actions. However, these complexity and subtlety can be made less difficult and straightforward by exposing readers to the various ways advertisers' skillfully put multimodal elements together for persuasive purposes.



### **2.1.3 Political campaign advertisements in the Nigerian print media**

The print media came into existence in Nigeria in 1859 with the publication of a Yoruba newspaper, *Iwe Iroyin*, published by Reverend Henry Townsend at Abeokuta. The publication contained an advertisement in the form of an announcement meant for the Anglican Church (Alawode and Adesanya, 2016). Some other newspaper houses were later established in Nigeria to perpetuate and promote political beliefs or ideologies (Ayoola, 2005). One of such newspapers was the *Nigerian Tribune* which was founded in 1964 by the late political sage, Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Election campaign advertisements in the print media generally provide information aimed at improving voters' level of awareness and understanding. However, according to Albert (2005), different media are used for political advertisements from one part of the world to the other. He comparatively observes that only few Nigerians receive their political news through television, while many others receive their political news from radio stations and newspapers. Income distribution and level of literacy are identified as some of the determining factors in voters' choice of where and how the electorate receive their political news. In southern Nigeria, where the percentage of literacy is higher, politicians tend to place most of their political adverts on the pages of newspapers, whereas, in northern Nigeria, the electorate get their political news from the radio (Albert 2005:12).

The contents of political campaign advertisement in the print media reflect a persuasive platform in which representations and ideas about political realities are intentionally produced, maintained and challenged. Hence, every element in such an advertisement text is deliberately designed to educate and create variance in meanings for its readers. Creating variance through the combination of language and images for specific meanings requires knowledge and cultural assumptions before such can be rightly understood (Nodelman and Marvis, 2003.) In other words, political advertisements often contain new information about candidates who seek political positions, the parties involved and their stances on policy issues. These new information are subtly crafted in written words and images. Voters, as readers, therefore, constantly require contextual knowledge in order to meaningfully unravel or understand repeated and multimodal resources that are symbolically employed in texts. By directing readers' attention to contextually determined persuasive structure and integrated use of language and images in a political campaign advertisement, the electorate may be able to see some of the

multimodal resources, not merely as ornamental designs, but as meaning and persuasion indicators.

### **2.3 Empirical review**

This subsection reviews some related works which are considered significant to this study. This will be comparatively done in order to identify areas of commonalities and notable differences germane to the present study. It will highlight previous findings and their implications to this research with specific focus on theoretical and methodological issues on contextual representation, multimodal resources and persuasive structures in presidential campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers.

#### **2.3.1 Stylistic studies on election campaign advertisements**

Stylistics is the study of the peculiar and recurring linguistic features and patterns in texts such as election campaign advertisements in posters and newspapers. In a synchronic stylistic analysis of language used in thirty-five campaign advertisements in selected southern Nigerian newspapers during the 2007 general election campaign, Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2010) identify different language devices that politicians use to achieve their aims. These devices include exaggeration, rhetorical question, repetition, promise-making, colloquialism and figurative expression to win voters' acceptance. Their investigation was based on linguistic elements without a recourse to other meaning-making resources. Similarly, Sharndama and Mohammed (2013) adopted Crystal and Davy's (1969) model of linguistic stylistics to examine syntactic features in 2011 election campaign posters and slogans within the Yola metropolis. The analysis was based on nine posters which contained typographical features that function as persuasive means to accrue votes. They conclude that posters are visually used by politicians to attract readers' attention. Their study focused on stylistic features as visual communication tools in election campaign posters in Yola metropolis. The present investigation, however, concentrated on how messages are contextually and multimodally deployed to create persuasive effects in APC's and PDP's presidential election campaign advertisements published in 2015 and 2019 in selected Nigerian newspapers.

### **2.3.2 Studies on metaphor and satire in election campaign advertisements**

Investigating the use of visual and verbal techniques, Sani (2014) examines the construction of satire in Nigerian political cartoons. The study used the cognitive model of metaphor and a semiotic approach to analyse how visual metaphors represent real world events. The data for the study consisted of 105 political cartoons published in the *Daily Trust* and *Vanguard* newspapers between 20 November, 2009 and 24 May, 2010. According to the study, visual metaphor is a powerful rhetorical device that strongly appeals to readers' minds and is more effective than verbal metaphor. The study found that cartoons mostly convey satirical tones through the interplay of verbal and nonverbal techniques. Cartoons highlight creative ways of using language to achieve specific communicative purposes in texts. Visual metaphors can be used to construct satire and denounce social ills in order to create a better society. Although, it is similar to Sani's study in examining political discourse in Nigerian newspapers, this study focuses on how different contexts are used in determining discourse issues, selecting multimodal resources for persuasive constructions and intentions in APC's and PDP's 2015 and 2019 presidential election campaign advertisements in some newspapers.

### **2.3.3 Works on linguistic and visual elements in Nigerian election campaign advertisements**

Election campaign advertisements in Nigeria have attracted the attention of scholars from different fields, and many perspectives on how text-producers use linguistic or visual modes to present, unravel and promote contemporary issues of political concerns in Nigerian newspapers. Elebute (2013), in his study on the use of visual media in Nigeria's election campaigns, argues that visual representations are used by politicians in educating Nigerian citizens on the nation's democratic process. Also, Ademilokun and Olateju (2015) note that visual images, more than spoken or written language, provoke deeper feelings in people which move them to perform desired actions. They further observe that visual images are used for the popularisation of politicians and their political parties preparatory to elections in Nigeria. Also, Oyebola and Halim (2021), reveal that attitudinal and evaluative strategies used in election campaign advertisements often involve the use of linguistic elements for effectuation of persuasion. Their observations were illustrated with reference to the election campaign advertisements of the two major political parties in the 2019 election which were published in selected

Nigerian newspapers. Using SFL and appraisal theory, they concluded that the linguistic strategies employed by the presidential candidates in their campaign advertisements in the print media were aimed at justifying and gaining popular acceptance for themselves and their policies.

In their study of visual representations of power in purposively selected Nigerian online daily newspapers, Oamen and Fajuyigbe (2016) discover that visual communication has become a veritable tool for social commentary and political enlightenment in Nigeria. With the use of critical discourse analytic tools, the study shows that cartoon producers deploy semiotic resources to expose power abusers in Nigeria.

Similarly, Osisanwo (2016), using Halliday's notions of social semiotics and interpersonal metafunction, identified the linguistic and discourse strategies used for the representations of social actors and Nigerian general elections in selected headlines and cover stories from two news magazines published in 2003. This was done to uncover how linguistic patterns shape readers' comprehension of discourse representations in the print media without making any recourse to multimodality and context-determined issues. It could be inferred that many of these studies did not depict contextual and integrated use of linguistic and visual resources for persuasive communication in election campaign advertisements. Some of the studies, however, shared some similarities in exposing connections between two different theoretical frameworks as in Oyebola and Halim's (2021) use of SFL and appraisal theories.

#### **2.3.4 Works on non-linguistic elements in political campaign advertisements**

Scholars have also concentrated their attention on the non-linguistic aspects of Nigerian election campaign advertisements from the content and issue-based perspectives. For instance, Salman (2016) examines the discourse issues on the 2015 presidential election campaign expenditures in selected print media. The study reveals that the APC candidate and its political support group spent an estimated seven hundred and twenty-four million, five hundred and forty thousand, six hundred naira (₦724,540,600) while the PDP candidate and his support group expended three billion, one hundred and eleven million, three hundred and fifty-seven thousand, eight hundred and seventy-six naira (₦3,111,357,876) before the 2015 election. Also, Alawode and Adesanya (2016), using the content analysis method, discover that full-page election campaign advertisements featured prominently in the newspapers during the six-month period before the March

28, 2015 Nigeria's presidential election. They observe that PDP's full-page advertisements dominated the media space by indulging in excessive expenditures which the electoral management body did not monitor. These obviously are not context-determined linguistic analyses..

### **2.3.5 Works on election campaign advertisements from multimodal perspectives**

From the semiotic perspective, Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2013) investigates televised presidential election campaign advertisements by PDP, one of the major political parties in Nigeria. He argues that language or other media through which communication is achieved may not convey meanings of words which are often hidden but retrievable from a critical scrutiny of many constraining factors like social class, ideologies, ethnicity, religion and interests among others. These constraints may not be found explicitly marked by words, images, sound, music and other semiotic resources that inform the constructions of such texts in the broadcast media. Similarly, Akpati (2019) did a multimodal analysis of some online campaign cartoons from Nigeria's 2015 presidential election campaign to bring out the different patterns of verbal and non-verbal meaning-making strategies produced before Nigeria's 2015 general election. The study revealed that politicians use semiotic resources to exaggerate, satirise and mock opponents in the quests for voters' support and acceptance through the television.

Also, by adopting the social semiotic analytical approach, Taiwo and Oamen (2018) investigate election campaign advertisements in the newspapers to uncover how text-producers deploy semiotic resources like layout, typography and other typographical features in tactically portraying candidates as being desirable or otherwise. Similarly, Gbadegesin and Onanuga (2018) analyse selected video campaign advertisements of the APC and PDP before the 2015 Nigerian election using multimodal interaction analytic theory to elucidate the communicative modes in the selected data. They observed that historical accounts, declaratives, subtle imperatives and linguistic tags are used as multimodal persuasive elements by politicians to engender citizens' involvement in democratic practices. Furthermore, Lirola (2023) investigates the portrayal of Irish political party leaders in the general election campaign posters in 2016 and 2020 in Ireland. Using multimodal critical discourse strategies, the study uncovered how visual and linguistic features reflected and contributed to the way politicians are empowered;

rather than how multimodal resources are contextually integrated in creating persuasive effects in presidential election campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers.

Many of these previous and related works have focused more on how text producers used linguistic and/or non-linguistic resources in making meanings and presenting sociopolitical issues and change agendas, rather than on how context is used to determine the choice of multimodal and persuasive features and structures in facilitating voters' comprehension and interpretation of advertiser's intentions in presidential elections campaign advertisements in the newspapers. Most of the pervious works have devoted less attention to the diverse and deliberate context-based projections of discourse issues and, selection of multimodal resources and persuasive structures in political campaign advertisements in the newspaper. In other words, most of these previous works have not paid much attention to how projected contexts determine and explicate the multimodal resources deployed in constructing persuasive directions and their associated meanings in election campaign advertisements. Context is a crucial determinant of meaning creation and variability often displayed in texts. This study explores context-determined multimodal strategies deployed in constructing persuasive structures in selected presidential election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers. This is aimed at enhancing creative dexterity in text-producers, and also to promote readers' comprehension and interpretation of intended meanings in such texts.

## **2.4 Theoretical framework**

Theoretical framework provides insights from existing theories that guide a researcher's analytical procedure in research work. It is used to determine the direction and goal of data analysis. In this study, the section details foundational, theoretical assumptions and how they are applied to determine the deployment of context, multimodality and persuasion in the selected samples.

### **2.4.1 Context: meaning and features**

There is no definitional consensus among scholars on the word, "context", due to the different disciplinary perspectives from which it is often considered. It is variously

described as the circumstances, condition or time in which a text is produced. Context also refers to the situational factors that can be used in deciphering the implicit meanings in a text. Text production and interpretation, whether spoken or written, can be fruitless without a mutual understanding of the presuppositions and existing relationships between the producer and the target audience.

According to Newmeyer (1988:8), context includes:

shared knowledge, beliefs, intentions, presuppositions, interferences and so on that may have social or cultural basis; meaningful non-verbal action that precedes, accompanies or follows the speech ... the characteristics of the existing relationships between speaker(s) and hearer(s) that are used by members of the community in the laying down of norms, laws and decisions ...

Though his view on context is centred on meaning production and interpretation in speech, as determined by socio-cultural factors, the factors can be contextually applied in analysing meaning creation and reception in a writer-reader relationship.

Similarly, Widdowson (2000:126) defines context as “those aspects of the circumstances of actual language use which are taken as relevant to meaning”. He believes that context is “a schematic construct in the achievement of pragmatic meaning”. These identified features of context are crucial components in the production and interpretation of discourse as a complex and contestable phenomenon. Context, according to Cook (1999:1), is depicted as an “infinitely expandable” and multidisciplinary phenomenon. The infinite and multifaceted nature of context makes it combine with other words in forming descriptive expressions in compound nouns and phrases such as context-free, context-sensitive, context-dependent, context-based, context-determined, linguistic context, context of situation, political context, historical context, social context among others.

Etymologically, the word, “context”, in linguistic studies, emerged from Malinowski’s (1923) study of primitive languages in the physical or actual contexts of use. Malinowski, a British anthropologist, argues that language use is not only for thinking but it is a means of expressing social actions and experience in speech. To him, an utterance can only make sense if understood in the context in which it is used. Contrastingly, Palmer (1976) considers Malinowski’s context of situation as a social process and a part of an ordered series of events in an actual observable set of events.

He further observes that Malinowsky's argument on context of situation centres primarily on his observations of the ways in which the language of a people he studied fitted into their day-to-day life activities. Thus, it is a crucial aspect of the people's social life in which language used in speech events such as commands or idle banter indicate social relations or the established common sentiments in a social context.

However, Malinowski's contributions focus on context in language as the observed data were speech events in social environments and excluded perspectives on issues such as language as an abstraction and structures of language. As a student of Malinowski, Firth (1957), expanded Malinowski's ideas on contexts of culture and situation as specific conventional or socio-cultural rules of behaviour in language use which participants must be familiar with before interactions can successfully take place among people within a community. He believes that language must be studied as a response in particular contexts. Both Malinowski and Firth focus on language as physical actions and social experience without paying much attention to structures and multimodal means of communication.

To M.A.K. Halliday who further developed social context into a more generalised concept based on Firth's ideas, context can be divided into three categories. These comprise contexts of culture, situation and co-text. Halliday (1978) defines context of situation as a theoretical construct that can be used in explaining how a text relates to its social processes within which it is located. In other words, context of situation refers to the setting in which discourse is produced. It is a means of facilitating clarity of producer's intention and a deeper understanding of the persuasive trajectories in texts such as election campaign advertisements. Context of situation provides background information on the circumstances of communicative encounters, why an event occurs and how it affects the people in the area in which it occurs. Context of culture describes how societal values and beliefs mutually shared among a group of people affect their attitudes and behaviours. The shared values and beliefs include the norms, customs, and ideas that help in shaping relationships and expectations among individuals in a society. He refers to co-text as words that precede or follow a particular word in a sentence. Co-text describes how the choice of words is constrained by the context in which it is used. These layers are crucial in the contextual determination and interpretation of linguistic meanings or messages in texts.



Other scholars have defined, identified and classified context from the linguistic or verbal perspectives. Linguistic context depicts when the meanings of particular words are realised as a result of their placements and positions in a sentence, clause or a phrase. The verbal context, according to Babajide (2000), is the company which a linguistic item keeps. In other words, interpreting a text's verbal context involves identifying and emphasising the verbal elements used in terms of their linkage and interrelationship with one another. Ferrari (1997) regards context as essentially contributing to the understanding and disambiguation of meanings in texts. Aside from its disambiguating nature, Plum, (1998) asserts that context provides the means of interpreting different meanings detectable in texts. In other words, meaning making in texts is a matter of many contextual possibilities which readers may differently interpret. Without any due consideration of mutual knowledge and understanding between interlocutors in a communicative event, meaningful interpretations of messages being transmitted may be difficult or elusive. Context, therefore, provides the needed background information that can help readers in determining meaning in human compositions and comprehension of texts. Many of these definitional contributions, according to Hassan (2009:9), are not hierarchised because they have an equal status, and each is manifested in every act of language use. Hence, the important task for the analyst is to describe how meaning-making resources are woven together to create a meaningful linguistic unit.

From the above submissions and counter-submissions, it can be inferred that scholars often define and classify context to support their thoughts in relation to their fields and the overriding situation in which a text is produced. However, context as a dynamic, deterministic and prediction-enhancing phenomenon is crucial in the process of producing, interpreting and comprehending persuasive meanings in multimodal texts such as presidential election campaign advertisements in newspapers. This study ,therefore, sees context as the building blocks in determining discourse issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures in political election campaign advertisements in the newspapers.,

#### **2.4.2 Context in multimodal discourse analysis**

Context is crucial for meaning-creation in human communication and interaction. It provides background information for readers' comprehension and interpretation of messages in multimodal discourses. Hassan (2004:21) describes "context of situation as

construed by discourse as a tripartite entity, each component of which is always active in the production of a text". In other words, producing context-dependent multimodal configuration in persuasive texts such as political campaign advertisements requires a variety of contexts to facilitate readers' effortless interpretation of simultaneous meanings often represented in such texts. Multimodal discourse analysis refers to an approach in the investigation of multiple modes used in communication and representation of meanings in texts. Aside from focusing on language only, Halliday and Hassan (1985) recognise that there are many other meaning-making modes in all cultures which are external to language but carry recognisable meanings in such cultures. These modes include, among others, written words, phrases, clauses, colours, pictures and images, and how they are often combined with one another to create persuasive meanings in texts. Hence, a variety of contexts would assist in analysing and understanding resources, structures used to represent meanings in persuasive texts. However, it should be noted that some of the principles in SFL provide insights and serve as the foundations on which many theoretical and methodological perspectives on multimodal communications are built. To Kress et al. (2001:43), modes of communication, more or less, are indicative of open-systems of meanings which could bring changes to the communicative needs of a society. This means that new modes of meanings are often created and existing ones are transformed.

Similarly, according to Kress (2010), using three modes in a text has many advantages because each mode performs a specific function. To him, image can show what takes too long to read and writing may explain what is difficult to show. Colour, for instance, can be used to highlight or connect specific aspects of overall meanings in a text. Hence, making sense of a multimodal text as a cohesive whole is a function of many factors and affordances which are contextually determined and mutually understood by both the text-producer and readers of such texts. According to Halliday and Hassan (1976), a text is made whole internally through the multimodal resources deployed in connecting the elements, and externally by the environment in which it is produced. These external factors contextually vary from one community to another. The situational variation may explain the non-uniformity of analytic approach often deployed in multimodal discourse analysis. This is because no single approach can account for the different modes and contexts that often serve as concepts for analysis in any discipline.

Context, as a dynamic, multi-faceted and multi-functional concept in many fields, provides the foundation on which multimodal analytical models and theoretical approaches are built. Context is useful to establish mutual understanding and shared knowledge between text-producers and their audience. As a multidisciplinary concept in linguistics, semantics, pragmatics, discourse analysis and, particularly, multimodal discourse analysis, context guides text-analysts in deciding which theoretical and methodological tools can be deployed for the purpose of unfolding and describing linguistic and nonlinguistic elements in specific texts. Cook (1999) refers to context as knowledge of the situational factors which can unfold what is not empirically visible in a text but relevant to its appropriate interpretation.

To Herbele and Veloso (2013), multimodal studies cannot and should not be carried out in isolation because any discourse and its context are closely related. However, contexts play important roles in multimodal discourse analysis, not only in determining the selection and representation of meaning-making modes in texts, but in detecting and eliminating lexical or structural ambiguities in compositions. This follows from the understanding that modes have many affordances which may lead to misinformation if they are not contextually well-established and represented in multimodal texts. The interface between multimodal discourse and context is demonstrated in the combined roles they play in the production and interpretation of persuasive texts. Similarly, contextual knowledge enhances the analytic skills of multimodal discourse analyst for plausible evaluation and interpretation of persuasive meanings expressed in multimodal texts such as election campaign advertisements. Election campaign advertisements in the newspapers employ contextual and multimodal knowledge to express and achieve persuasive meanings based on happenings and experiences within a society. These happenings and experiences influence and impinge on a discourse analyst's judgment of nuanced selection and use of resources in composing multimodal texts such as election campaign advertisements in the newspapers.

### **2.4.3 Context in political election campaign**

Success in election cannot be achieved without the contextual evaluation of societal challenges with conjectured solutions that are mutually beneficial to all the members of a society. These challenges and suggested solutions are communicated and represented by turning them into political discourse issues that are multimodally formulated and

constructed for persuasion. Political election campaign is a form of communication that involves the identification of target electorate in an anticipated context. It is designed to create awareness and solicit voters' acceptance of a particular candidate within a period, usually before an election.

Every election campaign requires a specific communication strategy that is influenced by the political climate or environment in which it is situated. It is always aimed at winning an election based on the circumstances surrounding the electoral event. Context provides the background information in understanding text producer's persuasive intent and direction which an unwary reader may not notice, or totally misinterpret in a multimodal configuration such as election campaign advertisements. Context reflects common and ever-changing socio-political experiences, shared linguistic and non-linguistic habits for effective comprehension and interpretation of persuasive messages which represent multiple meanings in election campaign advertisements in newspapers.

Multiple meanings are often anticipatorily made, remade or changed, depending on the prevailing circumstances in which they are produced. Context, therefore, provides relevant background knowledge and information mutually shared by text-producer and readers in the production, interpretation and disambiguation of meanings or messages communicated in political campaign advertisements. These knowledge and information may be derived from the historical, cultural and political systems of governance within a particular society. When aspects of these factors like power and status are represented in election campaign advertisements, they are contextually portrayed as types of multimodal configurations targeted at a particular group of electorate in order to influence voting decisions and actions. Such persuasive strategies could indicate the type of relationship that exists among participants and, in particular, their psychological states. Psychological states concerns whether one or both participants are inclined or not to contextually communicate messages that will attract appropriate responses that may lead to voting actions.

Election campaign as a form of communication typifies a multimodal composition that is used to contextually inform the electorate about past and present issues and experiences that may negatively affect the general populace's voting decisions. In Nigeria, for instance, corruption, insecurity and economic hardship are recurring socio-political challenges preventing the progress and development of Nigeria as a nation.

Election candidates often utilise the situation to make promises in composing persuasive messages aimed at ameliorating or eliminating identified challenges in the anticipatory context of winning an upcoming election. The promises are sometimes meant to inform, warn, remind, persuade or mobilise the target audience in making the right voting decisions especially before an election. As a textually-encoded matters, the issues become more intelligible when they are properly situated within the socio-political contexts in which they can be easily identified and understood.

## **2.5 Multimodality and multimodal literacy**

Multimodality is described as a branch of linguistic studies that deals with the integration of language and other meaning-making resources in communication. As a means of communication, it provides insights into the analysis of multiple modes of communication used in creating, maintaining and conveying meanings in texts. These modes can be linguistic or visual. Visual mode exemplifies images, symbols, colours and pictures that people see in texts.

Linguistic mode, on the other hand, in writing refers to the written words and their structural pattern, their selection, combination, arrangement and function in texts. The linguistic mode as meaning carrier in texts has received more attention from scholars from different theoretical and methodological perspectives. Linguistic mode encompasses the deployment of language resources for communicative purposes. This includes words used in such expression as ellipsis, quotation, questions, command and material processes depicted in the selected data. Ellipsis can be described as a linguistic, cohesive and persuasive device used in written texts to show that some words have been left out instead of repeating them unnecessarily. Ellipsis is indicated through the use of three dots to denote that some words have been omitted.

Command or an imperative word or a sentence is a linguistic construction without a subject and starting with the main verb. It is often persuasively used to instruct or call readers to immediate action, and as a concluding part in the structural arrangements of parts of a political campaign advertisement in newspapers.

Slogan can be described as a simple, short and memorable linguistic expression used as persuasive strategy meant to accelerate or repetitively transmit positive features of a product, idea, service or an organisation such as a political party. It also describes unique

features and means of identifying an organisation as different and better than the others. Slogan is often combined with a logo to create product or organisational identity.

Typography performs both verbal and visual communicative roles in texts. It can serve as a visible means of arranging and establishing visual hierarchy, or in designing the appearance of letter fonts in words. Orthography describes conventional use of capitalisation, punctuation, word and line breaks in written language. Typography and orthography are used for legibility, readability and attractiveness in written texts.

Material processes are of doings and happenings often reflected in persuasive texts. The doing process explains the idea that an entity materially does something which can affect another entity. A happening process types describes notions that something happened, is happening or about to happen as a phenomenon or to an entity. Political campaign advertisers in the newspapers employ material processes to contextually and multimodally construct persuasive messages. This is anticipatorily configured in order to influence voters' decision and action before an election. These processes are reflected in the choice and selection of verbs used in the past, present continuous and future tense forms

Visual modes such as colours, pictures, drawings, signs, symbols, logos, maps, font sizes, shapes of letters are used to complement or structure messages in texts in order to achieve persuasive intentions. Colour can be described as the appearance of an object as it reflects light or darkness. It is a visual phenomenon used for meaning representation, indicating information source, marking emotional reflection or achieving other aesthetics value in a multimodal configuration. Colour is contingent on the historical or cultural context in which it is experienced or interpreted. A picture is a visual or artistic representation or image of a person, thing or an event; it can be drawn, painted or photographed.

Photography is the process of creating photos, pictures or visual scenes through the digital imaging technology by a means of a camera. A written text that is accompanied by photos could be described as a more credible and understandable means of preserving and conserving memories of events and people. A pictorial graph expresses data or numerical information through pictures or symbols. A logo is an easily noticeable design combining symbol, icon, colour, font size and name deployed in creating visually a unique identity for an organisation, a cause or political party. Logo is often combined

with a slogan to attract attention, enhance reader's ability to remember and promote brand affinity in advertisement, including election campaign advertisement. A map is a pictorial or geographical representation of an area to show different locations, places or states. It is used in political campaign advertisement to express and represent messages, rather than graphical information, in a particular place.

Statistics refers to the numeric and irrefutable representations of facts through graphs, charts or percentages. A percentage is represented with the symbol (%) which means 'per hundred'; it is used as a persuasive tool to strengthen arguments by appealing to number game and it is often combined with written words for effective communication. Statistics can be used as a variable in justifying reasoned conclusions and actions based on presented facts. Contemporary communication landscape and literacy matters reflect the concepts of multimedia and multi-literacy which take their roots from multimodality. Today, multimodality has become a pervasive communication and language phenomenon used in conveying messages and representing meanings in texts. As Goodwin (1996) has rightly observed, nowadays, it is not common to find a text that uses language as only means of communication and instructions in schools. Multimodality has now become a means of making sense of information communicated through visual images (such as pictures, colours and typography) and their varied combinations with written texts. According to Stockl (2014), when reading a multimodal text, undiscerning readers may be dimly aware of the fact that they are processing information that contains different modes. Hence, it should be one of the pre-occupations of a multimodal discourse analyst to unfold the multifaceted intermodal connections that pervade contemporary texts. Nevertheless, this type of literacy will assist readers in understanding multiple and complex messages, often distributed across various modes, which may not be easily noticeable when reading a text.

Multimodal literacy is an aspect of education that focuses on the integrated study of the multiple modes of meaning-making resources in communication. It is about learning and understanding the various affordances of meaning as contained in colours, images, audio, spatial and gestural modes of communication. Etymologically, the term, 'multi-literacies', was created by a group of ten researchers in 1994 in New London, New Hampshire, United States America. Known as the New London Group (NLG) researchers, the group comprised Cazden C., Cope B., Fairclough, N., Gee J., Kalantzis, M., Kress, G., Luke, A., Luke, C., Michael, S. and Nakata, M. Their assumption was

premised on new information technologies that have been influencing global communication and interaction. Hence the approach is meant to occasion some significant changes in technology and globalisation which will affect educational services through increased exposure to cultural and linguistic diversities. These changes include the common and diverse use of internet, multi-media and digital media, and the predominant increase in migration from one country to another. By these observations, the NLG asserts that multi-literacies are related to multimodality. This is because there is a shift in how people now communicate using new terminologies and bringing about novel changes in the use of the English language and literacy among different people in different societies and cultures. These issues are based on linguistic diversity and multimodal forms of linguistic expressions and representations.

The group proposed the teaching of all forms of meaning representations, namely, linguistic, visual, audio, spatial and gestural. All these forms are subsumed under multimodality as a discipline. In this connection, multi-literacy explains the nexus between the changing social communicative landscape and multimodality. The connection highlights multi-literacy as a concept on how to understand information and how meanings are represented through the integrated use of different modes. These modes ordinarily have individual meanings when contextually and separately used in texts. In other words, each mode can be used alone to communicate and represent knowledge and ideas.

Moreover, new communication technology has further expanded many ways of integrated deployment of modes in disseminating complex messages for the purpose of influencing a particular audience. This knowledge has led many researchers from different disciplines to account for some of the ways contextual ideas and experiences are communicated through multimodal representations, and how readers can be assisted in understanding implicit messages communicated in texts. Multimodality and multi-literacy, as newly created concepts and theories, do not explicitly describe new phenomena because human beings daily use their senses to see, hear, touch, smell and taste. These senses depict the five meaning-making modes- linguistic, visual, spatial, gestural and audio, used in producing and comprehending a text. As a semiotic phenomenon, multimodality contributes to the identification of meaning-making resources that are needed for the proper understanding of messages and augmenting the realities conveyed in texts.



Multimodality, according to the New London Group (2000:25), addresses the “...multiplicity of communication channels and media and the increasing saliency of cultural and linguistic diversity”. This multiplicity of communication channels contextually reflects the diversity of meaning representations in contemporary texts. In line with this observation, the concept of multi-literacy embodies a holistic and inclusive meaning which, to Fairclough (2000:171), “... encompasses... notions of cultural hybridity and multimodality” which are aimed at promoting metalanguage awareness and; higher order of thinking and evaluation in ever-changing socio-political contexts. In today’s multimedia age, traditional literacy practices alone may not be adequate in effecting some understanding of complex messages communicated in written texts.

Hence, multimodality and multi-literacy should account for the diversity in meaning-making resources and communicated messages that are encountered in contemporary texts; and how these affect what meanings readers decode. Texts are cultural and historical artefacts that contextually reflect meaning-making resources peculiar to societies in which they are produced. Meaning-making resources such as photographs, pictorials, images, signs and symbols are differently used as means of identification and meaning representations in many societies. These resources often change to reflect the contexts of time and place, or to convey new realities within a society. Meaning-making resources like photographs can be used to design effective information. Photographs as communicative modes are considered to be more reliable in that they reproduce realities that can evoke agreeable meanings with natural conventions (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin, 2007; van Leeuwen, 2005; Baldry and Thibault, 2006). Multimodality may then be used as a tool to inform, persuade, complement, emphasise, repeat, illustrate, and elaborate the structural interconnectivity of various communicative modes in a text such as a presidential election campaign advertisement in newspapers. As such, each mode in a presidential campaign advertisement has specific functions based on their deliberate positioning and arrangement, in relation to the other modalities, to achieve a text producer’s predetermined persuasive intentions. This study therefore adopts Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) multimodal compositional elements namely information value, salience and framing to

### **2.5.1 Multimodality: Field, theory or tool?**

Norris (2012) and some other scholars, multimodality is not a new concept. It is a controversial notion that has been problematised and viewed by scholars from many theoretical and methodological perspectives in different fields. The term, multimodality,

as a multidimensional and multidisciplinary concept, has been differently defined as a field or domain of study, theory and tool used in expressing and unfolding how people use different modes to create meanings and communicate different intentions in texts. The origin of the term is often traced to Halliday's (1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) which defines language as a product of social interaction meant to satisfy the communication needs of people within a community.

His idea was later expanded and developed by scholars from different fields as theories and tools that account for the integrated uses of multiple modes of communication, and how they are combined to create meanings in texts. Scholars such as Hodge and Kress (1988); Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001); O'Halloran (2004); Bezemer, and Jewitt (2005) and Machin (2007) among others have utilised insights from Halliday's social semiotics and Systemic Functional Linguistics to develop multimodality as a domain of enquiry; range of theoretical tools used in explaining multimodal resources as means of communicating and representing meanings in non-digital and digital technology-based texts and environments. It should be noted that Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) expand Halliday's concept of meaning as choice to develop multimodality as an approach and later theorise the visual resources as constituting a mode. This must have led to the production of their *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996) which kick-started multimodal researches and analyses. Hence, multimodality involves the study of the communication of meaning using mode as an organising principle. Many studies in linguistics and communication have also increasingly acknowledged the multimodal nature of texts with emphasis on the fact that any contemporary analysis of multimodal texts can no longer rely only on language if it aims at appropriately interpreting the meanings of a text or communicative event (Ventola et al., 2004)..

According to Jewitt (2009), multimodality describes the various approaches in which representations and communication are undertaken using multimodal means. It also refers to the different forms of meaning-creating resources that people use to communicate and interact. In other words, multimodality is an approach that examines multimodal resources and how they are combined to express meanings. It facilitates the pursuit of knowledge in human communication by providing means of constructing and comprehending innovative ways that text-producers deploy to simultaneously communicate messages through the use of meaning-making resources in texts.

Tracing the origin of multimodality as a field, Ledin and Machin (2018) argue that the publications of O'Toole (1994) and, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) marked the

beginning of multimodality as a developing field that focuses on meaning representations in language and communication. These researchers, however, followed the SFL principles to create frameworks that other scholars subsequently use as tools in uncovering the meanings of images in texts. For instance, O'Toole (1994), based on Halliday's grammatical units comprising morpheme, word, group and clause, segmented images in painting into four units: work, figure, member and episode. Work depicts the entire piece of a drawing, and all other units play different parts. Figure represents a complete entity which may be a person in the overall image. Members are elements in the figures that play important roles in determining the overall meaning of the artistic piece. Episode is the grouping of figures that are involved in different kinds of shared processes in the whole image.

Though O'Toole's (1994) focuses on classical painting, it illuminates the potentials of multimodal research in understanding some of the ways by which images communicate meanings in texts. These classifications are shown in Table 2.1 below:

**Table 2.1: Perspectives of multimodal meaning description and representation.**

<b>Halliday 1978</b>	<b>O'Toole 1994</b>	<b>Kress and van Leeuwen 1996</b>
<b>Meaning as system of functions</b>	<b>Meaning as ranks in classical paintings</b>	<b>Meaning as functions in visual design</b>
Ideational	Work Figure	Representational
Interpersonal	Member	Interactional
Textual	Episode	Compositional

**Sources:** Halliday, 1978; O'Toole 1994; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996).

However, many researchers have applied different terminological, theoretical and methodological perspectives in investigating multimodal compositions of texts. For instance, multimodal interactional analysis is used to uncover the impacts of new information technology, and how multimodal interactions make meanings through different modes in texts or in face-to-face interactions (Scollon, 2003; Norris, 2004). Critical multimodal discourse analysis combines Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and social semiotics (Machin and Mayr 2012; Machin 2014). This study adopts Multimodal Discourse Analysis, which, to O'Halloran (2004) has become a crucial aspect of research and practice in many academic and practical disciplines. Thus, this has led to a variety of techniques, theoretical frameworks and methodologies in diverse areas. This observation corroborates Herbele and Veloso's (2013) observation that the collective efforts of researchers around the world and the wide range of publications from many disciplines have contributed to the establishment of multimodal studies as a valid area of investigation.

Other scholars have also applied multimodal analysis as an approach in fields that are specifically related to language studies, language teaching, advertising and political communication. For example, multimodal communication in second language teaching and learning has been studied by scholars such as O'Halloran (2004), Royce (2007). Bateman (2008), Jewitt (2009), Serafini (2012) and Hull and Nelson (2014) have also initiated and applied multimodality in diverse fields of human endeavours from different perspectives in texts.

As a multifaceted phenomenon, multimodality has become a controversial concept among linguists. While some scholars see it as a field of study and define it as a theory that provides insight into how people communicate and interact with one another by combining different meaning-making modes, others argue that it is a tool that can be applied in linguistic analysis. This situation has led to O'Halloran's (2011) observation that there is no agreement among scholars on the meaning of multimodality. The term has been variously referred to as multimodal discourse analysis, multimodal analysis, multimodal semiotics and multimodal studies. However, Bezemer (2013:180) refers to it as "a field of application rather than a theory". He believes that multimodality is not a theory but a tool that can be applied, within various theoretical contexts, to enhance analysis. The multidisciplinary deployment of multimodality in different fields may account for the lack of descriptive and terminological uniformity in language studies.

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) use the term, multimodality, in their model of visual grammar. This approach is partly deployed in this study. Multimodality as a tool can be used to uncover and evaluate peculiar and diverse ways in which language and image are made, remade and combined to persuade or make meanings in texts such as election campaign advertisements. A multimodal analyst working on election campaign advertisements in the newspapers must therefore be able to note and elucidate how modes are contextually determined, organised, independently changed or developed together to express and represent meanings in texts instead of just focusing on their persuasive effects. In other words, the analyst must be able to consider the ways in which text producers mix words with images, pictures, colour and foregrounded typographical features to inform and influence their readers.

It is when multimodal elements are contextually combined in a text that they become communicative entities that are capable of facilitating meaningful reflections and speedy interpretations of social, political and cultural realities and truths within a society. These realities and truths are not always explicitly stated but are often presented through language and other modalities, especially in political communication texts. At times, images may be used to attract voters' attention and may appear so ornamental and familiar that a reader may take them for granted. As a result, unwary readers may miss the inherent messages subtly communicated in such texts. Political campaign advertisements in the newspapers are not just for emotional or irrational appeals, they communicate implicit messages and rational reasons capable of provoking thought for well-informed voting actions in the electorate.

According to Bateman (2008), multimodal documents are extremely complex entities. They are not only complex but they often contain multiple and deliberate messages simultaneously communicated to achieve persuasive intentions. Political campaign advertisements exemplify such multimodal features that index multiple meanings simultaneously and these meanings are expressed in projected contexts. They 'can pose interpretation difficulties to undiscerning readers who may misinterpret or read many meanings to each mode independently used or combine them to derive more comprehensive meanings in texts.. Without a detailed analysis, the mechanisms by which meanings are embedded in them may not be revealed. Written texts which are multimodal, such as election campaign advertisements in the print media, contain vast

amount of information that describe series of events, circumstances surrounding the events, causes of the events and their effects.

These disclosures are often made possible and more conspicuous through the pervasive use of new media and technological advancements which promote the integration of language and image as powerful tools for the dissemination of persuasive information in contemporary texts. Observably, these new and integrative practices of meaning creations in texts are not taught in schools where literacy is traditionally acquired. This inadequacy has led to the concept of ‘multi-literacy’ which emphasises a need for modern readers to acquire critical thinking skills and competence that will enable them to easily discern and interpret implicit meanings in contemporary multimodal texts such as election campaign advertisements in the print media.

Newspapers, as an instance of the print media, subtly provide the means for politicians and political parties to inform and persuade the general public about their political ideas and beliefs before elections. Though persuading the people is more difficult than informing them, both intentions are contextually expressed in election campaign advertisements through the combined use of words and visual resources. Combining language and image for an easy discernment and interpretation of meaning confirms Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) observation that everything written in a language may also be realised through images. Nevertheless, the written mode can take a longer time to read and understand when compared with integrating it with visual representations in texts. Reflecting this line of thought, Jefkins and Yadin (2000:17) opine that “messages are said to be more readily seen than heard, and visual images have greater impact than those which require the effort of reading”. This does not mean that linguistic and visual resources are made use of in the same proportion and importance in visual compositions. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:2) underscore the differences and similarities between language and image when they state that:

Visual structures realize meanings as linguistic structures do also, and thereby point to different interpretations of experience and different forms of social interactions. The meanings which can be realized in language and in visual communication overlap in part, that is, some things can be expressed both visually and verbally; and in part they diverge- some things can be ‘said’ only visually, others only verbally. But even when something can be ‘said’ both visually and verbally the *way in which* it will be said is different.

These observations discreetly depict the complexity in how multimodal resources can be used in divergent and convergent ways to also construct and represent directions of persuasions in written texts such as election campaign advertisements in the print media. For example, what is expressed in such advertisement texts through lexical choices and semantic forms can be complemented, repeated or emphasised through the use of different colours, pictures or typography.

As Esposito (2011:213) has observed, “any analysis of advertisements offers multifarious challenges as they can draw upon various modes at the same time to convey their messages with the combination of both language and imagery”. Thus, text producers would cautiously apply the convergence of modes, especially in election campaign advertisement in the print media, in order not to create unintended complexities that may make interpretations difficult for readers. Political campaign advertisements in the newspapers have become means of communicating political beliefs, opinions and thoughts. They exhibit complimentary configurations through the combined use of language and other modalities to persuade and represent meanings in different and unique ways. Though the text producer may or may not be conscious of the configurations, the way and the form in which the elements are put together have some implications for what is represented and the purpose of the representations. This may lead to confusion and unintended outcomes at times. Though these multimodal resources may not totally reveal how certain meanings are persuasively produced in a text or expose the real intentions of text producers, they can be used to predict the direction of persuasion in a multimodal ensemble.

Multimodality as a key persuasive technique can facilitate quick and easy understanding of meanings communicated within a text. Liu (2013) observes that, in the early period of language studies, much attention was not given to the integrated use of language with other meaning-making modes in the process of communication. He believes that this was the situation until Halliday (1978) introduced social semiotics, which recognises that there are many other meaning-making modes apart from language, into linguistic analysis. This observation and others in this direction marked the beginning of multimodality as an analytic tool and a field of study which focuses on how text producers combine written words and images in making meaning, and to present and represent their experiences of the world.



To Kress and van Leeuwen (1996), a multimodal text integrates more than one semiotic mode in communication and representation of meanings and this is more prevalent in contemporary societies. Multimodality, according to Liu (2013:1261), can be used in “... creating deeper meanings by using such skills as questioning, analysing and synthesising the messages involving different elements (writing, visuals, sound and so on)”. There is, therefore, the need for language users in this milieu to acquaint themselves with the necessary knowledge, skills and understanding of how meanings are contextually produced through visual images and illustrations in texts. Multimodality, as a field of study, has developed into a multidimensional and unique discipline that focuses on meaning-making devices and strategies in texts. With its foundation in social semiotics, it continues to draw insights from other disciplines whose focus have shifted from the monomodal perspective, with the only focus on language as the only meaning carrier in linguistic analysis, to the interplay of different modes that are simultaneously integrated to communicate multiple and complex messages in texts. Multimodality has, therefore, emerged as the study of meaning-making strategies involving the integrated use of language, images and other semiotic resources in texts.

### **2.5.2 Compositional meta-function in multimodality**

The quest to advance knowledge of meaning representations in communicating and comprehending multimodal composition patterns has led to questions such as how is meaning created in pictures and how can readers understand the basic structure of images in texts? These questions are partly answered by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006:3) when they proposed:

...a general grammar of contemporary visual design in “Western” cultures an account of explicit and implicit knowledge and practices around a resource, consisting of the elements and rules underlying a culture-specific form of visual communication.

This provides a foundation on which the social semiotics theory is further expounded. It also establishes frameworks in understanding how questions are asked and answered in research works within multimodal discourse analysis. As a source of knowledge in studying visual designs, the text makes it less challenging and easily possible in making sense of multiple meanings expressed in multimodal texts. The authors see images as important elements in communication contrary to Barthes’ (1967) submission that meanings of images always relate to and depend on verbal text. In response to Barthes’

assertion, Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), following Halliday's social semiotics, observe that visual designs perform three metafunctions: representational, interactive and compositional. These are equivalent terms to Halliday's ideational, interpersonal and textual meta-functions. Though Forceville (1999) opines that Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) do not provide enough ground in discussing how some modes relate to one another and how the knowledge can be used in discerning the meanings of specific images, their text provides useful insights and information in understanding visual elements in multimodal compositions. *Reading Images*, as claimed by the authors, is not an approach applicable in all contexts; it is more applicable in the Western tradition. Nevertheless, this study adopts their compositional metafunction framework to explore and critically assess the multimodal resources which are contextually deployed in constructing and communicating persuasive structures and messages in the selected data.

Multimodal composition depicts the various ways through which modes are combined in a text to convey meanings to its readers. It is used to create and promote ease of understanding of the meanings presented or represented in a text. Compositional meaning illustrates how multimodal elements are positioned, made prominent, connected and made whole in texts. Compositional metafunction explains how information value (left/right; given/new; top-bottom; real/ideal patterns), salience (degree of prominence determined by colour, font size, image and picture) and framing (connection and disconnection of visual and verbal elements) in written texts such as presidential election campaign advertisement in newspapers.

Multimodality as a field of study developed from SFL's notion of language as a product of social semiotic processes. These processes are shaped by the context and communication functions that language performs within a society (Halliday, 1978). Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), as a context-recognising approach, is used in this study to contrast contexts and explain the functions of grammatical expressions used in constructing persuasive functions in the selected data.

Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) adopted and modified Halliday's (1978) ideational, interpersonal and textual meta-functions to representational, interactive and compositional functions in describing meaning-making strategies through the integrated use of modes in texts. The compositional meta-function portrays the positional and structural relationships of multimodal elements in texts. How pictures and texts are

placed or positioned have meanings in composing a piece of advertisement. Their compositional meta-functions in visual communication and analysis are deployed in this study to identify and explain the structural relationships between linguistic and visual elements in the selected texts. Compositional meta-functions portray the positional and structural relationships of multimodal elements in the construction of meanings in texts. These compositional meanings are realisable through three interrelated systems which they divide into three aspects, namely, information value, salience and framing.

### **2.5.2.1 Information value**

Information value, according to Kress and van Leeuwen(1996), refers to compositional placement of elements in order of importance in a text. Horizontal patterning from left to right denotes the information value as: given and new. Then, there is the vertical dimension which is the top to bottom structure that depicts information dimension as ideal and real. The third dimension is the centre or margin.

Given means what is presented to the viewer as already known and familiar to the viewer. New is a meaning presented as something that is not yet known which needs a readers' attention. Ideal information often appears on top of a page. Real is a placed at the bottom of a text. Centre or margin is the information provided in the middle of a text or around it. Information value is the placement of various signs and how the placements can contribute to understanding meanings expressed or represented in a multimodal text. Information value explains how multimodal elements are positioned and distributed in a text to enhance readers' comprehension of meanings in texts. Though the principle has been criticised as a Western tradition, it can provide some insights for text- producers and text receivers' understanding of text-image combination in contemporary texts.

### **2.5.2.2 Salience**

In Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) compositional meta-function,the term, salience, describes anything that a reader may consider as prominent, more noticeable or conspicuous in a text. Salience refers to how a reader's attention is drawn to certain

elements in a text through foregrounding, backgrounding, bold or large font size, colour or layout. To Kress and van Leeuwen (2001), salience creates a hierarchy of importance among the elements used in a composition. Salience is a useful concept in identifying and explaining attention-catching phenomenon in a text. Through the use of big fonts and bright colours of different dimensions; salience contributes to making the core message visually stand out and other elements less important in a multimodal text.

In other words, salience depicts how text producers make the core message more prominent and render other elements less important through the use of feature-contrasting mechanisms like pictures, shapes, fonts and colours in different dimensions. In written texts, salience can be visual or linguistic. Linguistic salience concerns the deviational use of language to foreground certain meanings in written texts. Visual salience is achieved through the foregrounded deployment of colours, pictures, drawings, signs and symbols, logos, maps, fonts in different sizes, amplified shapes, complemented or structured messages in texts such as election campaign advertisements in the newspapers.

However, salience can be considered as a context-dependent phenomenon like information value because people are differently attracted to specific information based on their situations, needs or interests as presented or represented in texts. Nevertheless, salience can facilitate a quick recognition of image, personality or issue of political concern in political campaign advertisement in newspapers. When potential voters are made aware of the consequences of their choices, they are likely to contextually make smarter, well-informed and politically conscious voting decisions before elections.

### **2.5.2.3 Framing**

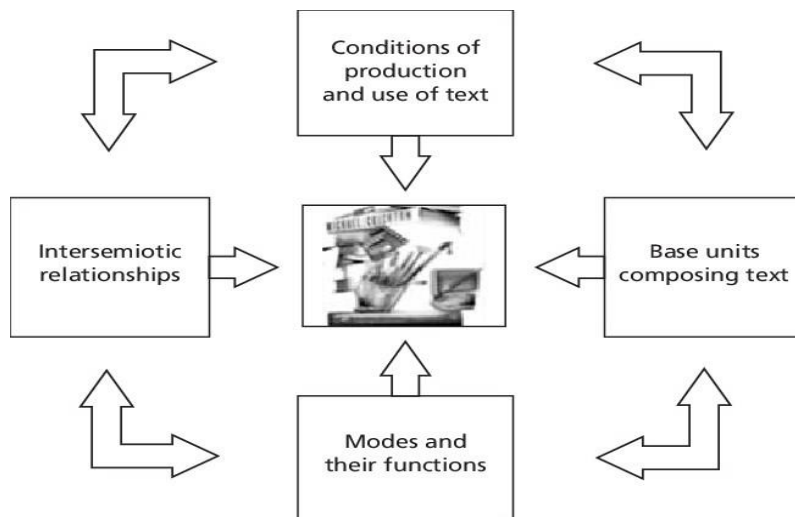
Framing in *Reading images* (1996) refers to how multimodal resources are brought together to create a meaningful unit. It is a compositional resource by which a text is given “internal unity, coherence; how elements in a visual composition may be seen as belonging together; how they are connected or disconnected”. Framing establishes the boundaries between elements by a variety of multimodal devices to create connections and contrasts through the use of colour, full stop, empty space and the like in texts. Framing was first introduced as a compositional element through which a text is given internal unity which means coherence how elements in a visual composition may be seen as belonging together; how they are connected or disconnected.

Framing establishes boundaries between elements by a variety of devices creating contrasts such as colour, full stop, empty space and so on. In summary, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) provide readers with various perspectives for interpreting persuasive directions in advertisements. For example, compositional metafunction can provide insights on how various multimodal ensembles are organised and positioned for the purposes of predicting persuasion direction in campaign advertisements.

Though Kress and van Leeuwen (1996/2006) provide valuable insights on the analysis of multimodal texts but their contributions were not without some criticisms. Forceville (1999), for instance, believes that Kress and van Leeuwen have not addressed how modes relate with one another, and how they can be used together in a multimodal text. Similarly, Patterson (2010:126) argues that “A picture is not an argument. It is the user of the image who argues, using it to illustrate or emphasise a point”. To him, what an image says is largely a matter of what a viewer brings to it in terms of contextual knowledge and, cultural or linguistic framing. Nevertheless, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) open a unique vista direction in multimodal analysis.

#### **2.5.2.4 Alvarez method of multimodal analysis**

Alvarez (2016) proposes four steps for the analysis of multimodal texts and communication in general. The first step in doing multimodal analysis, is to ask the questions: what are the conditions of production and use of the text under scrutiny, what is the text type and for whom is the text produced? The second step involves the identification of the base units in a text. A base unit, according to Bateman (2008:110), is “everything which can be seen on each page of a document”. The third step involves identifying the modes of communication in the multimodal composition. Three modes that should form the focus of attention are the linguistic, visual and spatial modes. The fourth step entails providing an answer to the question” ‘what meaning does the text make?, is focused. This is schematically represented thus:



**Figure 2.1: A four-step process in analysing a written text (Source: Alvarez, 2016)**

### **2.5.2.5 Critiques of multimodality**

Though Halliday's (1978) and Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996), to some extent, have become the normal and dominant starting points for multimodal analysis, scholars such as Ledin and Machin (2018:60) have expressed their dissatisfactions about this approach. To them, the approaches to multimodal analysis should be open to change and renewal. They believe that there are, indeed, different modes which serve different functions, and often operate in combination with other modes to generate new or no meaning. Moreover, in some instances, the approach seems to be too deterministic. They regard the model as a rigid formalistic approach to analysis that proposes a particular way of reading visual texts such as newspaper advertisements, in which the material at the left is known, whereas that at the right is new; the top is what might be the ideal, the bottom is what is the real and so on. These are not observed in all cases. Developing a universal theory in exploring meaning-making and representations in texts or how to evolve a general theory from an actual text is another unresolved issue in multimodality as a discipline.

This approach, according to Bazalgette and Buckingham (2013:98), "works perfectly well with the examples Kress and van Leeuwen provide, but it does not work when applied to other examples". In their opinion, a careful selection of examples to prove the case is characteristic of research on multimodality. They further argue that it is not clear whether what gets done using the approach is actually a process of multimodal analysis or purely one of labelling things through a set of pre-established categories; a sort of design of 'one-size-fits-all', especially in looking for how a text realises the types of meanings given by Halliday's meta-functions. Similarly, Bateman et al. (2017:84) assert that "images are tied to different social practices, and social knowledge which are not always evenly distributed". In other words, access to technological and social knowledge and practices vary from one culture or society to another, and they are often connected to power relations and social status.

However, multimodality is now more predominant and demonstrated in all spheres of human communication efforts due to new technological discoveries. The new discoveries have created new trends and practices of communication in some contemporary societies. The new trends and practices are not taught at many levels of Nigerian educational systems where literacy and uniformity of terminology can be

created and acquired. Nevertheless, multimodality has exposed the inadequacy of the old notion or definition of literacy as the ability to read and write. Mitchell (1985) predicts that communication problems of the twenty-first century will be about how to interpret images in texts. Liu (2013:1263) also observes that “we are now moving beyond the traditional comprehensive strategies that were word-dominated typographic era to a post-typographic era dominated by the visual images and multimodal texts”.

Liu (2013) therefore admonishes multimodal discourse analysts to be more careful on how to apply the SFL tools and concepts as models of analysis that can adequately identify or explain the material, social practice, nature and forms of communication that need to be critically analysed. Liu (2013) therefore admonishes multimodal discourse analysts to be more careful on how to apply the SFL tools and concepts as models of analysis that can adequately identify or explain the material, social practice, nature and forms of communication that need to be critically analysed. This requires looking at multimodal compositions from new perspectives in order to contextually unravel linguistic resources and structural patterns in texts as illustrated in presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers.

## **2.6 Persuasion**

Persuasion has long been studied by scholars in politics, philosophy, religion and language who seek to understand how people influence others in changing their attitudes, beliefs and behaviour (Aristotle 4<sup>th</sup> BC; Festinger, 1957; McGuire, 1961; Petty and Cacioppo, 1986; Perloff, 2003 among others). Multimodality is a key technique which facilitates readers’ easy and speedy comprehension, and interpretation of multiple messages communicated and represented in a persuasive text. To Golden et al., (2000), Aristotle’s treatise titled *Rhetoric* and published in the 4<sup>th</sup> BC was initially regarded as “the most significant work on persuasion”. On the other hand, Perloff (2003:22) observes that “Aristotle’s great insight was ... not designed to persuade people but to discover scientific principles of persuasion”. Aristotle proposed that persuasion had three main ingredients- ethos (the credible nature of the communicator); pathos (the emotional state of the audience) and logos (the logical arrangement of the message). He therefore believed that ‘the goal of rhetoric was not so much about finding the truth of a matter as convincing an audience in making best decisions about what matters of



concern to all in a communication process. He, therefore, developed the concepts of argumentation and the role of style as first scientific perspectives on persuasion.

According to Andersen (1971: 6), persuasion is “a human communication effort that is designed to influence others by modifying their beliefs, values, or attitudes. To him, it is a communication process through which a communicator seeks to elicit a desired response from an audience. It is, therefore, inherently a communication goal. Similarly, O’Keefe (1990) sees persuasion as a deliberate effort aimed at influencing other’s mental state through communication in a circumstance in which the audience has some measure of freedom. In other words, persuasion has a goal and intent to achieve the goal without any form of coercion. Communication is, therefore, used as a mechanism to achieve that goal.

To Perloff (2003), persuasion is a process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behaviour on a particular issue through the transmission of a message in an atmosphere of free choice. From these definitions, it can be inferred that persuasive communication is always planned and not imposed on the recipient through threat or coercion. It is, therefore, used anticipatorily to reduce resistance and freely allow the recipients to make decisions without coercion.

However, most of the previous works on presidential election campaign advertisements in the Nigerian newspapers reflect some controversial submissions on the advertisements’ persuasive effects. Generally, scholars such as Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995) and Franz and Ridout (2010) reveal that political advertisements in the media have temporary persuasive effects which are hardly absolute or measurable. Similarly, Felix and Olakunle (2017) argue that exposing voters to political advertising did not have any significant effect on their voting decisions during the 2015 general elections in Ondo State, Nigeria. However, findings from Okpara et al. (2016) suggest that there is a relationship between voters’ exposure to election campaign advertisements and their choices of candidates during elections.

### **2.6.1 Features of persuasion**

The nature, practice and act of persuasion have received scholars’ attention down the ages, from Aristotle in the 4<sup>th</sup> century till date. Persuasion, as a concept, has been viewed from different communicative, theoretical and disciplinary perspectives. Aristotle

described persuasion from a prescriptive and rhetorical angle as means of appealing to specific audience through ethos (speaker's credibility and being likeable), pathos (emotional dimension) and logos (logical presentation of ideas). Though these rhetorical principles are still relevant in communicating persuasive intentions, they cannot fully capture the diverse and multidisciplinary nature of persuasion as a multimodal and socio-political phenomenon in the contemporary communication landscape. Persuasion is supposed to be a liberal means of choosing appropriate verbal and visual means of communicating messages from an election campaign advertiser aimed at influencing, motivating, mobilising and persuading the electorate in making well-informed political decisions and preferences.

In agreement with O'Keefe (2002), persuasion is a cognitive phenomenon in which readers' intellectual ability and previous knowledge play significant roles in the process of understanding and interpreting implied messages in a given context. Knowing people's attitudes and concerns about an issue plays a crucial role in designing persuasive messages in texts. Political campaign advertisements in the newspapers are meant to provide persuasive information to inquisitive voters who are interested in making well-informed voting decisions before an election. Hence, persuasion is a product of a communicator's deliberate effort; it is not accidental in the process of soliciting readers' approval and support to accomplish a goal of mutual benefit. This tendency is more visible in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers.

Aside from this, persuasion is seen as a social and ever-changing phenomenon. With new discoveries, information technological devices and applications, the nature, practices and acts of persuasion in social and political interactions will continue to attract new interests aimed at generating effortless attention in readers. According to van Dijk (2006), persuasion involves interactions between the initiator of a persuasive communication and the audience who is the target of persuasion. However, understanding the production and interpretation of messages so initiated and delivered to the audience would be determined by the mutual understanding and the context in which it is produced. When a text producer strategically employs and integrates written words, pictures, colours, images and other multimodal resources in constructing meanings in texts such as election political campaign advertisements in specific contexts, communicating persuasive intentions and directions in such texts will be made easier and simple for the readers to understand.

## **2.6.2 Persuasion and Elaboration Likelihood Model**

Many theories have been propounded by scholars on persuasion. These include: social judgment theory (Sherif and Hovland, 1980), inoculation theory, narrative paradigm (Fisher 1985) and Petty and Cacioppo's Elaboration Likelihood Model (1986). Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) is a theory of attitude change. It was developed in 1986. According to Petty and Cacioppo (1986:124), "ELM is a general framework for organising, categorising and understanding the basic processes underlying the effectiveness of persuasive communications". These processes can be unravelled through multimodal configurations in persuasive texts like election campaign advertisements. To them, persuasion is a process through which the success of an influence depends largely on the way the receivers make sense of the messages. They present two divergent routes that can be used by an individual or a group of people to influence the thoughts or actions of others.

The first is the 'central route' that provides elaborate information, rational arguments, claims and evidence to support a particular conclusion. It must be noted that not all readers are capable of identifying or receiving centrally routed messages because it is based on two conditions:

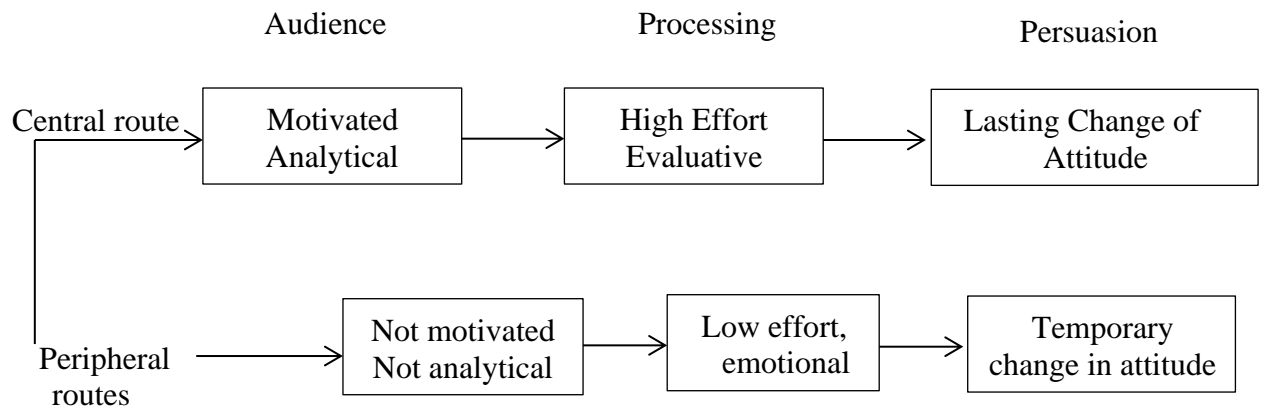
1. the audience must be highly motivated to process all of the information given; and
2. the audience must have the ability to understand the highly specific and intricate messages.

Secondly, a 'peripheral route' is used when an audience lacks the motivation or ability to interpret a given message. The persuader can use the peripheral route which relies on emotional involvement and other superficial means of persuasion like patriotism, character and being likeable, celebrity endorsement or public support. Peripheral route can work perfectly when the audience are committed, dedicated or loyal to a cause and it may produce a bandwagon effect.

The ELM as a theory of persuasion suggests that there are two different ways (central and peripheral) through which people can be persuaded. These depend on how interested they are in a particular issue or topic. For instance, the central route of persuasion describes a situation where people are strongly motivated and have time and ability to

pay attention and think about a particular issue before taking a decision. The issue must be relevant to the reader. But when people are stampeded into taking actions or when decisions are less important to them, they tend to be more easily persuaded by the peripheral route.

Nevertheless, ELM particularly focuses on how persuasive effects are contextually created in texts. In other words, the model depicts how contextual factors play significant roles in determining audience or readers' susceptibility to persuasive messages in texts such as presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. Persuasion is not about only the words used in a text. It contains varieties of contextual factors such as voters' vested interests, friendliness, aesthetic, and other factors bordering on interaction and issues of mutual benefits within a society. Moreover, ELM describes the basic structures and processes in persuasive discourse. The elaboration likelihood model is therefore used in this study to explain how persuasive effects are created in presidential election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers,



**Figure 2.2: Petty and Cacioppo's (1986) persuasive model**

1. **Central Route of Persuasion** – This is direct, logic-driven, data-supported and factual engagements in information processing. It is used when the audience is willing and analytical.
2. **Peripheral Route of Persuasion** – This is indirect; the audience associates emotionally with the positive characteristics of the text producer.

Whether central or peripheral, routes of persuasion in election campaign advertisements often reflect complex multimodal ensembles contextually and strategically deployed to influence voters' support or acceptance before an election. Hence, voters' interpretations of inherent complexities and communication strategies employed in creating the intended effects in campaign advertisements can be enhanced through knowledge and understanding of multimodal resources used in such texts. However, predicting persuasive trajectories in multimodal ensembles requires the understanding of the inter-semiotic relationships between texts and images, and the authorial persuasive intent and context behind or in such compositions. These direction indicators are suggestive or preemptive of selective inclusion or exclusion of multimodal resources employed in such texts. These resources can also be used to identify the structural commonalities between the projected contexts and routes of persuasion in election campaign advertisements.

### **2.6.3 Projection and persuasion**

Projection is one of the crucial keys in influencing and determining voting outcomes before and during an election. The ability to foresee likely happenings in the future can be of great importance in winning or losing an election. Projections can be described as what triggers the feeling of excitement in an entity that something is going to happen soon. This reflects Halliday's (1994:110) notion of material process of 'doing' .in which 'some entity 'does' something "o some other entity for something to happen to that entity. Election campaign advertisements exemplify a physical design aimed at motivating, mobilising and persuading an electorate in promoting efforts at making things happen or countering what will not make things happen in the future and doing something about it now. Whatever is happening now, however, is not static. Based on this knowledge, advertisers often vary and frame issues to anticipatorily persuade voters to either maintain or change a socio-political landscape of a society. Anticipation, as a strategy or a phenomenon, has attracted more attention of different scholars who make

anticipation one of the major issues in their works. Wilss and Jorg define anticipation as “prediction ... of source text units before their actual utterance” (Jorg, 1995:3).

Projection is used in determining the choice and integrated use of language and image in the construction of meanings, persuasive directions and information in election campaign advertisements. However, it can also be emphasised that political campaign advertisements are produced from anticipated perspectives in order to facilitate the speedy comprehension of multiple persuasive messages often communicated in such texts. Political campaign advertisers often make efforts at appealing to the electorate to seek support from voters based on contextual calculations of the needs and expectations of voters before an election. Candidate’s image creation, positive positioning and unquestioned acceptance in an ever-changing political and electoral circumstance can promote a text producer’s and readers’ understanding of the dynamic nature and construction of anticipated contexts in political campaign advertisements.

Text producers often use previous historical information to reflect what an audience anticipates or intends to know through linguistic and extra-linguistic means. Besides, projection is often triggered in words or word combinations) which serve as cues. These cues are of two types- co-textual cues and extra-linguistic cues. Projection can be structured and explained as combinatorial configuration of a top down strategy and bottom up strategy. The former can help the interpreter to understand the contents of a text before the conclusion while the latter can serve as a way of controlling attention. Similarly, combining linguistic and extra-linguistic resources guarantees effective interpretation in written texts such as election campaign advertisements in the print media for persuading and mobilising the readers.

Persuasion and mobilisation constitute the central foci in election campaign advertisements based on commonly shared interests, feelings and facts. These often inform advertiser’s polarised production perspectives in election campaign advertisements aimed at consolidating supporters’ acceptance and preventing likely defeat or eliminating opponents’ offensive strategies. Countering opponents’ tactics often involves identifying their strengths and weaknesses in advance, in order to appropriately deal with them, before they create any damage. Projection can be a plan of action or a strategy that can be used in preventing likely negative future events. As a

defense mechanism therefore, politicians often deploy projection as a calculated attempt at preventing anticipated defeat or any other undesirable outcome before an election.

Moreover, people tend to make predictions according to what information they have obtained through listening or reading texts as election campaign advertisements. Such information could be used as evidence to support whether what has been predicted through reading is basically right or wrong so that, at the end, the reader will not feel frustrated if such evidence should appear too late. In other words, the confirmation of information in a projected context is possible when it can be validated through the appropriate interpretation of meaning-making resources presented in a campaign advertisement. From this perspective, it could be deduced that projection in election campaign advertisement must reflect context-determined discourse issues and multimodal resources to effectively achieve communicative and persuasive intentions in such texts.

#### **2.6.4 Persuasion in election campaign advertisements**

To Perloff (2003:34), political persuasion refers to a “process in which communicators try to convince other people to change their attitudes or behavior regarding a political issue through message in an atmosphere of free choice”. It involves the employment of the media in informing and transmitting ideas to voters before an election. Persuasive messages in today’s election campaign advertisements in the newspapers are presented in colours, images and written words. Readers who wish to appropriately understand and correctly interpret such messages need to understand the anticipatory nature of the contexts which conditioned choice and selection of multimodal elements used in communicating persuasive meanings in such texts.

Persuasive messages in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers are products of contextually projected thoughts dynamically presented through the integrated deployments of multimodal resources in order to achieve predetermined persuasive intentions. Hence, in today’s digital environment, multimodal discourse studies will continue to yield new insights and ideas in promoting better and deeper understanding of the complex and dynamic persuasive messages in political campaign advertisements in the print media. Persuasive messages, especially in election campaign advertisements in the mass media, are not limited to overt statements; they are also used to trigger emotions such as fear, love, happiness and hatred. These emotions are



anticipatorily and contextually created through words, symbols and images to influence people's thinking about issues concerning their welfare and public policies. Aside from these, new digital forms of media have revolutionised the way people access and assess *political* information. Election campaign advertisers exploit this knowledge to become more ingenious and innovative in anticipatorily and contextually composing complex and persuasive messages which are simultaneously conveyed written words and images. The visual and verbal elements in such texts perform supportive roles in guiding the readers to align with advertiser's persuasive intentions and conclusions. These, however, require readers' acquisition of multimodal literacy in order to facilitate the making of better and well-informed voting decisions at the polls.

### **2.6.5 Persuasive structure**

Persuasive structure defines the linguistic constructions used in convincing and influencing voters' decisions before an election. Some of these strategies include:

#### **2.6.5.1 Question-quotation as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement**

Questions often play significant roles in persuasion. However, little attention has been paid to its usage and significance as persuasive and cohesive devices in the construction of election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. Question can be used to alter what is believed or understood by others. Quotation refers to a statement that is reproduced word-for-word, as it appears in the original text and differentiated by single or double quotation marks. Text producers often use quotation marks to refer to statements from opponents, experts or celebrities who agree with their points of view in order to achieve credibility and better persuasive intention. It is a question that does not require an answer. Rhetorical question is used to lead a reader to a sensible and logical conclusion in multimodal compositions. It can also be used as a persuasive strategy when an important topic of great concern is being debated. Questions do more than being used to persuade an audience, to provoke critical thinking or direct readers' attention to hitherto unknown or important issue; questions may perform other functions such as supporting a cause, creating an interest and prompting readers to actions. Questions are often deployed to solicit acceptance, convey information or, suggest or shape answers. Rhetorical questions, for instance, do not require any answer but can be used for persuasive emphasis or effect in election campaign advertisements.

### **2.6.5.2 Request-explication as persuasive structure in election campaign advertisement**

Contemporary election campaign advertisements in the newspapers often reflect request and explication formats in demanding for readers' attention or to influence their voting action. The demand could be expanded with detailed justification, through multimodal resources, for easy understanding or to induce readers' compliance with advertiser's point of view. Request-explication persuasive structure can be used in election campaign advertisements' fund-raising appeals.

### **2.6.5.3 Problem-solution as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement**

Politics is about identifying socio-political problems and making predictive assumptions in providing solutions to such problems for a better society. Election campaign advertisers oftentimes deploy problem-solution structures to create awareness or provoke critical thinking in readers in order to influence their voting decisions before an election. Some of the problems often featured in election campaign advertisements include leadership tussles, economic crisis, insecurity, poverty and unemployment and they are mutually or commonly experienced by people within a society. By identifying and focusing on a discourse issue, a political party may appear to be genuinely concerned about proffering solutions to problems through the use of facts and emotional appeals. This can engender emotional attachment in readers, and, by so doing, influence their voting decisions.

### **2.6.5.4 Question-answer as persuasive structure in election campaign advertisement**

As stated in 2.7.3 above question has persuasive power. It is used to interrogate or elicit information from a respondent. An answer is described as a reaction or response to a question or statement. It can be used as a form of defence to exonerate oneself from an accusation or criticism. An answer can be viewed as solution to a problem. When a question combines with an answer, feelings are likely to be generated, especially in provoking critical thinking and emphasising a consistent answer to a repeated question in written texts.

Conceptual representations are also reflected in persuasive structures in request – explication, problem-solution, quotation-question and question-answer patterns as identified above.

## **2.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has detailed a review of related conceptual and previous empirical works. It has also focused on context types, discourse issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures in political campaign advertisements, and the theoretical framework. The next chapter will focus on the research techniques adopted in carrying out this study. It will also explain the procedures involved in the collection, organisation and analysis of the selected data.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Chapter overview**

This chapter deals with the research techniques adopted in carrying out this study. It explains the procedures involved in the collection, organisation and analysis of the selected data. The chapter also provides the background to the theoretical approach used in this study.

#### **3.1 Research design**

Descriptive research describes how contextual knowledge could determine the choice and selection of multimodal resources used in presenting discourse issues and constructing persuasive structures in presidential election campaign advertisements of the two major and most popular parties in Nigeria, APC and PDP. The advertisements, published in three Nigerian newspapers in 2015 and 2019, were purposively selected as contextual reflections of the transitional and historical uniqueness of the period. The collected data are dynamic, qualitative and non-numerical. They are therefore used to instantiate, illuminate and explore the contextually predetermined relationship between multimodal choices and compositional structures deployed in creating persuasive effects in election campaign advertisements in the selected newspapers. This conforms with Descombe (2010), assertion that qualitative research is often used to suggest possible relationships, causes, effects and dynamic processes in texts.

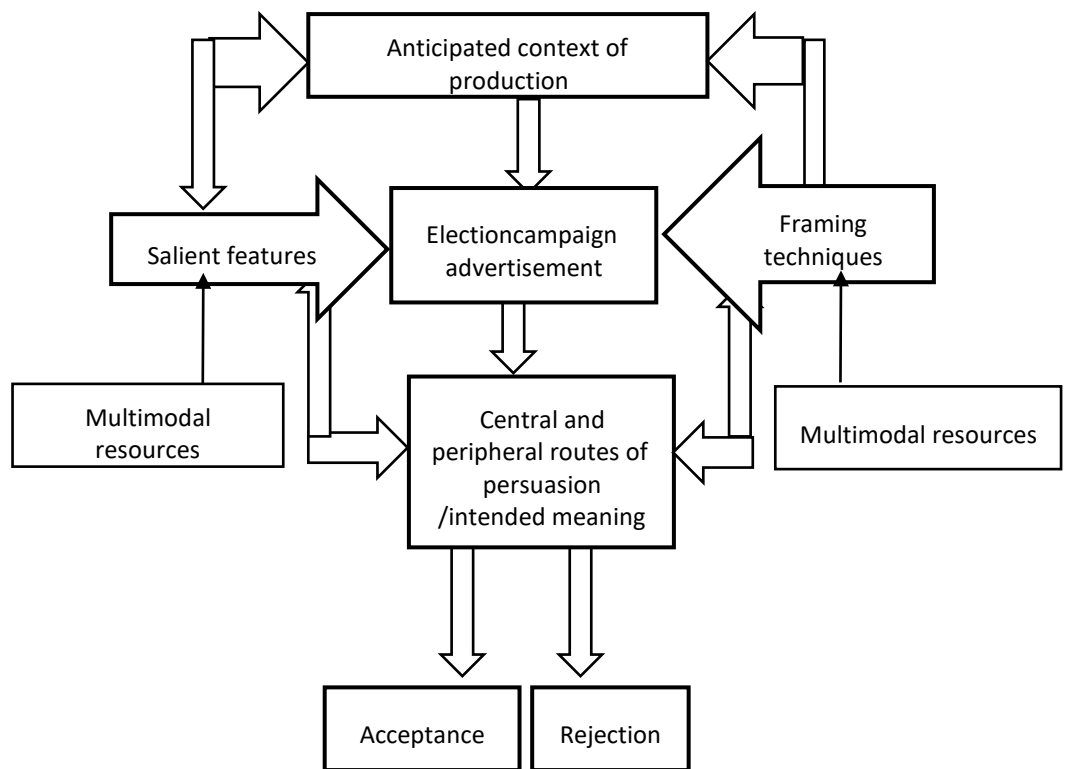
### **3.2 Sampling procedure**

Purposive sampling procedure was adopted in selecting the data for this study. This was used in order to identify the unique and specific persuasive patterns and variations in the collected data. Three Nigerian newspapers were selected using quota sampling (two newspapers from the Lagos/Ibadan axis (*Punch* and *Nigerian Tribune*) and one from the Kaduna/Abuja axis (*Daily Trust*). Quota sampling was used to select forty full page colour advertisements from the newspapers (10 from *Daily Trust* and 15 each from *Punch* and *Nigerian Tribune*). The data were collected and arranged in order to examine contextually determined multimodal resources used in constructing persuasion in the selected data.

### **3.3 Analytical /conceptual framework**

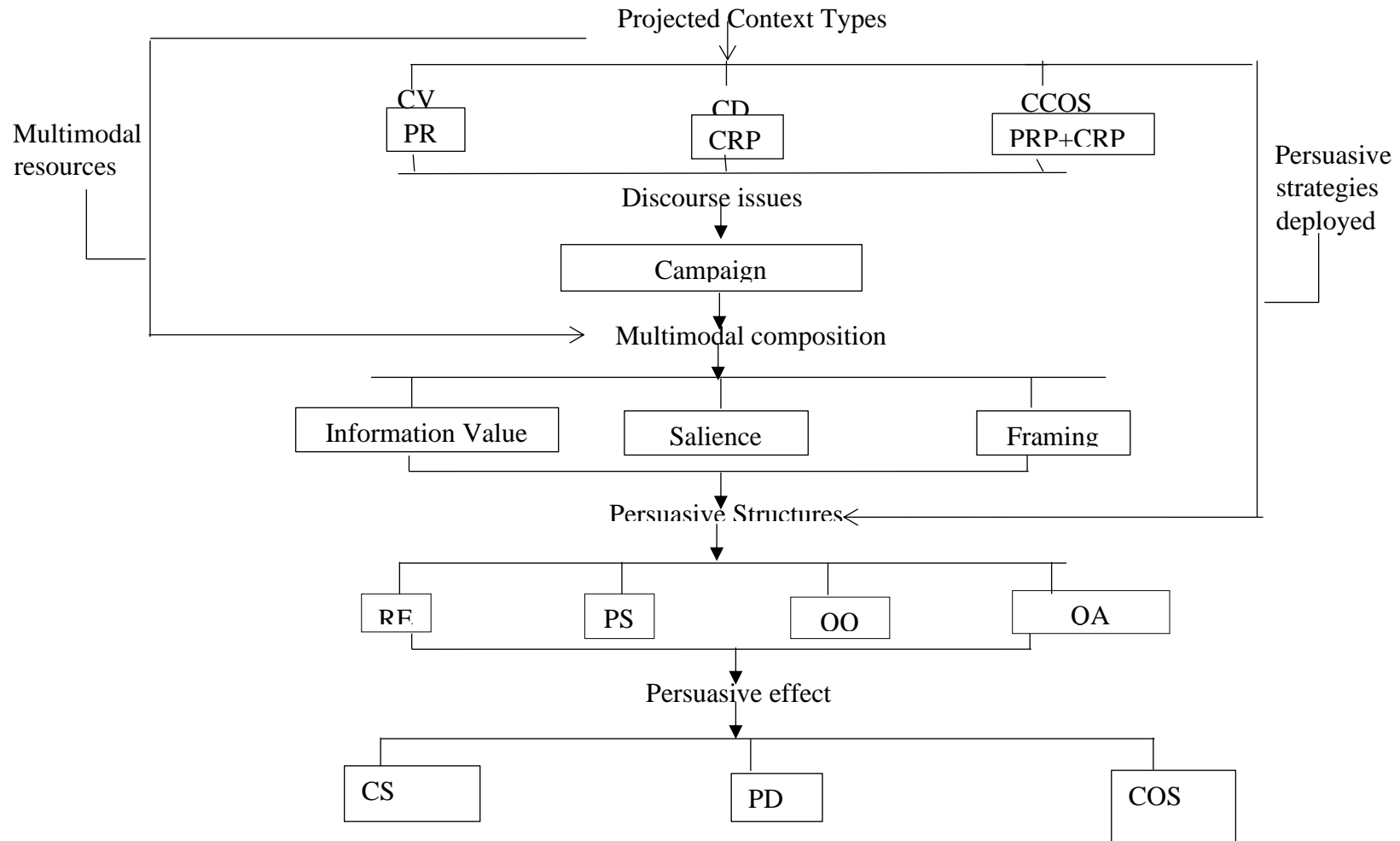
This study combined Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) compositional meta-function in analysing the visual elements, and Alvarez's modified model of multimodal analysis to describe condition of text-production with Petty and Cacioppo's Elaboration Likelihood Model (1986) to identify persuasive strategies deployed in creating discourse issues and intentions in the selected campaign advertisements. This analytical plan as diagrammatically represented in Fig.3.1 below, is an essential part of the conceptual framework as presented in Fig, 3.2.

The conceptual framework details contextual representations and relationships among the various concepts deployed in analysing the data selected for this research. The diagram in Fig.3.2, illustrates context as major source from which discourse issues emerge and a determining factor in the selection and choice of multimodal resources, like words, images and colours, that are deployed for persuasive intentions in political election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. The context-determined issues and multimodal resources are used to create persuasive effects such as consolidating voters' support preventing envisaged defeat and anticipating opponent's strategies before an election.



**Figure 3.1: Analytical framework for the study (modified version of Alvarez's (2016) steps in multimodal analysis)**

### CONTEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS FOR PERSUASIVE EFFECTS IN CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS



**Figure 3.2:** A diagram describing context as the foundation on which meaning representations and designs are built.

Source: Researcher,2021.

### **3.4 Chapter summary**

This chapter has explained the research design, data collection procedure, the sampling technique and procedure for the data analysis. The data were purposively selected from the two major political parties' presidential election campaign advertisements published in 2015 and 2019 in three newspapers representing Abuja-Kaduna and Lagos- Ibadan axes. Descriptions and diagrams detailing the structures of the analytical and conceptual frameworks adopted for this investigation are included in this section. The next chapter will focus on the analysis and interpretations of the selected data.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS**

#### **4.0 Chapter overview**

This chapter examines the projected contexts and discourse issues, and the multimodal resources with, and persuasive structures portrayed in the 2015 and 2019 APC's and PDP's political campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers. Insights are drawn from Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996), multimodality theory, Alvarez's (2016) model of multimodal analysis, complemented by Petty and Cacioppo's (1986) Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM). The identified projected contexts will be first presented and followed by the analysis of the discourse issues and multimodal resources jointly used in constructing and conveying persuasive meanings in the selected data.

#### **4.1 Projected contexts in Nigerian election campaign advertisements**

Contexts provide conjectural representations of discourse issues, choice of multimodal resources and persuasive structures in the 2015 and 2019 APC's and PDP's presidential election campaign advertisements in Nigerian newspapers.. In this analysis, three projected context types were identified in the selected data. These comprised Context of Victory (CV), Context of Defeat (CD) and Context of Countering Opponent's Strategies (CCOS). Each of them is defined, characterised by routes of persuasion and other features as illustrated below.

##### **4.1.1 Context of Victory (CV)**

Context of victory (CV) involves low elaboration, credibility issues, positive self-presentation, emotional inducement, celebrity endorsement and peripheral route of persuasion. The campaign advertisements in Plates 4.1; 4.2 and 4.3 are produced in projected contexts of victory that indicates APC's assumption of winning the 2015

**BUHARI OSINBAJO  
FUND-RAISING**

**CHANGE begins with democratizing campaign fund-raising**

Kindly support our drive for **CHANGE** through any of the following:

- 1 Bank Payments:** Make payments to **Buhari/Osinbajo** campaign fund account **APCGMBPYO** using the customised tellers at any branch of the following banks:
- 2 E-Transactions:** Online donations can be made by logging on to [www.apcgmbpyo.org](http://www.apcgmbpyo.org). Follow the instructions on the site. Cards accepted are:
- 3 Premium SMS:** Send **APC** to **'35350'** on all networks to make a N100 donation. You can donate as many times as possible.
- 4 Ring-Tones:** Download **APCGMBPYO** ringtone to make a N100 donation on all networks.
- 5 One Card (Scratch Card):** Purchase a **'ONE CARD'** scratch card from any of your recharge card vendors and dial **\*979\*22\*PIN Number #** and press send to donate.

Cards are available in denominations of N100, N200, N500, N750, N1,000 & N1,500.

For more information to donate, text; (1) Dapo - 0805 222 2236, (2) Najua - 0802 200 0223 (3) Femi - 0817 451 6679 or please visit [www.apcgmbpyo.org](http://www.apcgmbpyo.org)

**Vote All APC Candidates For Change**

**At The Forthcoming Elections On Feb. 14th & Feb. 28th, 2015.**

**Plate 4.1: Projected context of victory**

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Wednesday, 21 Jan., 2015:4



# A New Nigeria is possible.

One of the reasons for the postponement of the elections, is to make Buhari/Osinbajo Presidential Campaign run out of funds. Since the PDP and its candidate have unfettered access to the state treasury, they will always have billions to spend. To make sure our March4Buhari is real, we call on Nigerians and all supporters of GMB and Osinbajo, to continue to donate to the Buhari Campaign funds, so as to save our country from mindless looting and incompetent leadership. We thank our existing donors and we appeal to you for more donations till we achieve victory.

## 2 Ways to Support Change

You can make this possible by supporting the Presidential Campaign Fund of GMB. Buy the Buhari Support Organisations scratch cards or donate directly to the BSO bank account, which has GMB as the Sole Signatory.

### 1. Support by buying BSO cards:-



### 2. Support by Online or Cash Transfer to:-

Acct Name	Buhari Support Organisations
Banker	First Bank Plc
Acct No	2026724405
Sort Code	011150000

OR

You can also donate online via [www.quickteller.com/buharisupport](http://www.quickteller.com/buharisupport) & [www.buharisupport.org](http://www.buharisupport.org).

For Contact and Further Enquiries;  
Call 0802 825 24 24, 0909 963 60 33, 0805 941 09 81.

Support Buhari/Osinbajo.  
**Vote for Change.**

**Plate 4.2 : Projected context of victory**

Source: *Daily Trust*, Monday, 23 Feb., 2015:11

presidential election in Nigeria due to the credibility of its presidential candidate and the envisaged popular support of voters before the election.

The political landscape before the 2015 presidential election was characterised by multifaceted socio-political problems including unethical funding of political campaign activities. The All Progressives Congress (APC) utilise the opportunity as means of democratising and changing the situation by appealing for donation from all interested members of the public in funding the party's political campaign activities. Change as a concept is differently emphasised and differently presented in the selected newspapers .In Plate 4.1, it is expressed as,“CHANGE begins with democratizing campaign fund-raising,” and “Vote All APC Candidates for Change.” This is differently repeated in *Daily Trust* , in Plate 2, as “A New Nigeria is possible” and “2 Ways to support Change.”

The APC candidates in 2015 saw themselves as agents of change with the belief that many of the electorate saw them likewise. The advertisements in the two newspapers display the peripheral routes of persuasion in the use of positive attributes of the APC candidates. The two advertisements, therefore, display a peripheral route of persuasion that does not require reader's serious evaluation efforts in determining the text producer's communicative intention which is to engender and strengthen supporters' loyalty before the election. Similarly, CV is glaringly depicted in the New Year congratulatory message directed to “the President in waiting.” in Plate 4.3 .The advertisement exhibited peripheral route of persuasion by envisioning APC's victory even before the 2015 presidential election.

14 DAILY TRUST  
Wednesday, January 1, 2015

## HAPPY NEW YEAR MESSAGE

(1st JANUARY, 2015)

*A Congratulatory Message to the President in waiting*




GREAT MEN

GREAT TEAM, CHANGE AGENTS!

*The generality of Nigerians are anxiously waiting for the election day to pass their joyful judgement of a victorious change.*

*We are sure you are the winning team*

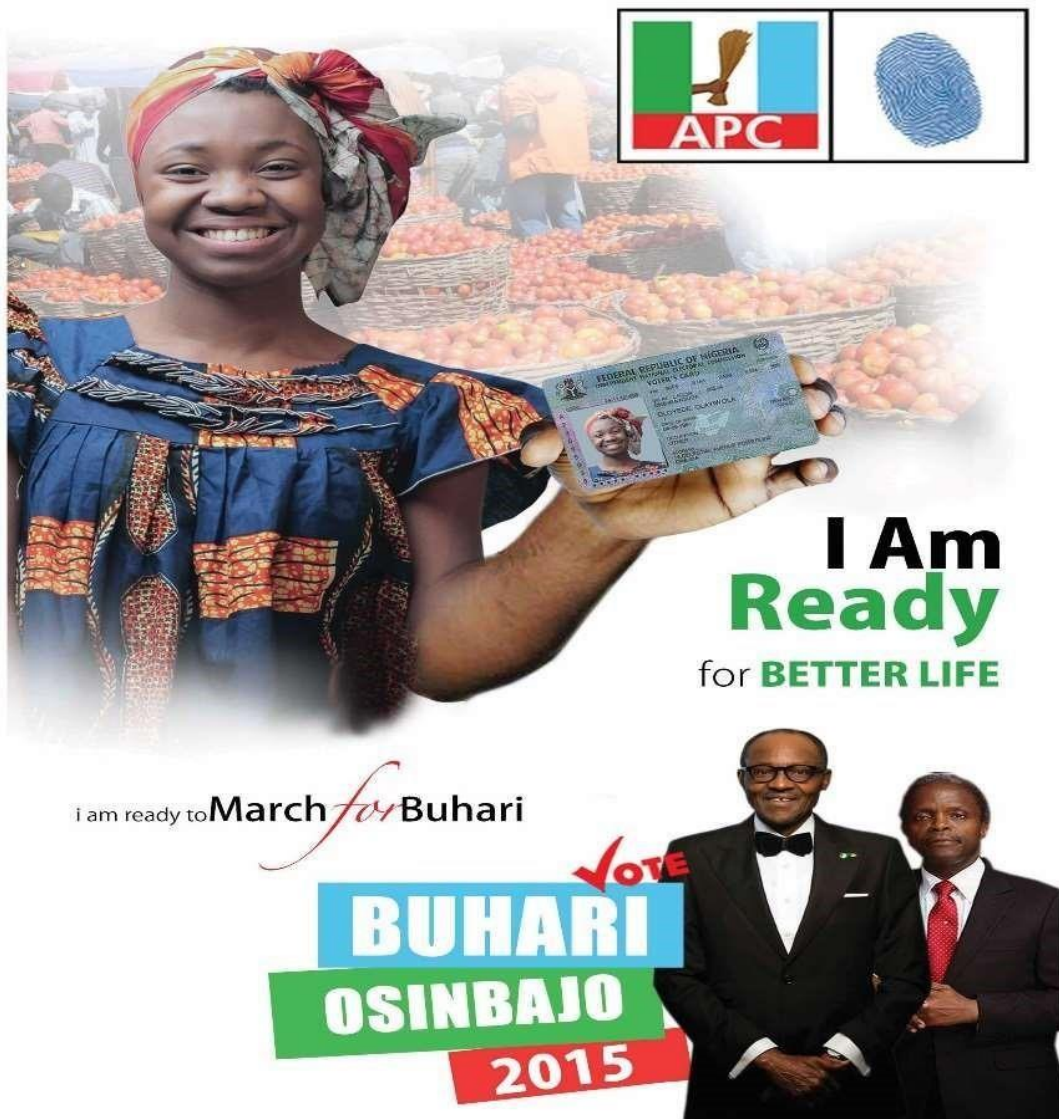
**Signed**

**Buhari / Osinbajo 2015 Victory Group**

Plate 4.3 : Projected context of victory

Source: Daily Trust, Wednesday, 21 Jan., 2015:4

In Plate 4.3, projecting the context of victory was expressed in a dual context of congratulating the candidates for making it to another year, and in celebrating the triumph of APC's candidate in 2015 based on certainty that the party would be victorious in the election. The pictures of the two APC's candidates, especially with their corporate mode of dressing, corroborated their eagerness to work. Also, the smiling faces, as portrayed in the advertisements, gave the impression of self-assured victory in the election. Hence, the composition does not involve any complexity in the presentation of the candidates as great men. Hencece ,the advertisement demonstrates a peripheral route of persuasion through likeability of the presidential candidate.



**Plate 4.4 : Projected context of victory**

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Tuesday, Mar. 24, 2015:11

Also, the advertisement in Plate 4.4 depicts the projected context of victory based on the assumed acceptance of the candidates by the majority of the electorate and confidence in the APC's candidates' competence. The picture of a card-carrying lady with avowed commitment to "march for Buhari" in the 2015 presidential election corroborates this observation. The picture of the lady takes a substantial portion of the advertisement that indirectly highlights General Buhari's and Professor Osinbajo's leadership qualities before the 2015 Nigeria's presidential election. The advertisement in Plate 4.4 therefore focuses on the female voter's endorsement and preparedness as stated in : "I am Ready for BETTER LIFE", and in the displaying of her voter's card. On the other hand, the readiness for the task ahead of the candidates is depicted through their corporate mode of dressing. The route of persuasion in the advertisement is peripheral framed in statement and explication pattern. The persuasion trajectory is based on hope for a better future rather than any rational or logical presentation of issues.

#### **4.1.2 Context of Defeat (CD)**

Context facilitates assumption formulation and reformulation of preventive strategies meant to prevent likely defeat before an election. CD, in the selected data, exhibits the central route of persuasion which entails high elaboration and logical presentation of facts aimed at provoking critical thinking in readers. Both PDP and APC appropriately deployed CD as challenger and as incumbent party respectively. This context type is exemplified with both Plates 4.5 and 4.6 below.



PUNCH



# SHINE YOUR EYES

What 2019 means to us

Let's continue on this Pathway to Growth



**Buhari // Osinbajo**

**ONWARD 2019** >>

#happynewyear #hny #BeInvolved

*This message is from*  
**Build The Future**  
 Build The Future... Build The Youth... Build Nigeria



[Future Builders](#)
[BuildTheFutureNG](#)
[BTFNigeria](#)
[buildthefuture\\_ng](#)
[www.buildthefuture.ng](#)

**Plate 4.5 : Projected context of defeat**

*Sources: Punch, Tuesday, Jan.1, 2019:33; Daily Trust, Jan.1, 2019:15*

The text is produced by some supporter(s) code-named ‘Build the Future’ in supporting the incumbent’s re-election before the 2019 Nigeria’s presidential election on the platform of APC. This was done in an anticipated context of defeat characterised by a strong request for voters’ continuous support. It was created at a festive period, as indicated by the use of firework in blue background and the hashtags #Happy new year, #hny and #Be involved, and served as a soft reminder to the APC supporters. Plate 4.5 contextually reflects the multimodal composition pattern of command in form of polite request and admonition. The information value is on unity as expressed in the word, ‘us’. This observation is supported by placing the two candidates’ pictures side-by-side at the centre of the text to signify togetherness.

The text is multimodally foregrounded through the use of large size pictures of the candidates that are centrally positioned in the text to attract readers’ attention. The text is made cohesive and coherent by the use of subjectless expressions like ‘Shine your eyes’ and ‘Let’s continue on pathway to growth.’ This is achieved through written words, colours contrast, logos, pictures, hashtags and an arrow that symbolises forward movement. It indicates a timely reminder for supporters to get involved in the process of winning the election. The text is personality and party-based as depicted through the pictures of the candidates and the logos. It, therefore, typifies a peripheral route of persuasion which does not provoke critical thinking, comparison or logical presentation of facts.

Similarly, the APC campaign advertisement in Plate 4.6 projects CD too as a strategy to remind the readers of President Buhari’s honesty and trustworthiness in handling matters of the state, particularly in a re-election –seeking situation.

# Beyond the Fight Against Corruption...

Buhari Runs a Compassionate Government, and Intends to Continue to do so.



No longer shall illegal flows of massive sums leave these shores to finance other economies. While our people languish in poverty, we effectively give financial aid to nations that is not justified. I am sick of this. It must stop. The money saved will finance jobs, health care and the provision of social safety net for the needy, weak and vulnerable of our land...

We will be a compassionate government, for out of compassion arises the truest forms of wealth and progress a society can attain.

- MUHAMMADU BUHARI

**He is trusting and can be trusted. His love for Nigeria is unquestionable.**

**THE TIME IS NOW...**

## **Buhari / Osinbajo**

**CHANGE IS A PROCESS. BUHARI IS ON COURSE.**




**Plate 4.6: Projected context of defeat**

Source: *Punch* Thursday, Feb. 14, 2019:18

The advertisement is contextually predetermined and designed to prevent the likelihood of rejection. It is also to endear the personality of the president to the electorate and to influence voters' support for the APC's candidates before the Nigeria's 2019 presidential election. Producing political campaign advertisements in the newspapers involves thoughtful and complex integrated processes of choosing and deciding the best multimodal compositional patterns that would timely and simultaneously communicate meanings and persuasive messages using variegated modes. Plate 4.6 is contextually structured to depict the fighting spirit in President Buhari and what he was capable of doing apart from fighting against corruption. Ensuring continuity in office cannot be achieved without putting up a fight as implicitly indicated in the stance portrayed through the use of a clenched fist in the picture. The picture takes a larger part of the advertisement in matching action with words. His avowed intention to remain in office till 2023 is also denoted in the verbless and elliptical construction, which to Halliday and Hassan's (1976), denotes that something is left unsaid or that a word or a phrase has been omitted. The omission is corrected in the sentence, "Buhari Runs a Compassionate Government, and Intends to Continue to do so".

#### **4.1.3 Context of Countering Opponents' Strategies (CCOS)**

Projected context of countering opponent's tactics depicts comparative listing of achievements and change of slogan to reflect new realities. CCOS often centres on critiquing opponent's unfavourable stances on recurring economic and socio-political issues in the past and possibly forewarning readers in order to prevent any re-occurrence in the future. Through critical and comparative listing of the two parties' presidential candidates achievements, the advertiser deploys both peripheral and central routes of persuasion to communicate the intended message of influencing voters' decisions before the election.




# Facts Speak


Compare & Contrast

<b>Jonathan</b>	<b>Buhari</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Upholds the rule of law.</li> <li>✓ Committed to credible elections.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ Truncated democratic progress by suspending the 1979 constitution.</li> <li>✗ Jailed several Nigerians without fair-hearing.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Signed the Freedom of Information bill into law.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ Promulgated Decree 4 of 1984 to gag the press</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Established 14 new universities in two years.</li> <li>✓ Initiated the Almajiri system of education.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ Never built a single school for the educational advancement of the country.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Reviving the railway system.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ Scrapped the Lagos Metroline Project at a loss of \$78 million of taxpayers' money.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Unbundled the power sector with policies that encourage massive private sector investment.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ NIL</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Declined Nigeria's food import by \$5.3 billion.</li> <li>✓ Food production expanding by an additional 21 million metric tons</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ NIL</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Revamping Automobile Industry.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ NIL</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Re-equipping and re-positioning the Nigerian Armed Forces.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✗ NIL</li> </ul>

*"I am convinced that I have kept my pact with Nigerians, and it is now time to look to the future. With your tremendous support, we have collectively done so much in the last three and half years, but to take our country to the next level, there is still more to be done."*

— President Goodluck Jonathan. GCFR





Vote right, Vote PDP

Peoples Democratic Party... power to the people

www.peoplesdemocraticparty.com.ng

www.facebook.com/page/Official-Peoples-Democratic-Party-PDP-Nigeria

Touching Lives. Transforming Nigeria

**Plate 4.7: Context of countering opponent's strategy**

*Source: Daily Trust Monday, Jan. 19, 2015:51*

The PDP's advertisement in Plate 4.7 was produced in the projected context of promoting voters' rejection of the APC's presidential candidate during the 2019 election. By comparatively using a tabular format, PDP briefly summarises some of the successes it has recorded on education, economy, security, infrastructural and constitutional developments; this is done against the political antecedent of the opponent for readers' appraisal and consideration. The advertisement was produced in a projected context of preempting opponent's tactics through the comparative listing and contrasting of previous performances of the two major candidates before the 2015 elections. The advertisement, therefore, structurally indicates both parties' successes and failures in order to provoke critical and logical thinking in the readers. This trend is also repeated in Plate 4.8.

## UNCOVERING PDP'S GRAND DESIGN TO SCUTTLE ELECTIONS

### WHILE:

ABUJA PEACE ACCORD AS ENDORSED BY  
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES FOR 2015  
ELECTIONS: AND US SECRETARY OF STATE, EU AND ECOWAS  
ELECTION MONITORS  
HAVE SPOKEN IN FAVOUR OF HOLDING A FREE, FAIR AND  
CREDIBLE ELECTIONS AS SCHEDULED

### THE PDP IS BUSY:

INFLUENCING OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES TO THREATEN BOYCOTT  
OF THE ELECTIONS;

MOBILIZING THE UNEMPLOYED YOUTH AND STUDENTS TO ABUJA  
FOR MASS PROTESTS AGAINST THE INEC TO POSTPONE ELECTIONS

MANIPULATING PDP COUNCILLORS TO SABOTAGE INEC

BRIBING KEY STAKEHOLDERS TO SCUTTLE THE ELECTION

INFILTRATING INEC ICT DEPARTMENT TO HACK ELECTION RECORDS

NIGERIANS ARISE AND SAY NO TO THIS DEVILISH INTENTION AS IT IS  
A RECIPE FOR CHAOS.

VOTE BUHARI! VOTE APC!! VOTE FOR CHANGE!!!



Plate 4.8 : Context of countering opponent's strategy

Source: Daily Trust, Tuesday, Feb. 1, 2015:15

Furthermore, Plate 4.8, titled 'UNCOVERING THE PDP'S GRAND DESIGN TO SCUTTLE THE ELECTIONS' was produced in the projected context of countering opponent's strategies. This APC's advertisement in the *Daily Trust* was intended to reveal the opponent's unethical tactic aimed at undermining the election process. The strategy was also used as a tool in weakening the strength and exposing the bad sides of an opponent in order to gain a competitive advantage during an election.

Countering an opponent's strategy involves the use of the simultaneous discourse marker, "while", to comparatively reveal what the opposition party was doing contrary to what was agreed upon when signing peace accord with the external monitoring group. Countering an opponent's tactic is a serious issue. This observation must have informed the production of the advertisement without including the picture of any of the candidates. Only the slogan and the logo were used as means of identifying the advertiser.

The All Progressives Party as a challenger in the 2015 electioneering period used the advertisement as a persuasive strategy to discredit PDP and present it as an irresponsible party. The advertisement was used to provide a timely warning to all stakeholders not to take the risk of voting for PDP during the election. It also indicates the projected Context of Countering Opponent's Strategy (CCOS) in reducing the PDP's campaign and persuasive effectiveness through the central route of persuasion.

#### **4.2 Context and discourse issues in presidential election campaign advertisements**

Context is one of the key determining factors in the creation of discourse issues in presidential election campaign advertisements. It can facilitate the production, interpretation and comprehension of discourse issues presented in campaign advertisements. Context and discourse are interrelated; discourse reflects and elaborates the context in which it is produced. Context enhances readers' understanding of different shades of meanings communicated in a discourse. Discourse, on the other hand, reflects the variety of existing socio-political issues within a society. Seven discourse issues were identified in the data purposively selected for this study. These include leadership attributes, unemployment, insecurity, poverty reduction, economic problems, education and infrastructures. The issues were notably and differently represented and repeated in some of the selected newspapers.



### **4.2.1 Leadership issues**

Leadership is one of the variables and most important aspect of political discourse such as presidential election campaign advertisements. This confirms J. Maxwell assertion, quoted in Plate 4.9, which states that ‘Everything rises and falls with leadership’. Discourse issues in political election campaign advertisement in newspapers often centre on leadership, personality, party and policy. Leadership refers to in-built ability of a person to influence or guide others within a group based on recognised and acceptable traits in such person. Personality attributes such as persistent display of intelligence, moral uprightness and circumstantial demands often combined in creating acceptable leader within a social group or a polity. Political leadership, therefore, describes an individual’s ability to contextually influence voting decision and political outcomes.

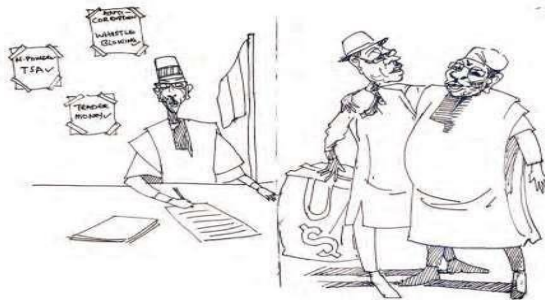
# THE LEADERSHIP QUESTION:

## Safe-guarding Nigeria's Future... Who would you rather vote for?

### A man of compromise or a man of principle?

*"Everything rises and falls  
with leadership".*

*- John C. Maxwell.*



They say he is too weak and old to rule us, yet they bring us one who did nothing but work in the Customs yet has Billions of Dollars to show for it.

They say ours is a Cattle Farmer, but theirs is a Businessman known to survive on rent from the resources of the Nigerian State.

They say our candidate is not rich, but theirs can fund a million campaigns.

So, who would you rather vote for? Our conservative ex-military man or their dynamic and articulate rent-taker. WHO BEST WILL SERVE YOUR INTEREST? Think again.

Buhari has consistently kept faith with Nigeria. He is not about to join the bandwagon.

**Vote the man that is standing with the majority and not the privileged few.  
CHANGE IS A PROCESS.**

**Plate 4.9: Leadership as context-determined discourse issue**

Source: *Punch*, Tuesday, Jan. 29, 2019:29

The advertisement in Plate 4.9 focuses on leadership issue. Presidential campaign advertisements in the newspapers provide platforms for the presentation, identification and recognition of presidential candidates contesting in an election. Winning an election starts with the qualities of candidates that parties present to the electorate. The advertisement in Plate 4.9 comparatively details and compares the positive attributes of President Buhari, with those of his main opponent, without mentioning any name. However, the pictures and names of the two APC's candidates were clearly stated for identification and readers' recognition. Similarly, leadership capacity is a contentious persuasion-inducing mechanism. People often vote based on personalities of candidates presented for elective posts. This involves credibility and the extent to which a candidate is likeable, especially before a presidential elections. As a mobilising factor, a presidential candidate must possess some positive qualities before emerging as a leader within a party. The struggle will then become more intense in an inter-party situation where a political leader needs the acceptance and support of larger followership in order to win an election. A leader must be committed, trustworthy and well-behaved to attract good followers and gain celebrity endorsement, and consistently remain so. Otherwise, it would be a difficult task for an unstable candidate to be re-elected. He must be a man of the people.

**PUNCH**

# LEADERSHIP WITH GREAT COMMITMENT

**JOS, PLATEAU STATE**

**AKWA IBOM STATE**

**KANO, KANO STATE**

**KADUNA STATE**

**MAIDUGURI, BORNU STATE**

**KOGI**

**KEBBI STATE**

**BENIN, EDO STATE**

**SOKOTO STATE**

**WARRI, DELTA STATE**

**ABIA STATE**

**LAGOS STATE**

**PRESIDENT MUHAMMADU BUHARI  
FOR RE-ELECTION!**

**BUHARI!**  
A man of integrity, a reformer and a passionate leader. Vote President Muhammadu Buhari this Saturday. Vote to re-elect him for a second term of development and progress in security, agriculture, infrastructure, job creation, prosperity and much more.  
Vote Buhari!! Vote for our country's brighter future!!!

**BY ALLIANCE FOR GOOD GOVERNANCE**

**Plate 4.10: Leadership as context-determined discourse issue**

*Source: Punch, Wednesday, Jan. 30, 2019:27*

In 2019, the two APC's candidates sought for re-election. The advertisement in Plate 10 depicts the pictures of the two APC's candidates surrounded with pictures of people from different states of the federation. This suggests that the party enjoys the followership and support of many people across Nigeria. The advertisement was used to serve as a reminder and to extol the positive attributes of the party's presidential candidates as a means of persuasion in order to consolidate voters' support before the presidential election.

#### **4.2.2 Unemployment**

Unemployment is one of the issues used in persuasive political discourse. It describes a situation where employable people cannot find jobs to do. The issue is often targeted at youths who are considered as lacking marketable skills.

**BETTER**  
**LIFE FOR NIGERIANS**

**BETTER JOBS:**  
A NATIONAL SKILLS, ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT AND JOB  
CREATION PROGRAMME THAT CATERS FOR THE YOUTH.  
MARKET NIGERIA'S POTENTIAL AS OUTSOURCING  
DESTINATION FOR GLOBAL IT SERVICES.  
**— ATIKU IS COMING —**

**ATIKU**  
NIGERIA

LET'S GET NIGERIA  
WORKING AGAIN

Plate 4.11 Unemployment as context-determined discourse issue

Source: *Daily Trust*, Wednesday, Jan. 23, 2019:11

The PDP's 2019 political campaign advertisement in Plate 4.11 addresses the problem of unemployment among Nigerian youths. The party promises to tackle the problem through "a national enterprise development and job creation programme" that will focus on IT services. The advertisement reflects the identification of a societal problem and how it can be solved. This was done to win the support of the youth by promising a better and probable alternative for the readers' consideration to influence their voting decisions before the election.

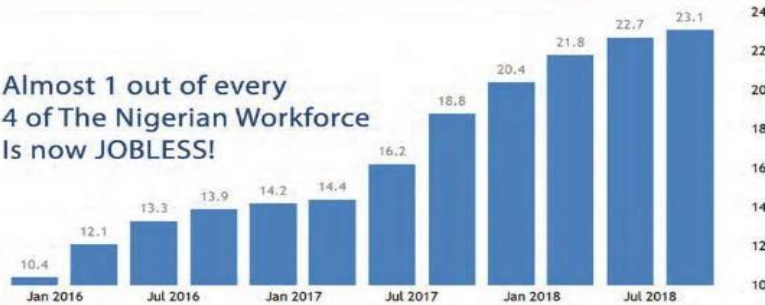
The advertisement is structured in real and ideal pattern using the catchphrase "BETTER LIFE FOR NIGERIANS" as real, through "BETTER JOBS" as the ideal. The first occurrence of the word 'BETTER', written in green, capital letters and bigger font size, foregrounds the remaining part of the phrase 'LIFE FOR NIGERIANS'. This is expressed in black, capital letters and smaller font size to complete the phrase, and to compare what is happening in the present and what would be done in the future, if elected. The picture placed in the middle of the text contains the people making the promise. The second appearance of the word, 'BETTER', which is in white capital letters at the bottom of the picture and text, is written in white and with a bigger font size. These features are coupled with a colon are used to introduce and to sincerely suggest how the promise will be carried. The text is framed through the use of colours (green, black, white and red), written words and picture as cohesive devices that meaningfully hold the text together. Also, the different colours, logo, and the picture are used as means of identifying and recognising the party and the candidates. The corporate mode of dressing shows the readiness of the presidential candidate for the task ahead. Moreover, the text exhibits the central route of persuasion in its logical presentation of ideas, and in provoking critical thinking in readers.

# IT'S OFFICIAL

**5 Million Jobs Lost in Just 90 Days!**

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (Q3 2018)

Almost 1 out of every 4 of The Nigerian Workforce Is now **JOBLESS!**



SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS, NIGERIA



Can we survive another 4 years of this current incompetent and divisive maladministration?



**No!** Do not wait until you or your loved ones become another casualty of their ineptitude.

Use your **VOTE** to change our collective destiny for good.



Share Your Thoughts with Me On:

+234 906 805 5545  
 atikua@teamreworknigeria.org  
 www.teamreworknigeria.org



**VOTE**  
**AA**

**Atiku Abubakar**  
**For President 2019**

Let's Get Nigeria Working Again  
 Sponsored by: Team Rework Nigeria

A VOTE FOR AA IS A WISE INVESTMENT IN CREATING A SECURED AND BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR ALL

**Plate 4.12: Unemployment as context-determined discourse issue**

Source: *Punch*, Thursday, Jan. 3, 2019:11



In addition, the PDP advertisement in Plate 4.12 focuses on unemployment in Nigeria. Using statistical data in a report that was presented and made public by the National Bureau of Statistics in 2018, the advertisement graphically presents the severity of the unemployment situation in Nigeria. From the advertisement, unemployment affects a large number of people. So, choosing it as a discourse issue provides a ready-made persuasive discourse mechanism for advertisers to gain the support of those affected by the problem before the election.

The authoritative elliptic expression, 'IT'S OFFICIAL', is used to justify the authenticity of the information graphically represented in the campaign advertisement. This does not totally remove the looming danger and surprise exhibited through the exclamatory sentence and the chosen written words and outrageous figures on red background in "5 Million Jobs Lost in Just 90 Days!" This is followed by the rhetorical question and answer: "Can we survive another 4 years of this current incompetent and divisive maladministration?" and the answer, "No! Do not wait until you or your loved ones become another casualty of their ineptitude". The rhetorical question and answer are meant to mobilise and trigger voters' active participation in preparation for the election.

### **4.2.3 Security**

Security is one of the factors required for harmonious and peaceful co-existence among a group of people. Peaceful and harmonious co-existence is a non-negotiable and essential requirement needed for societal growth and development. It is essentially a context-determined discourse issue used in persuasive assumption formulation in election campaign advertisements. This assumption is reflected in PDP's presidential campaign advertisement in Plates 4. 13 and 4.14 below:

# THE QUESTIONS

## *Every Nigerian Must Answer!*

**Between May 2019 and May 2023:**

- 1 - how many more thousands of families can we afford to sacrifice to herdsmen?
- 2 - how many more thousands of families can we afford to lose to boko haram wanton killings?
- 3 - how many more of our gallant soldiers can we afford to die like fowls to boko haram blades?
- 4 - how much more further can we weaken our national defence & security?
- 5 - how many more millions of Nigerians can we afford to die from unprecedented hunger in the land flowing with milk & honey?

**NEVER AGAIN!**

**ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!!  
ENOUGH OF HUMAN SACRIFICES!!!**

**It might just be you or yours NEXT!!!!  
Act NOW!**

**Vote Atiku Abubakar  
for President**

**A**lternative  
**T**o  
**I**nsecurity and wanton  
**K**illings & unprecedented  
**U**nemployment in NIGERIA.

**VOTE PDP, VOTE ATIKU.**  
**Let's join hands with Atiku's  
to make Nigeria work again!!!!**

**Bayo Akinwande** (baba Felicia),  
Chairman for PDP New England Chapter,  
South West Caucus, USA.  
[www.abubakaraticu4president.com](http://www.abubakaraticu4president.com);  
[www.abubakaraticu4president2019.com](http://www.abubakaraticu4president2019.com);  
[www.abubakaraticu4president2019.info](http://www.abubakaraticu4president2019.info);  
[www.friendsofatiku.us](http://www.friendsofatiku.us);  
[www.friendsofatiku4president2019.com](http://www.friendsofatiku4president2019.com).



**Plate 4.13: Insecurity as context-determined discourse issue**

*Source: Punch, Wednesday, Feb. 13, 2019:17*

The advertisement in Plate 4.13 was produced in an anticipated context of countering opponent's strategy based on the discourse of insecurity in Nigeria, most especially the incumbent's way of handling these issues of herdsmen and Boko Haram insurgency which led to wanton killing and hunger in Nigeria.

The PDP's candidate considers himself as a better alternative in providing solution to the identified problems. The advertiser, therefore, requests the readers to join in providing the solution to the problem by casting their votes for PDP during Nigeria's 2019 presidential election. The advertisement is compositionally constructed through the use of exclamation, listing of questions, exclamation and call-to-action pattern.

The initial exclamatory sentence (in green and capital letters) foregrounds the challenger's emotional reaction intended to provoke similar reactions in the readers. The information value is made salient through the combination of capital and small letters, big font size and colour. This was done to critique the supposedly questionable way the incumbent party was handling the issue of insecurity. The answers to the questions were presented in the acronym formed with the presidential candidate's name, ATIKU:

**A**lternative


**T**o

**I**nsecurity and wanton **K**illings & unprecedented

**U**nemployment in Nigeria.

Plate 4.14 also, demonstrates that a political campaign advertiser must contextually evaluate and understand the pertinent socio-political issues such as insecurity and conflict that touch on the underlying mechanisms that could sway voters' support in favour of a particular candidate. The evaluation processes are often premised on identifying circumstantially negative and pervasive issues surrounding specific elections and known to all the people within a society. The identified issues are then contextually presented through integrated multimodal resources to produce meaningful and persuasive messages that the electorate can easily understand.

124 FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 2019 PUNCH



**ATIKU FOR NIGERIA**


**Atiku! A Strong Leader With The Skills And Vision To Grow Our Economy, Empower Nigerians and Heal Our Nation**

**#ATIKUPLAN FOR NATIONAL SECURITY**

The number one responsibility of any government is to protect the lives and properties of everyone that lives within its borders. I have no doubt that my plans to transform Nigeria into a modern economy based on enterprise and innovations cannot be achieved unless every Nigerian can leave home in the morning without fears that they might not return and sleep at night with their eyes closed.

**KEY ACTIONS**

- Develop National capability in the deployment of ICT for internal security and law enforcement. This system will also improve the system of birth registration as well as harmonise and upgrade existing identification data to ensure that a suspect can be identified and located no matter where they may reside in the country.
- Decentralise and restructure the internal security system for greater efficiency and accountability. This will also strengthen local and community policing as well as intelligence gathering.
- Address all issues of regional and ethnic discontent and ensure that the citizenship of Nigeria guarantees equal opportunities for everyone. I believe that justice is a major pre-condition for enduring peace.
- Effectively fund and give all necessary support to the Nigerian military to bring the Boko Haram insurgencies to an end and restore lasting peace in the North West of Nigeria.



**February 16 2019**

**Plate 4.14 : Insecurity as context-determined discourse issue**

*Source: Daily Trust, Feb. 8, 2019:8; Punch, Feb.1, 2019:24*

The advertisement in Plate 4.14 focuses on insecurity as a national challenge and a political campaign issue which requires immediate attention if there must be economic growth, economic empowerment and good health. The advertisement exemplified a complex multimodal configuration noticeable by the placing of all the information conveyed in the text on a white and black background. White indicates a candidate as light bearer or knowledgeable and black suggests a candidate's crass ignorance. The advertisement depicts a political rally scene where the PDP's presidential candidate is appealing to party supporters. The background also provides detailed information on the candidate's stance and plan to tackle the problem of insecurity in Nigeria. The use of the hashtag: 'ATIKUPLAN FOR NATIONAL SECURITY', attests to this observation. The advertisement, therefore, displays the central route of persuasion in its logical presentation of ideas and provoking of critical thinking for voters to make well-informed voting decisions before the election.

#### **4.2.4 Poverty reduction**

Poverty is one of the persistent and widespread social problems in Nigeria. As illustrated in Plate 4.15, it has shifted its headquarters to Nigeria. The advertiser used the situation to secure the attention and emotional investment of the electorate in order to achieve the predetermined goal of winning election. This winning strategy often determines the selection and choice of meaning-making modes used in expressing and representing messages that are capable of triggering voting actions in readers. As a pervasive and unpleasant human experience, it has become a recurring discourse issue which has received the attention of people and organisations around the whole world, as indicated in the World Poverty Index of 2018. The causes of the problem are often traced to politicians or political parties and solvable through the ballot box. Politicians, therefore, usually reflect such issues in their political campaign advertisements in order to gain voters' support and influence their voting decisions before an election.

# **Nigeria now Poverty Capital of the World**

*(over 86.9 million Nigerians live in extreme poverty).*

— *The World Poverty Index. (June 2018)*



**Plate 4.15: Poverty reduction as context-determined discourse issue**

*Source; Punch, Friday, Jan. 11, 2019:14*

The advertisement presented in Plate 4.15 is the picture of wretched-looking men scavenging on a dunghill and smoke-filled environment. The information value is reflected by the placing of the picture of the impoverished men at the centre to support the quotation and to foreground the idea of poverty portrayed in the text. The advertisement was meant to arouse emotional feeling to the plight of the suffering masses by quoting and presenting pictures from the 2018 World Poverty Index, to express shock at the discovery of pervasive poverty among Nigerians.

#### **4.2.5 Economy**

Economic discourse describes thoughts, in speech or writing, on money, currency and trade within a country, regionally or globally. It can also focus on a candidate's or government performance on economic issues and, evaluation of such in the broadcast or the print media. Economic issues are very important persuasive tools in influencing voting decision and convincing the electorate. They are useful in measuring the general well-being of people and business organisations within a country. The advertisements in Plates 4.16 and 4.17 exemplify the different presentations of the same performance evaluation report on PDP's economic performance in different newspapers (*DT* and *NT*). The advertisement in plate 4.16 as an appeal for continuity in office, requests voters' support by using percentage to measure the level of achievement and improvement of Nigeria's economy in the non-oil sector before the 2019 presidential election.

This is differently represented in Plate 4.16. Though, the advertisements were meant to logically convince the readers in voting for the incumbent president, how the indicated high rating of self-performance was arrived at is conspicuously omitted in the texts. Hence there is no basis for the justification of using the economic performance indicator as a persuasive tool in the two advertisements. However, the prominent display of the expression, "UNDER GOODLUCK, 86% OF THE ECONOMY IS NOW NON-OIL", in capital letters and black and white colours, suggest the economic achievements of the PDP administration that was not so in the past. The economic achievements of President Goodluck Jonathan is boldly written in capital letters. The main persuasive message, written in small letters, downplay the importance of the appeal imperatively constructed in two sentences: 'Let's keep going forwards' and 'Vote Goodluck.' These combine with the logo served as a means of identifying the political party that placed the advertisement in the newspaper, while the fingerprint suggested a guide to what was expected from the voters during the election.





**Plate 4.16: Economy as context- determined discourse issue**

*Source: Nigerian Tribune, Wednesday, Feb. 4, 2015:3*

**UNDER  
GOODLUCK  
THE ECONOMY  
HAS TRIPILED  
IN SIZE.**

**Let's keep going forwards. Vote Goodluck**



**Plates 4.17: Economy as context-determined discourse issue**

Source: *Daily Trust*, Monday, Feb. 2, 2015:11

## 4.2.6 Trade

Trading is a means of creating and achieving economic development within a country. It can be considered as an important persuasion-inducing mechanism and a parameter for measuring citizens' well-being. Trade provides a means of generating income and wealth internally. On a global scale, trading with developed countries such as United States and China, especially, can help to promote exportation and reduce unemployment rate in Nigeria. All of these advantages are derivable if government provides the enabling environment for local production of raw materials and for international trade to thrive.

The enabling environment was depicted through 'the Nigeria-China currency swap deal' as indicated in plate 4.18. Trade is therefore, both a political and economic phenomenon.

# ENABLING TRADE

THE NIGERIA-CHINA CURRENCY SWAP DEAL



Before Buhari, trade with China was done using the dollar as the medium of exchange. This was a burdensome process given that the Reminbi(Yuan) had become a global convertible currency.

To deepen trade ties with China and help borrow best practice example, on how small businesses help contribute to economic development, President Buhari took this ground-breaking decision.



### BENEFITS OF THE DECISION

**1**



The deal is aimed at providing adequate local currency liquidity

**2**

**\$13 billion** ▶ **\$13.7 billion**

Trade volume between Nigeria and China rose from \$13billion in 2016 to \$13.7billion in 2017.

**3**

Chinese manufacturers are now able to buy raw materials from Nigeria, which directly boosts sales of products of local businesses.

**4**



At current exchange rate, Nigeria will be saving N73 for every dollar.

**To grow an economy requires local production and out-bound trade. Buhari is balancing both perspectives.**

**We need to continue this kind of dynamism.**

Buhari has consistently kept faith with Nigeria. He is not about to join the bandwagon. Vote for the team that is working for you!

**CHANGE IS A PROCESS.**

Endorsed by





ote

BUHARI OSINBAJO

PRESIDENT / VICE PRESIDENT



**Plate 4.18 : Trade as context-determined discourse issue**

*Source: Punch, Sunday, Feb. 10, 2019:23*

The campaign advertisement in Plate 4.18 provides a record of President Buhari's efforts at improving international trade with China in what was tagged "ENABLING TRADE: THE NIGERIA-CHINA CURRENCY SWAP DEAL". The deal was aimed at reducing the pressure on the dollar as a medium of foreign exchange to develop strong trade links with China among so many other benefits.

Comparatively, no previous government did currency swapping before now. It was a dynamic fiscal venture introduced by the APC's administration in order to improve the Nigerian economy by reducing the "burdensome process of using the dollar as the medium of exchange" in Nigeria. As the advertisement indicates, for Nigerians to continue to enjoy the above-listed benefits, the APC government deserves to be re-elected in 2019. This line of thinking is emphasised and justified in the statement and the party's slogan, "We need to continue this kind of dynamism" and "CHANGE IS A PROCESS" respectively. These combine to make the advertisement a persuasive economic discourse issue used to provoke logical thinking and to influence voting decisions before Nigeria's 2019 presidential elections. This shows that there are many ways of contextually representing and designing persuasive discourse issues in the presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. Convincing and mobilising the electorate in participating actively during the election involve the thoughtful identification of areas of interest and concern which are multimodally communicated through the print media.

#### **4.2.7 Education**

Education contributes positively in designing persuasive discourse in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. It can serve as a mobilising likelihood tool in inducing political participation among the electorate. Education is vital in the production, interpretation and comprehension of complex and simultaneous messages often portrayed in presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. For effective communication, critical and logical thinking and self-evaluation of issues presented in election campaign advertisements, education is required. Similarly, education can stimulate desirable voting actions in readers. So, it is beneficial for politicians and the electorate to be educated in order to achieve their socio-political goals of creating a better society.

# BETTER

LIFE FOR NIGERIANS



**BETTER EDUCATION:**  
WITH A SCIENCE & VOCATION-LED SYSTEM,  
AND A NATIONAL STRATEGY TO SUPPORT MORE TEACHERS

— **ATIKU IS COMING** —

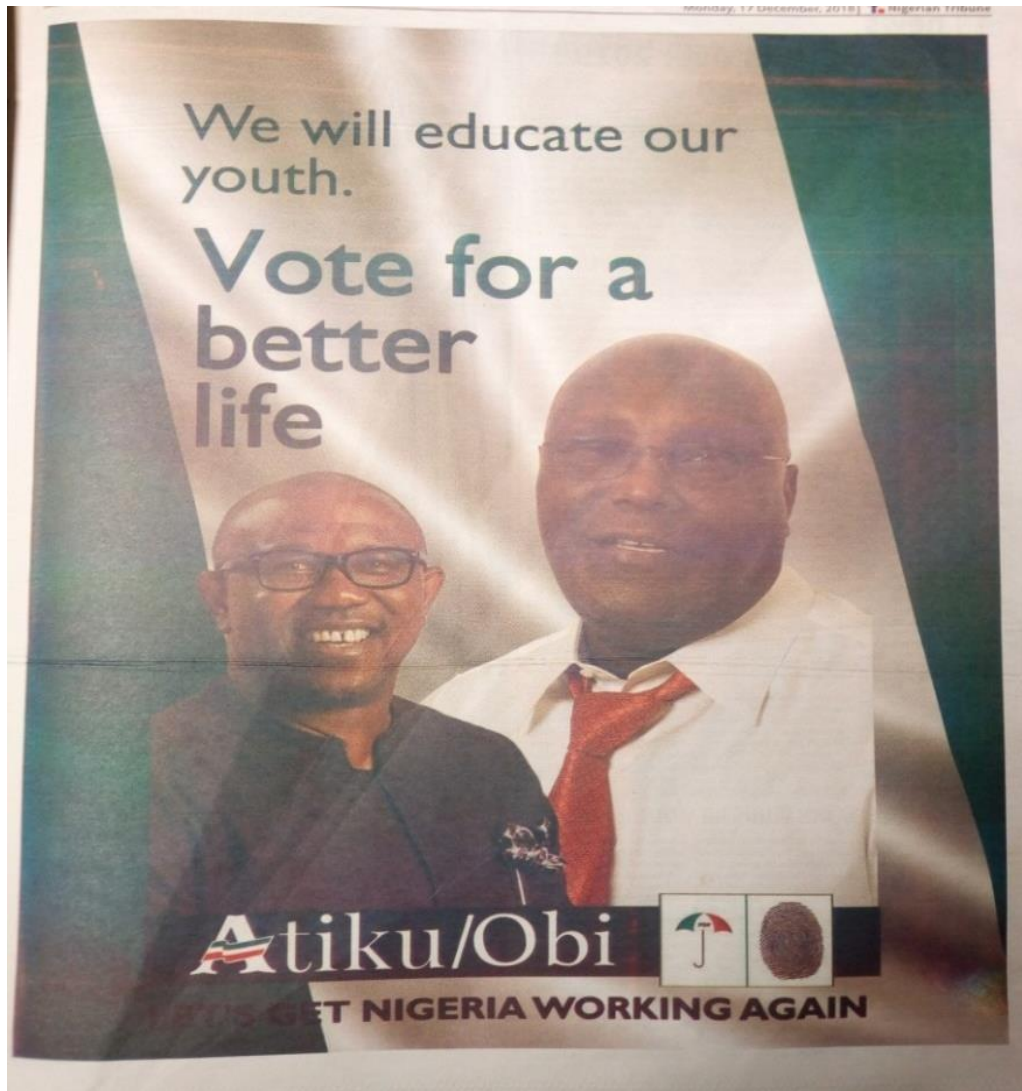


LET'S GET NIGERIA  
WORKING AGAIN

**Plate 4.19: Education as context-determined discourse issue**

Source; *Punch*, Jan. 22, 2019:12

The advertisement in Plate 4.19 specifically focuses on education with special attention on science, vocational studies and strategies to support more teachers. The advertisement was structured in the what-and-how pattern. Using the catchphrase, 'Better Life for Nigerians' which indexes what is promised and placed at the top, the first occurrence of the word, 'better', written in green capital letters and bigger font size, foregrounds the remaining part of the phrase: 'LIFE FOR NIGERIANS', which is expressed in black and capital letters with a smaller font size, to complete the phrase. The picture placed in the middle of the text identifies the candidates making the promise. The second appearance of the word, 'BETTER', in capital letters, at the bottom of the picture and text written in white, bigger font are used to introduce and to sincerely suggest how the promise will be carried out. Their native mode of dressing portrayed them as parents who are conscious of the challenges being experienced in the educational sector of the Nigerian economy. Moreover, the text exhibits the central route of persuasion in its logical presentation of ideas in provoking critical thinking in readers. Winning election could be seen as a function of many factors which include involves popularity of the candidate among all the age groups in a society. Education often collocates with youth development as a discourse issue. Election campaign messages are publicly made promises by a candidate or a political party to different segments of the electorate in order to influence their voting decisions. Youths constitute a segment of a society who are considered as leaders of tomorrow. As agents of change hoping for better and fulfilled lives, election campaign advertisement must not neglect the issues that concern them.



**Plate 4.20: Education as context-determined discourse issue**

*Source: Nigerian Tribune, Monday, 17 December, 2018:3*



The Peoples Democratic Party was the challenger in the 2019 Nigeria's presidential election and educating the Nigerian youth formed one of the promises in their campaign programme. The advertisement in Plate 4.20 centres on the promise of a better education for the youth and as a call-to-action. Promise connotes a future action. Futurity was shown in the use of the future simple tense: "We will educate our youth". The 'We' in the sentence refers to the two candidates and the party as reflected in the party logo and the picture. The essence of the advertisement, which was for it to serve as a call-to-action to youths, is depicted using a bigger font size and the imperative structure: "Vote for a better life." This means we will fulfill our promise if you take the action of voting for us now. The information value, printed in a bigger font size in the call-to-action, makes the message salient and framed through the use of the picture at the centre and connected by repeating the call-to-action, 'LET'S MAKE NIGERIA WORKING AGAIN. This suggests that things were not working as expected at the moment. The advertisement displays the peripheral route of persuasion based on the candidates' assumed credibility and ability. It was not based on any planned action towards fulfilling the promise made in the campaign advertisement.

#### **4.2.8 Road safety**

Infrastructure describes the physical and organisational structures needed for the comfort of the people and smooth working of facilities within a society. It may include road, transport and power supply. They are fixed installations needed for the effective functioning of a society.

NEVER AGAIN

THIS DAY

HOME NEWS THISDAYBUSINESS THISDAYSPORTS POLITICSTHISDAY LIFE AND STYLE

**FRSC: Nigerian Roads Second Worst in the World**

N82 trillion gone down the drain in the last 15 years on our roads and nothing to show for it except accidents and deaths of our people. The power to end these corruption and lies is in your hands. *Vote wisely.*

Vote for change

**VOTE BUHARI OSINBAJO**

APC

SCAN ME

Sponsored by: **COALITION4CHANGE**

Plate 4.21 Road safety as context-determined discourse issue

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Saturday, March 21, 2015:39

In Plate 4.21, APC raises the condition of Nigerian roads which was rated second worldwide, as stated by Federal Road Safety Corps (FRSC) in *ThisDay* newspaper. This was then developed as a discourse issue in their 2015 presidential election campaign advertisement in the newspapers. The candidate presents the condition of bad roads and its associated dangers through the use of red and black, as shown in the advertisement. The second discourse issue is that of corruption indicated by the alleged spending of “82 trillion naira that went down the drain in the last 15years”.

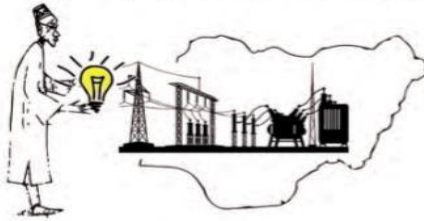
Through the use of a persuasive phrase, “NEVER AGAIN”, in bold capital letters, readers’ attention is directed to the actual message communicated in the text. Other persuasive expressions such as “The power to end this lies in your hands”, “Vote wisely”, “Vote for change” (in red letters) and “VOTE BUHARI/OSINBAJO” (in light and deep green) portray a call-to-action. The advertisement demonstrate the central route of persuasion as being capable of arousing critical thinking to facilitate readers’ evaluation of the incumbent’s performance and influence readers’ voting decisions.

# POWERING NIGERIA

RETHINKING THE DELIVERY OF ELECTRICITY TO NIGERIANS



Reversing an ugly trend takes inventive thinking. Under the Buhari-Osinbajo Presidency, bit-by-bit, the puzzles are unraveling, leading to great possibilities for Africa's largest economy.



### A FAST FADING STORY

Nigeria has been dubbed a "generator economy" with power outages costing Nigeria billions of dollars with lost industrial output and huge domestic inconveniences. Noting the connection between access to energy and cost of doing business as well as quality of life of ordinary citizens, President Buhari is fixing Nigeria's power problems.

### ACTIONS TAKEN TOWARDS POWER SUFFICIENCY:

<p><b>1</b></p> <p>Launched the Economic Recovery and Growth Plan which made power supply one of five critical pillars.</p>	<p><b>2</b></p> <p>Invested in transmission to improve power evacuation through the Transmission Expansion and Rehabilitation Programme.</p>	<p><b>3</b></p> <p>Facilitated payment of debts to Discos and verification of debts owed to Gencos.</p>
<p><b>4</b></p> <p>Launched the N701 billion Payment Assurance Programme to resolve liquidity challenges in the power sector.</p>		<p><b>5</b></p> <p>Launched the Distribution Expansion Programme to deliver 2,000MW of unused power to consumers.</p>

With all these, production of power reached an all-time level of 7,001 MW. Today, there is more electric power available to Nigerians, yet the Buhari government is not resting; at least not until Nigeria is power sufficient.

**We need to continue with these inventive solutions.**

Buhari has consistently kept faith with Nigeria. He is not about to join the bandwagon. Vote for the team that is working for you!

**CHANGE IS A PROCESS.**

Endorsed by   **ote BUHARI OSINBAJO**  
PRESIDENT / VICE PRESIDENT



**Plate 4.22: Electricity as context-determined discourse issue**

Source: *Punch*, Thursday, Feb. 7, 2019:17

Plate 4.22, titled “POWERING NIGERIA” was created to direct voters’ attention to the insufficiency of power supply in Nigeria. Successive governments promised and failed in delivering sufficient power to Nigerians which led to Nigeria being “dubbed a generator-economy” that has witnessed “loss of industrial output”. The advertisement, therefore, focuses on what the incumbent party had done and what it will continue to do to improve electric power generation in Nigeria if re-elected.

The advertisement is comparatively structured in problem-solution format. Previous and peculiar problems in the power generation sector were listed using the words in black and white on the right-hand side with the efforts being made centrally presented in numbered paragraphs as solutions to the problems of insufficient power generation and supply to Nigerians. The party, therefore, appeals for continuity in office because, as justifiably stated in “Today, there is more electric power available to Nigerians”. The advertisement displays a central route of persuasion through the critical and logical presentation and arrangement of the issues concerning electric power generation in Nigeria.

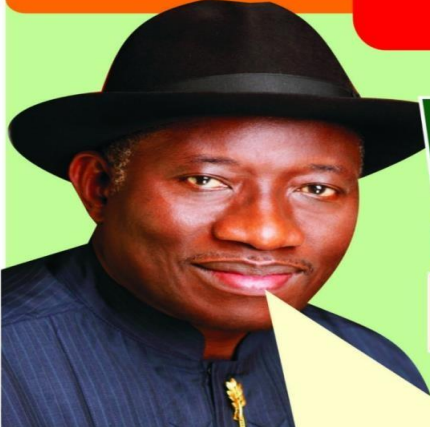
### **4.3 Multimodal resources**

Presidential election campaign advertisements exemplify multimodal configurations comprising the complex deployment of meaning-making resources such as written words, pictures, drawings, typography, slogans, colours, statistical elements and logos. These are often combined in different proportions to express and contextually represent multiple meanings aimed at achieving the advertiser’s desired persuasive intentions. Multimodal knowledge is, therefore, crucial in recognising and understanding the internal structures in election campaign advertisements in the print media. This study was guided by insights from Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) compositional meta-function aspect of their multimodality theory.

#### **4.3.1 Language as communicative mode**



Written or spoken language is used in representing, referring to someone or something to communicate a particular meaning. It is also one of the multimodal resources used in making meaning in written or spoken texts. Choice of language can be used to control readers’ perception and comprehension in election campaign advertisements. However, when wrongly used, language can lead to undesirable reactions, conflicts or misinformation in listeners or readers. Language is used in ready-made phrases,

sentences, quotations and paragraphs to attract convince and sway voters' decisions in political campaign advertisements. Language can also be used to arouse visual image and to dislike a candidate in order to express solidarity with another. Today, written texts, such as newspaper election campaign advertisements pervasively reflect the dynamic and creative relationships between linguistic expressions, images and colours. Words are combined with images and colours to contextually caption and disambiguate likely misinterpretations in texts.



# WORDS OF A MAN WORTHY OF LEADERSHIP

**“The choice before Nigeria in the coming election is simple: a choice between going forward and going backward; between the new ways and the old ways; between freedom and repression; between a record of visible achievements and beneficial reforms- and desperate power-seekers with empty promises.”**

**Vote**  

Directorate of Media and Publicity  
PDP Presidential Campaign Organisation

Plate 4.23 : Language as communicative mode

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Mar. 24, Tuesday, 2015:4

In Plate 4.23, for example, the advertisement reveals the PDP presidential candidate's picture and his exact words printed in party colours of black, red, white and green. The linguistic expressions and pictures are used complementarily to indicate who said what and what was said. Similarly, the preposition, "between", is used to create parallel expressions which caption and elaborate the messages communicated in the advertisement. The expressions comprise "between going forward and going backward; between the old ways and new ways; between freedom and repression; between...visible achievements and beneficial reforms-and desperate power-seekers". The parallel expressions were persuasively used for the proper identification and positive self-presentation to influence voters' decision in making the right choice before the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria.





**Now, that their  
muckraking has failed  
...CAN WE DISCUSS ISSUES?**

**1. THEY SAID NIGERIA IS ONE HUGE CONSTRUCTION SITE.**

Nigerians,

- Ask them why Julius Berger and Dantata Sawoe, two of the country's biggest construction firms, laid off 6,000 and 2,800 workers respectively last year.

**2. THEY PROMISED 2 MILLION JOBS ANNUALLY IF RE-ELECTED.**

Nigerians,

- Ask them how many jobs they created in the six years that oil prices hovered above \$100. Ask them why they extorted job-seeking youths and gave them deaths instead of jobs.

**3. THEY PROMISE TO FIGHT CORRUPTION 'SCIENTIFICALLY' IF RE-ELECTED.**

Nigerians,

- Ask them to tell us the whereabouts of the missing US20 billion dollars.
- Ask them to begin by ensuring that Ifeanyi Uba, the face of TAN, has his day in court for his alleged role in the kerosene subsidy fraud.
- Ask them to tell you what happened to the \$24 billion that accrued to the Excess Crude Account in 2014, since only \$6b remains in the account presently.
- Ask them how 400,000 barrels of crude oil are stolen per day, representing \$60 billion in just four years. Remember Nigerians, Equatorial Guinea's daily crude oil production is 400,000bpd!
- Ask them to explain the source of the 25 billion Naira so far spent by TAN to campaign for President Jonathan.
- Ask them to explain the 245 billion Naira pension scam.
- Ask them what has happened to the 2.6 trillion Naira fuel subsidy scam and the suspects.

**4. THEY ASKED NIGERIANS TO TIGHTEN THEIR BELT AND BE READY TO MAKE SACRIFICES IN THE FACE OF A COLLAPSING ECONOMY AND A WEAKENING NAIRA (\$1=N215).**

Nigerians,

- Ask them what sacrifices they themselves have made, as just one minister spent 10 billion Naira to hire private jets to junket around the world.
- Ask them why they have gone ahead to build a \$100m Banquet Hall in the Presidential Villa.
- Ask them why they are shopping for another private jet, when the presidential fleet is already bigger than most airlines across Africa and the world.

**5. THEY PROMISED NIGERIANS UNPARALLELED TRANSFORMATION IF PRESIDENT JONATHAN IS RE-ELECTED.**

Nigerians,

- Ask them to start by paying the states they owe for executing federal projects, so the states can in turn pay their workers who have gone for months without salaries. After all, you have to be alive to dream of a better tomorrow.
- Ask them why the power situation has gone from bad to worse despite the billions of naira they have allegedly spent on the sector.

**NIGERIANS,  
VOTE WISELY.  
*reject peddlers of phantom promises!***

Signed:  
Lai Mohammed  
National Publicity Secretary  
All Progressives Congress (APC)



**Plate 4.24 : Language as communicative mode**

Sources: *Nigerian Tribune*, Thursday, 5 Feb., 2015:4; *Daily Trust*, Friday, 6 Feb., 2015:11

The interconnectedness between language and picture is exemplified with Plate 4.24. The advertiser deploys President Jonathan's picture and language as a framing device in drawing readers' attention to political issues, through questions which the text-producer assumed could not be answered by the president alone. This was reflected in the thoughtful and forlorn look of President Jonathan's picture in the advertisement. This clueless countenance triggers the use of the words: "their" and "we", in the question, "Now that their muckraking has failed...can we discuss issues?" The two words combined with the picture were used to represent all other members in the PDP.

Also, the advertisement is language and picture-based. Language, however, took a large proportion of space in framing or delineating the text as a multimodal ensemble. The picture combines with the linguistic expressions to attract readers. But the words are used to complementarily explain and elaborate what the picture represents. In all, the advertisement is meant to provoke critical thinking in readers in order to make well-informed voting decisions before the election. The campaign advertisement, therefore, depicts the central route of persuasion used by the APC to critically present logical reasons for voters to reject the PDP's presidential candidate during the 2015 Nigeria's presidential election.

It can be concluded that, in election campaign advertisements, word meanings are contextually related with pictures in establishing and re-establishing self-promoting images that promise a better future. Without any doubt, election campaign advertisements provide crucial political information that can enhance people's mobilisation to participate in political activities such as voting during elections.

#### **4.3.2 Picture as multimodal resource**

Picture is one of the multimodal resources used in designing persuasive political discourse such as election campaign advertisements. Election campaign advertisements are not only word-based, but often picture-based with few words. This is observed in Plate 4.25 titled "Sai Buhari!", an expression in the Hausa language. The expression in the Hausa language means 'no one can do it except Buhari alone'. It is used as a tagline meant to emphasise the envisaged victor of the APC in the 2015 presidential election. The slogan was coined in a projected context of victory.



**Lagos Sai  
BUHARI!**

**JOIN THE PRESIDENTIAL RALLY OF THE ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS (APC)**  
**DATE: FRIDAY 30TH JANUARY 2015**  
**VENUE: TESLIM BALOGUN STADIUM, SURULERE, LAGOS.**  
**TIME: 10:00 A.M PROMPT**  
**APC CHANGE!**  
SIGNED: CHIEF HENRY OLADELE AJOMALE, CHAIRMAN ALL PROGRESSIVES CONGRESS, LAGOS STATE

**Plate 4.25: Picture as multimodal communicative mode**

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Friday, Jan. 30, 2015:2

Plate 4.25 contains a big size picture of General Buhari alone. The picture is conspicuously placed, and it takes a larger proportion of space in the advertisement for easy identification and recognition of the APC presidential candidate. Pictures, as attention-getting devices, are often used to enhance recognition, memorability and credibility of persuasive messages in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. The advertisement is expressed in few words and meant to serve as a means of inviting members of APC to join the presidential rally at a date, venue and time specified in the advertisement. The advertisement portrays giving specific information about a candidate through the peripheral route of persuasion intended to influence members based on the mutually shared knowledge of integrity and belief in General Buhari.

Similarly, in Plate 4.26, the picture of Goodluck Jonathan as an incumbent president is used to foreground his leadership quality and the PDP's stance on national issue in the acronym:

**J**oin

**O**ur

**N**ational call for

**A**

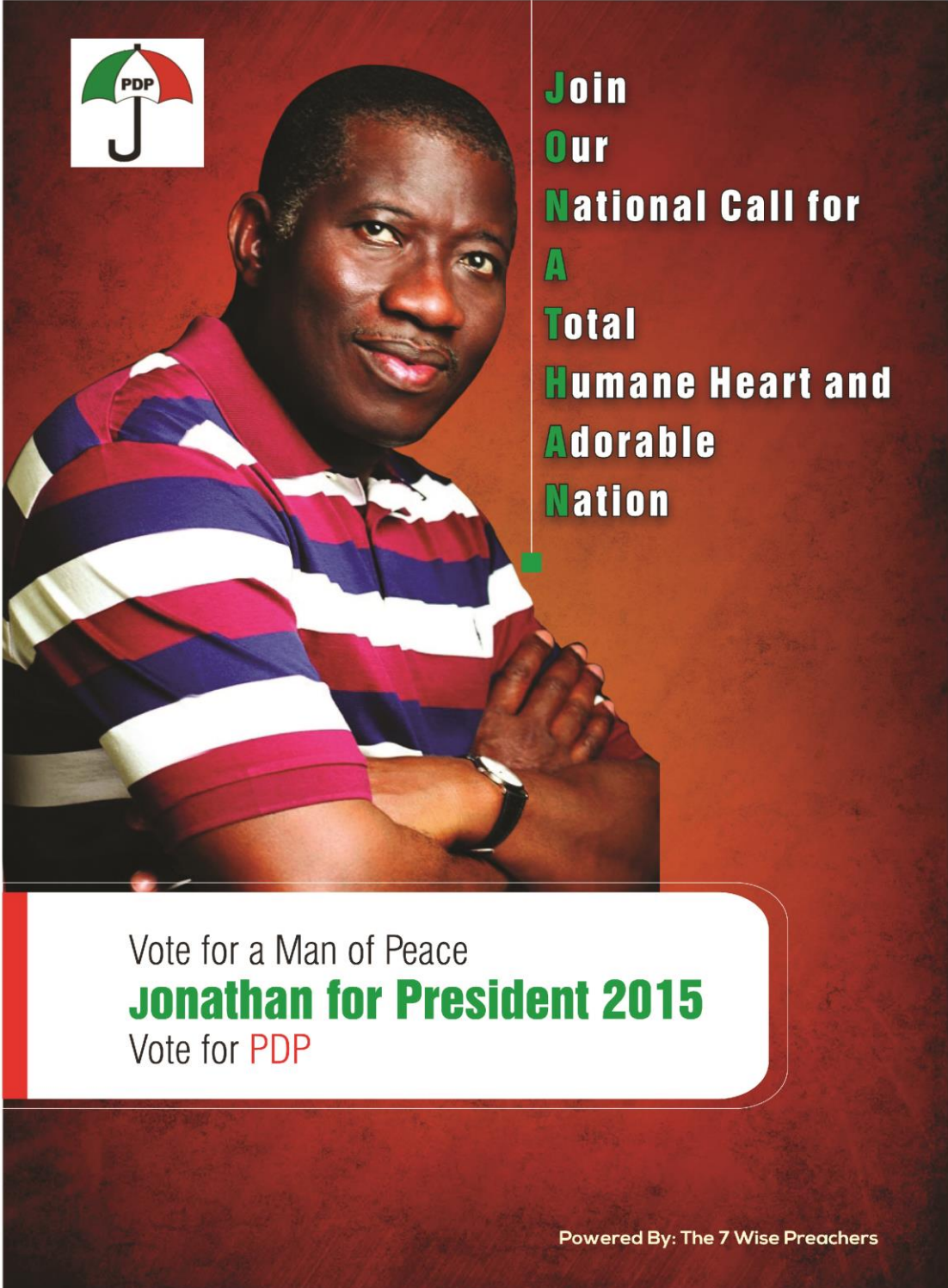
**T**otal

**H**umane heart and

**A**dorable

**N**ation

Hence, the picture in Plate 4.26 represents the personality described in words in the advertisement. Also, the picture of the incumbent president before the 2015 Nigeria's presidential election, in casual mode of dressing, could be viewed as a persuasive strategy depicting his youthfulness when compared to his challenger in the APC.



**Join  
Our  
National Call for  
A  
Total  
Humane Heart and  
Adorable  
Nation**

Vote for a Man of Peace  
**Jonathan for President 2015**  
Vote for **PDP**

Powered By: The 7 Wise Preachers

**Plate 4.26: Picture as multimodal communicative mode**

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Wednesday, Mar.. 25, 2015:5

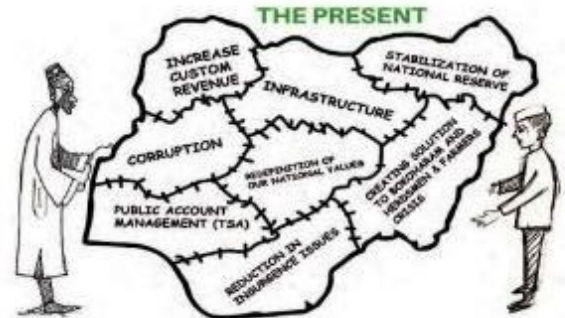
### **4.3.3 Drawing as multimodal resource**

Drawings as multimodal resources describe contextual and graphic representations of a person, an object or an idea with pencil or pen. They are often used to draw attention to issues of public interest or to contextually satirise a situation. Drawings can also be used to ridicule an opponent, to engender critical thinking and to persuasively consolidate envisaged support in presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers. Drawing as a meaning-making resource is deployed in Plates 4.26 and 4.27 to communicate and comparatively direct readers' attention to the destructive nature of past political administration in Nigeria, and to depict the efforts being made by the present leadership to reconstruct the damage done by the previous ruling party.

# HANDS ON DECK! BUHARI & OSINBAJO ARE GETTING THINGS DONE!



2015 - 2019: Overcoming The Past And Birthing A New Nigeria...



Beyond 2019 - We Are Not Breaking The Flow. We Are Increasing Our Pace

- 1 We are building a new Nigeria. Our ERGP plan is refocusing our economy beyond oil. Our school feeding programme is helping to nourish a new generation and raise school attendance.
- 2 We have already cleaned up Public Finance and Accounting Protocols through the implementation of the TSA, the revigoration of the Financial Reporting Council and the Whistle Blower Policy.
- 3 We are making Nigeria a better place to do business by working on all key parameters that define ease of doing business while helping Small and Medium Scale enterprises through the Agric Business Small and Medium Enterprise Scheme (AGSMEIS Fund)
- 4 We are focused on poverty reduction through our agric revolution - 3i Power, Trademorni, Marketmori and other interventions on the Government Enterprise & Empowerment programme (GEEP)
- 5 The economy has been brought on the right track and we are in for inclusive growth, not just recording numbers that do not trickle down. Our Energizing Economies Initiative (EEI) is building economic clusters that will address the issue of poverty and the creation of national prosperity.

Buhari and Osinbajo have consistently kept faith with Nigeria, and are not about to join the bandwagon.

Vote the team that is working for you!

**CHANGE IS A PROCESS.**



Plate 4.27: Drawing as multimodal resource

Source: *Punch*, Tuesday, Jan. 29, 2019:27

In Plate 4.27, the constructive efforts of President Buhari-led government are pictorially presented to consolidate voters' support and to ensure desired-continuity in office. Without mentioning names of people or the party responsible for the destructive past, the advertisement demonstrates what Halliday (1994:110) describes as material processes of doing or happening. Doing types express the notion that some entity materially does something, which may be done to some other entity and may extend to affect another entity or not. The drawings represent the damage done to Nigeria as a geographical entity by the opposition party, PDP, while the incumbent is making efforts at amending the damage done in the past. These two material processes are presented and made salient in Plate 4.27 through the figurative use of synecdoche and exclamation mark in 'HANDS ON DECK!', 'BUHARI & OSINBAJO' and 'ARE GETTING THINGS DONE!' in different capital letters and font sizes. The two sets of politicians (destroyers and repairers) and the country, Nigeria, are graphically and comparatively represented through drawings with the results of their actions reflecting in the different sizes of the Nigerian maps. The destroyers are on the left while the repairers are on the right side of the advertisement. Using Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) idea of given and new, and ideal and real concepts, the advertiser presents the ideal to be repairing the damages of the past and the real thing to do as the electorate voting for the APC that would be responsible for the repairs. The advertiser adopts the central route of persuasion through the logical and critical evaluation of the problems whose solutions would require continuity in office and the time-taking process of transformation.



# THE LEADERSHIP QUESTION:

## Safe-guarding Nigeria's Future... Who would you rather vote for?

### A man of compromise or a man of principle?

*"Everything rises and falls  
with leadership".*

- John C. Maxwell.



They say he is too weak and old to rule us, yet they bring us one who did nothing but work in the Customs yet has Billions of Dollars to show for it.

They say ours is a Cattle Farmer, but theirs is a Businessman known to survive on rent from the resources of the Nigerian State.

They say our candidate is not rich, but theirs can fund a million campaigns.

So, who would you rather vote for? Our conservative ex-military man or their dynamic and articulate rent-taker. WHO BEST WILL SERVE YOUR INTEREST? Think again.

Buhari has consistently kept faith with Nigeria. He is not about to join the bandwagon.

Vote the man that is standing with the majority and not the privileged few.

**CHANGE IS A PROCESS.**

Endorsed by

ote  
**BUHARI OSINBAJO**  
PRESIDENT / VICE PRESIDENT

Plate 4.28: Drawing as multimodal resource


Source: *Punch* Tuesday, Jan. 29, 2019:29

Furthermore, the drawings allow the discursive exploration of persuasive meanings and intentions in campaign advertisements. Plate 4.28 does not only demonstrate the integrated use of written words in different colours, fonts and sizes but contains drawings to support the issues raised and to frame the communicated message in the multimodal text. Through drawings, non-visible actions are made visible in non-colour representations to enhance readers' comprehension and interpretation of meanings in texts. The advertisement in Plate 4.28 comparatively describes, through the drawings, the historical and contextual political attitudes attributed to the opposition party. The drawings are used as warnings to the electorate to choose their leaders wisely.

The cartoons depict a wretched-looking, office-weary and emaciated official. This is placed side-by-side with pictures of two well-fed men outside the office with one of them carrying a briefcase labelled, "dollars", both in traditional attire. The drawings are comparatively used to corroborate the condemnable attitude of the past leaders and the projected situation of present challenger. This is to persuasively serve as warning to the electorate to be wary of the type of leader they would vote for in the 2019 presidential election.

#### **4.3.4 Typography as multimodal resource**


Typography is a visual communication technique used in conveying different shades of meanings beyond the words in a written discourse. It describes a visible means of arranging and establishing visual hierarchy in designing the appearances of letters and fonts in words. Typography can be identified in written words and logos aimed at achieving legibility, readability and attracting readers' attention. It is the style, shape or appearance of letters in a written text. Though as visual art, it performs both verbal and visual communicative roles in multimodal and persuasive texts. Typographical techniques are demonstrated in the advertisements in Plates 29 and 30 below



**I Am Ready**  
for **BETTER LIFE**

i am ready to *March for* Buhari

**BUHARI**  
**OSINBAJO**  
**2015**



Plates 4.29: Typography as multimodal resource

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Tuesday, Mar. 24, 2015:11

Plate 4.29 displays the typographic knowledge of visual representations and communication in the presidential election campaign advertisements in the selected Nigerian newspapers. The advertisement consists of three sentences that were differently and typographically constructed and differently arranged to achieve persuasive intentions.

First sentence (vertically arranged): “I am Ready for BETTER LIFE.”

I Am ( black and thicker font)

Ready (green and thickest font)

for BETTER LIFE.(black and green with capital letter)

Second sentence:

“I am ready to March for Buhari.” (The sentence was horizontally arranged and divided into three parts. These are:

1. “I am ready to” (in black smallest font)
2. “March” and “Buhari” (in black bigger font)
3. “for” (in pink and inserted between “March and Buhari “in small letters with different font)

Third sentence:

VOTE FOR BUHARI OSINBAJO 2015(All in capital letters and arranged in zigzag pattern)

VOTE (Red in small font)

BUHARI (Blue in thicker and biggest font)

OSINBAJO (Green in thick and bigger font)

2015 (Red in small font)

Also, the choice and arrangements of different font sizes, capital and small letters, hash tag and colours are integrated to aesthetically communicate and create persuasive effects in the APC’s advertisement in Plate 4.29 below.

PUNCH



**SHINE YOUR EYES**  
What 2019 means to us  
Let's continue on this Pathway to Growth



**Buhari // Osinbajo**

**ONWARD 2019** >>  
#happynewyear #hny #BeInvolved  
*This message is from*  
**Build The Future**  
Build The Future... Build The Youth... Build Nigeria



[Future Builders](#)
[BuildTheFutureNG](#)
[BTFNigeria](#)
[buildthefuture\\_ng](#)
[www.buildthefuture.ng](#)

**Plate 4.30 : Typography as multimodal resource**

*Sources: Punch, Tuesday, Jan.1, 2019:33; Daily Trust, Jan.1, 2019:15*



#### **4.3.5 Slogan and logo as multimodal resources**

Slogan and logo are visual modes of communication in political discourse. A slogan is a simple, short and memorable linguistic expression used as a persuasive strategy meant to accelerate or repetitively transmit the positive features of a product, idea, service or an institution to readers. It also describes the unique features and means of identifying an organisation as different and better than the others. A logo, on the other hand, is an easily noticeable design combining symbols, icons, colours, font sizes and names in creating a visually unique identity for a group, a cause or a political party.

Logo is often combined with a slogan to attract attention, enhance reader's ability to remember and promote brand affinity in advertisements, including political parties' election campaign advertisements. The logo of the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) contains an umbrella with green, white and red colours. Its slogan is 'Power to the People'. It is a conservative party that won every presidential election between 1999 and 2011. Also the logo of the APC is identified through its colours, which consist of green, white and blue, with a broom on the white background and red as the base colour. The founding fathers of the APC started with 'Change' as its slogan in 2015. Moreover, the logo is combined with the slogan to create an easily recognised design which can create lively and positively persuasive impressions in readers.

In the two political parties' presidential election campaign advertisements, only the logos were constant. While the PDP retained its slogan, APC changed its slogan to 'Next Level' before the 2019 elections. The reason for this could be deciphered in the slogan itself, "change is a process" which may be interpreted as requesting for another four years to bring about the desired change. The APC's logo and slogan conspicuously appeared in most of its advertisements before the Nigeria's 2019 presidential election. It was not so in PDP's campaign advertisements before the 2015 election. This trend is also observable in Plates 4.15 and 4.16, and Plates 4.29 and 4.31.

Plates 4.31 and 4.32 confirm the observation, that political party logos rarely change while party slogans are changeable to reflect new realities and as a persuasive technique before another election.


**NEXT  
LEVEL**

*means*

- ✓ **MORE JOBS.** MORE JOBS. MORE JOBS.
- ✓ **REDUCING THE PRICES** OF EVERYDAY GOODS.
- ✓ **LIFTING MILLIONS** OF NIGERIANS OUT OF POVERTY.

**BUILDING A STRONG  
NIGERIAN ECONOMY  
FOR ALL**

*Vote* **BUHARI / OSINBAJO 2019**

**VOTE  
APC**

Plate 4.31: Slogan and logo as multimodal resource

Source: *Daily Trust* Friday Feb. 8, 2019:3

**UNDER  
GOODLUCK  
THE ECONOMY  
HAS TRIPILED  
IN SIZE.**

**Let's keep going forwards. Vote Goodluck**



**Plate 4.32: Slogan and logo as multimodal resources**

Source: *Daily Trust*, Monday, Feb. 2, 2015:11



#### 4.3.6 Colour as a multimodal resource

Colour refers to a multimodal resource that can be used in diverse ways to express shades of meanings in texts. As a visual communication phenomenon, it is usually deployed to create aesthetic effects in attracting and directing readers' attention in multimodal configurations. Aside from this, colours serve as compositional elements in foregrounding issues and indicating how contents of a text should be read, either continuously or complementarily, in election campaign advertisements. As a visual communication phenomenon, colour is used to produce different sensations to the eyes. To Kress (2010:1), "colour is used to highlight specific aspects of the overall message" in a persuasive text. It is used to portray different ideas for meaning representation, source of information, emotional reflection or aesthetic value in multimodal configurations such as election campaign advertisements. Colour is contingent on the historical or cultural context in which it is experienced or interpreted. However, in agreement with Osisanwo (2013), visual representations like colours have meanings which are culture-specific, especially when used to indicate mood or attract readers' attention. To him, colours function as coherence devices in written texts such as newspaper advertisements.

In Plate 4.33, the APC's 2015 presidential election campaign advertisement is divided into two parts through the use of colours (black and white). The first segment printed in black contains President Jonathan's picture in small size to corroborate how he is described in the advertisements. The other segment was in white to depict positive leadership attribute of General Buhari. The advertisement demonstrates the integrated use of pictures and dressing (in black and white) as cohesive devices and means of achieving the communicative intentions of the advertiser. Using Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) compositional concept of 'real/ ideal', white and black depict light and darkness as choices left for the readers to choose from in the 2015 presidential election. Similarly, the top/bottom positioning of pictures in the advertisement indicates the incumbent and the challenger. However, the advertisement is designed to attract readers' attention, and provoke critical thinking in order to influence the voting decisions before the election. Also, the advertisement portrays the central route of persuasion meant to encourage readers' rejection of the incumbent party before Nigeria's 2015 presidential election.

Colour is also used in Plate 4.34 as a means of emphasising the idea of real change, and to make salient the name of the real changer, "JONATHAN", in yellow.



# Oh Yes!

They are correct .  
Still under his watch,  
Nigeria has become

# NO.1

## IN BROKEN PROMISES

"If I'm voted into power, within the next four years, the issue of power will become a thing of the past... if I can't improve on power within this period, it then means I can not do anything."

*- President Goodluck Jonathan  
In Ethiopia, January 31, 2011*

**Nigerians, it's in your hands.**

• **Vote Wisely** • **Vote Change**



# Muhammadu Buhari



Plate 4.33: Colour as multimodal resource

Source: *Daily Trust*, Thursday, 8 Jan., 2015:13

# THE REAL CHANGE!

"If we need real change in this country, we must implement conference report. My fear is that APC doesn't believe in the report, in fact they boycotted the conference. So, where are they bringing the change?." President Goodluck Jonathan (Thisday, Sunday February 22, 2015)



## Change you can feel...

- (1) 18 New States on popular demand
- (2) State Police
- (3) Solid Minerals Development in all States.
- (4) New Revenue Formula: FG - 42%, States - 58%
- (5) Railways, Power, Mining etc to be on Concurrent List
- (6) Local Governments to be created, managed and funded by the States.

**VOTE**  
**JONATHAN** **FOR REAL**  
**CHANGE!**

Sponsored By:  
**SouthWest Study Group**  
 swsg15@yahoo.com

**Plate 4.34: Colour as multimodal resource**

Source: *Daily Trust*, Wednesday, 25.Feb., 2015:2

#### **4.3.7 Statistics as multimodal resources**

Statistics refers to the numerical representations of facts which can help in predicting the future. Statistics is used in determining the probability that an event will happen based on observed trends. Thus, statistics can be used to help political campaign advertisers to draw and justify their calculated assumptions and conclusions based on contextual realities and facts presented and known to all within a society. These calculated assumptions and conclusions are often presented in numerical forms such as figures, percentage and graphs. One of the common ways of representing statistics is percentage and it is indicated by the symbol, (%), which means per hundred. It is used as a persuasive tool to strengthen arguments in a text. However, percentage symbol is not often used independently in communicating persuasive meanings in written texts without being elaborated in words.

**NIGERIAN ELECTIONS 2015**

Dry season farming established and producing **1.07 million metric tonnes**

Rice output **Up**

Wheat imports **Down**

Subsidies paid directly to farmers and **corruption-free** Food import bill

**↓ >30%**

**WE HAVE ACHIEVED SO MUCH IN JUST 4 YEARS IMAGINE WHAT WE COULD DO NEXT**

**NIGERIA NEEDS GOODLUCK!**

**DR. GOODLUCK EBELE JONATHAN, GCFR**  
PRESIDENT, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

**DR. AKINWUMI ADESINA**  
HON. MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

DIRECTORATE OF MEDIA AND PUBLICITY PDP  
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ORGANISATION

Plate 4.35: Statistical tools as multimodal resources

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Sunday, 8 Feb., 2015:3

The advertisement in Plate 4.35 displays the use of some statistical elements such as figures, percentages, mathematical signs and symbols combined with colours, arrows indicating a downward sign, greater than symbol, figures and percentage signs for persuasive purposes. These measurable means are used by PDP to present its four-year performance report in the field of agriculture and food production before the 2015 presidential election. The name and picture of the minister of Agricultural and Rural Development, Dr Adesina, the personality behind the listed achievements complement the meaning and the persuasive intention presented in the advertisements. The name is also deployed as celebrity endorsement to support the candidacy of Dr Goodluck Jonathan. Asid from this, the exclamatory sentence, “NIGERIA NEEDS GOODLUCK!”, serves as the conclusion and reasonable justification for the possible choice and voters’ re-election of the candidate. With this structure, the central route of persuasion was indicated.

The campaign advertisement in Plate 4.36 illustrates the use of statistical tools in explaining a situation for persuasive intention. The bar chart, figures and the ratio expressed in, “Almost 1 out of every 4 of the Nigerian Workforce Is now JOBLESS”, in the advertisement are used to explain and justify PDP’s criticism against the ruling party. It is also meant to influence voters’ decision before the 2019 election. The information sourced from the National Bureau of Statistics corroborates the authenticity of a widespread joblessness claim made in the advertisement.

# IT'S OFFICIAL

**5 Million Jobs Lost in Just 90 Days!**

Source: National Bureau of Statistics (Q3 2018)

Almost 1 out of every 4 of The Nigerian Workforce Is now **JOBLESS!**



SOURCE: TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS, NIGERIA

**Q.** Can we survive another 4 years of this current incompetent and divisive maladministration?

**A.** **No!** Do not wait until you or your loved ones become another casualty of their ineptitude.

Use your **VOTE** to change our collective destiny for good.



Share Your Thoughts with Me On:

+234 906 805 5545  
 atikua@teamreworknigeria.org  
 www.teamreworknigeria.org



**VOTE**  
**AA**  
**Atiku Abubakar**  
**For President 2019**  
 Let's Get Nigeria Working Again  
 Sponsored by: Team Rework Nigeria

A VOTE FOR AA IS A WISE INVESTMENT IN CREATING A SECURED AND BRIGHTER FUTURE FOR ALL

**Plate 4.36: Statistics as multimodal resource**

Source: *Punch*, Thursday, Jan. 3, 2019:11

#### **4.4 Persuasive structures in presidential election campaign advertisements**

One of the most common structural strategies used in political discourse analyses is Aristotle's 4<sup>th</sup> century rhetorical appeal techniques comprising logos, pathos and ethos.(Wornyo,2023).However, there are many other structures that copy-writers used in constructing persuasive appeals in texts such as campaign advertisements Political campaign advertisers often deploy complex and context-determined persuasive structures to induce preference, mobilise and influence voters' decisions before an election. In this study, four persuasive structures were identified in the selected APC's and PDP's 2015 and 2019 presidential election campaign advertisements. These include: request-explication, problem-solution, question-answer, and quotation-question persuasive structures

##### **4.4.1 Request and explication as persuasive structure**

Request refers to an act of asking or expressing a desire for something from someone. Explication, on the other hand, is a careful and elaborate process of explaining a phenomenon in detail. Uncovering request and explication structures in texts involves the close scrutiny of implicit meanings and messages in persuasive texts. People often make request for divine intervention from a Supreme Being through prayers or seek financial assistance from members of the public. These observations are illustrated in Plates 37 and 38.



# GOD, GIVE US MEN!

*A time like this demands  
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands;  
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;  
Men whom the spoils of office can not buy;  
Men who possess opinions and a will;  
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;  
Men who can stand before a demagogue  
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking!  
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog  
In public duty, and in private thinking;  
For while the rabble, with their thumb-worn creeds,  
Their large professions and their little deeds,  
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! Freedom weeps,  
Wrong rules the land and waiting Justice sleeps.*

JOSIAH GILBERT HOLLAND 1819 -1881  
AMERICAN NOVELIST AND POET



**VOTE BUHARI ★ OSINBAJO**  
**VOTE APC**  
**CHANGE IS POSSIBLE**



[www.hundredreasonsbuhariosinbajo.com](http://www.hundredreasonsbuhariosinbajo.com)

Plate 4.37: Request and explication as persuasive structure

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Tuesday, Mar. 24, 2015:6

The advertisement in Plate 4.37 is titled “GOD, GIVE US MEN!,” and the title is a quotation from Gilbert Holland, a 19<sup>th</sup> century American novelist; it is used here to illustrate request and explication pattern as a persuasive strategy. The text captures the political mood of Nigerians before the 2015 presidential election. The poem lists some of the desired virtues expected in ideal candidates. These ideals, “strong men, great hearts...who possess opinion and will”, are said to be found in the APC’s candidate whose pictures appeared at the bottom of the advertisement.

These desires are explicated through the use of colours, exclamation mark, capitalisation, written words, pictures and party logo, in the election campaign advertisements. It reflects praying to God and requesting for provision of good leaders before the 2015 Nigeria’s presidential election. The request is further elaborated by listing the characteristics of the types of leaders Nigeria needed at that point in time; it is a leader who has “strong mind, great deeds, true-faith, ready hands, possess opinion, whom the lust of office does not kill, men of honour ....”. These qualities are found in General Buhari and Pastor Osinbajo. The advertisement demonstrates the peripheral route of persuasion based on religious sentiment, candidates’ credibility and being likeable.

Similarly, in Plate 4.38 below, APC as a challenger during the Nigeria’s 2015 presidential election campaign requested for the funding of the party’s campaign activities from interested members of the public. The advertisement was therefore structured in request-explication pattern. The title of the advertisement, “BUHARI OSINBAJO FUND-RAISING” depicts the request, while the remaining part of the text details instructions on how and into which financial institutions’ accounts, interested contributors can make their payments. These financial institutions were multimodally represented by their logos. The advertisement was designed in recognition of voters’ popular support and in anticipated context of APC’s victory at the Nigeria’s 2015 presidential election poll.

**BUHARI OSINBAJO  
FUND-RAISING**

**CHANGE begins with democratizing campaign fund-raising**

Kindly support our drive for **CHANGE** through any of the following:

- Bank Payments:** Make payments to **Buhari/Osinbajo** campaign fund account **APCGMBPYO** using the customised tellers at any branch of the following banks:
- E-Transactions:** Online donations can be made by logging on to [www.apcgmbpyo.org](http://www.apcgmbpyo.org). Follow the instructions on the site. Cards accepted are:
- Premium SMS:** Send **APC** to **'35350'** on all networks to make a N100 donation. You can donate as many times as possible.
- Ring-Tones:** Download **APCGMBPYO** ringtone to make a N100 donation on all networks.
- One Card (Scratch Card):** Purchase a **'ONE CARD'** scratch card from any of your recharge card vendors and dial **\*979\*22\*PIN Number #** and press send to donate.

Cards are available in denominations of N100, N200, N500, N750, N1,000 & N1,500.

For more information to donate, text; (1) Dapo - 0805 222 2236, (2) Najua - 0802 200 0223  
(3) Femi - 0817 451 6679 or please visit [www.apcgmbpyo.org](http://www.apcgmbpyo.org)

**Vote All APC Candidates For Change**

At The Forthcoming Elections On **Feb. 14th & Feb. 28th, 2015.**

**Plate 4.38: Request and explication as persuasive structure**

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Wednesday, 21 Jan., 2015:4

#### **4.4.2 Problem and solution as persuasive structure in election campaign advertisement**

Problems can be defined as contextual issues, questions or concern-causing difficulties that require solutions. Political campaign advertisements are often structured in cause-solution pattern in order to persuade the electorate or for the candidates to justify their reasons and abilities for wanting to compete for a particular elective post. Politicians utilise campaign platforms to make promises on how they will deal with a particular societal-problem when elected or re-elected. These are elaborated upon through explanations and clarifications in order to win or consolidate voters' support.

In problem and solution persuasive structure, a problem is often first identified, positioned, made salient and coherent through multimodal resources such as capital and small letters, typography and colours. The structure often serves as a sign-post indicative of a party's specific policy direction on issues of general interest within a polity. The APC's 2019 election campaign advertisement, as presented in Plate 4.39, reflects a problem-solution with a call-to-action compositional pattern. The pattern showcases what is done that structurally illustrates Halliday's (1994:110) process of doing in which an entity does something which may affect another entity. With the use of exclamatory sentences in capital letters, "BUHARI DID IT!", readers' attention was strategically drawn in order to arouse curiosity. The idea of 'doing' expressed in the advertisement could provoke questions such as "What did Buhari do? Why and how?" in readers. The strategy, therefore, foregrounds the information contents that are variously positioned in the campaign advertisement to explain and clarify reasons for taking the action as solution to the problem of opening secret accounts by fraudulent government officials in Nigeria.

**SINGLE TREASURY ACCOUNT.**  
 SOME OTHERS JUST SPOKE ABOUT IT BUT...  
**BUHARI DID IT!**



**There Is A Difference Between A Blueprint That Never Gets Done And One That Is Implemented To The Letter. The TSA Is One Such Blueprint.**

**Ending The Placement of Government Funds in Commercial Banks**

Before the implementation of the TSA, Government accounts in all agencies were scattered across different banks, with Government officials abusing public funds undetected. Not even the Presidents before Buhari were spared this sad practice.

Today, all Government accounts are now domiciled in the CBN, with full disclosures on accruals and withdrawals.

**Ending Secret Government Accounts**

Before the coming of the Buhari Presidency, there had been other secret government accounts operated without the knowledge of Nigerians. There was a particular account with billions of dollars that only the Presidents had access to. This account was used for illegal extra-budgetary spending.

Today, this account has been thrown open for the benefit of all Nigerians.



**Buhari has consistently kept faith with Nigeria. He is not about to join the bandwagon.**

**Vote for the team that is working for you!**

**CHANGE IS A PROCESS.**

Endorsed by




**ote BUHARI OSINBAJO**  
 PRESIDENT / VICE PRESIDENT



**Plate 4.39: Problem and solution as persuasive structure**

Source: Punch, Friday, Feb. 1, 2019:17

Similarly, Buhari is depicted as the actor in the transitive process of ‘implementing’ the action of ‘ending scattered and secret accounts in commercial banks’ by corrupt government officials. This serves as a self-evaluation account of the ruling party’s efforts in tackling the problem of financial mismanagement in Nigeria. The advertisement was, therefore, deliberately designed to convince and engender voters’ favourable support in order to avoid defeat in the then upcoming election.

The compositional structure of the advertisement conforms to Kress and van Leeuwen’s (2006) information value of ‘ideal-real’ pattern. The Treasury Single Account (TSA) policy was presented as the ‘ideal’ that was not implemented by the previous administration while the ‘real’ becomes the surprise implementation of the TSA during the first term in office of President Buhari’s administration. The achievement is made salient and expressed as a surprise through the use of exclamatory sentences with bigger font size. The element of surprise is introduced into the pattern in order to attract readers’ attention, interest and curiosity.

The discursive and persuasive issues border on the implementation of the TSA that signals the end of reckless spending and unmonitored management of accounts in commercial banks. The repetitive use of the word, ‘ending’, in the advertisement corroborates this observation. The use of the APC’s colours (green, white, blue and red) portrays the identity of the party. More importantly, the colours serve as a framing strategy in putting the various parts of the advertisement together to make a whole text. Similarly, the use of ‘blue’ as a morpheme in the compound word ‘blueprint’ and as the colour of President Buhari’s cap, structurally complements the achievement and the achiever of the blueprint. The advertisement demonstrates Petty and Cacioppo’s (1986) central route of persuasion which involves the logical presentation of the success recorded in implementing the TSA. This is intended for the purpose of readers’ favourable evaluation of President Buhari’s performance in his first term in office.

Also, in Plate 4.40, solution to the problem of high rate of employability among Nigerians youths is highlighted. By tagging the advertisement as “BETTER JOBS”, PDP offers to provide solution to the problem of unemployment in Nigeria through “skills enterprise development and job creation programme ...and global IT services”. The campaign advertisement deploys the use of capital letters with big font size to direct readers’ attention to the idea of creating better life for Nigerians through skill

improvement programme in Nigeria. The advertisement is therefore compositionally made coherent through the use of big fonts to identify the problem while the solutions are suggested in small letters and small font size.

**BETTER**  
LIFE FOR NIGERIANS

**BETTER JOBS:**  
A NATIONAL SKILLS, ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT AND JOB CREATION PROGRAMME THAT CATERS FOR THE YOUTH. MARKET NIGERIA'S POTENTIAL AS OUTSOURCING DESTINATION FOR GLOBAL IT SERVICES.

**— ATIKU IS COMING —**

**ATIKU**  
LET'S GET NIGERIA WORKING AGAIN

**PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY**  
PDP  
Power to the People

**Plate 4.40: Problem and solution as persuasive structure**

*Source: Daily Trust, Wednesday, Jan., 23, 2019:11*



#### **4.4.3 Question and answer as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement**

Question and answer structure is often used in political campaign advertisement in the print media to engender critical thinking, and to influence voting decisions in readers before an election. A question is ordinarily used to address a problem, elicit a response, and alter what is believed or understood by others. It has a persuasive power. However, questions do more than being used to persuade an audience, provoke critical thinking or direct readers' attention to hitherto unknown or important issue. They perform other functions such as creating interest and prompting readers to action. Questions are often deployed to solicit acceptance, convey information or, suggest or shape answers. Rhetorical questions, for instance, do not require any answer but can be used for persuasive emphasis or effects. An answer can be described as a response to a question or statement. It can be a defense to an accusation or criticism. This structural pattern is exemplified in Plates 41 and 42.

# Did You Know?



## The Man, Buhari - Beyond the Slander and the Misconceptions.



As far as the constitution allows me, I will try to ensure that there is responsible and accountable governance at all levels of government in the country.

For I will not have kept my own trust with the Nigerian people if I allow others abuse theirs under my watch.”

- MUHAMMADU BUHARI

**WITH BUHARI, THERE ARE NO EXTREMES...  
THE ONLY EXTREME THERE IS, IS HIS LOVE FOR NIGERIA.**

• **CHARACTER**

A Different Kind of Politician - He personifies humility and contentment. He still lives in his old bungalow in Daura and keeps his old furniture. He does not personalise government and gives his Vice President free hand in running duties under his charge and hands over to him when he is not around.

• **REPUTATION**

A man of integrity who runs a prudent and open government. He served Nigeria as Governor of North Eastern state in 1975; as Federal Commissioner of Petroleum and Natural Resources in 1976; as a Military Head of State in 1984; as Chairman of the Petroleum Trust Fund (PTF) in 1994; and now, as President without any dent to his reputation in over forty years of public service.

• **RELATIONSHIPS**

Despite being a Muslim, he accepts people of different ethnicity and creed. His personal driver for over 10 years is a Christian. His pilot is a Christian and from the Igbo ethnic group; and a lot of his domestic staff are Christians.

**He is trusting and can be trusted. His love for Nigeria is unquestionable.**

**THE TIME IS NOW...**

# Buhari / Osinbajo

**CHANGE IS A PROCESS. BUHARI IS ON COURSE.**



**Plate 4.41: Question and answer as persuasive structure**

*Source: Punch Tuesday, Feb. 12, 2019:22*

The advertisement in Plate 4.41 has a question-and-answer format intended to create a persuasive effect in readers. The advertisement in this case signals a rhetorical question: “Did you know?”, not intended to be answered by the readers, but it is asked to create an effect. The remaining part of the text provides the answers which are elaborated through written words, quotations, logos and slogans presumably to correct negative attributes associated with the president by the opposition party. The text is compositionally made salient and framed through the use of capital letters to attract readers’ attention to the question. The picture and small letters are used to answer the question, to explicate and emphasise the persuasive intention expressed in the campaign advertisement. The advertisement also illustrates a peripheral route of persuasion that characterises APC’s candidate’s credibility and likeability before the 2019 presidential election in Nigeria.

Also, the advertisement in Plate 4.42 exhibits question and answer format. Through the use of capital letters and colours, the answer to the question, why must Jonathan go?, is stated in the reasons as contained in the expression, “HE CANNOT GUARANTEE STEADY POWER SUPPLY!” The remaining part of the advertisement emphasises and elaborates the answer to the question. Why Jonathan must go?



# WHY?

**HE CANNOT  
GUARANTEE  
STEADY  
POWER SUPPLY!**



Yes, the very critical Power sector was finally privatised. And yes, Nigerians have very high hopes of finally finding light at the end of this long, dark tunnel.

But for 18 long months now, has anything changed? And can we hope it will change?

Sadly NO, on both counts!

This is because the administration of President Jonathan has demonstrated time and again their inability to stop power infrastructure vandalism. From disruption of gas supply lines to wholesale carting away of steel pylons of power lines and transmission cables, vandals are having a field day while our President wrings his hands in helplessness. No arrests. No convictions.

And yet, pylons and pins are not the same.

Now, we have a paper-capacity of 5,500 Megawatts (a paltry 34% of national requirements) while real delivery is 3,800 Megawatts. And national demand is expected to shoot beyond 88,000 Megawatts in 2015 (as recently reported by Agosto & Company, a public policy consultancy).

**POWER OUTPUT IN COMPARISON**  
(SELECT AFRICAN COUNTRIES)

South Africa	256,100 MW
Egypt	148,500 MW
Ghana	10,906 MW
Kenya	7,618 MW
Nigeria	3,800 MW

**NIGERIA'S FOSSIL FUEL RESERVE**

Crude Oil	37.2 billion barrel (No. 10 globally)
Natural Gas	182 trillion cubic feet (No 9. globally)

**Nigerians, Make Your Vote Speak for you:  
Vote out Jonathan!**

[www.jonamustgo.com](http://www.jonamustgo.com)

**PRIORITY NIGERIA**

Plate 4.42: Question and answer as persuasive structure

Source: Nigerian Tribune Sunday, Mar. 22, 2015:22

#### **4.4.4 Quotation and question as persuasive structure in campaign advertisement**

Quotation and question typifies a structural design deployed in presidential campaign advertisements as a persuasive strategy. Quotation can be described as a statement that is reproduced word-for-word as it appears in the original text and differentiated by single or double quotation marks. Text producers often use quotation marks to refer to statements from opponents, from experts or celebrities who agree with their points of view in order to achieve credibility and a better persuasive intention. Quotation and question pattern is displayed in the 2015 PDP's presidential election campaign advertisement in Plate 4.43 .In the advertisement, the sponsors quoted *Economist* magazine's allegations of misdeeds against General Buhari. This is done in order to encourage voters' rejection of the APC's presidential candidate before the .2015 election. Though the listing of the verdicts in quotations from the magazine ends with the rhetorical question, "SHOULD A FORMER DICTATOR WITH SUCH A RECORD BE OFFERED ANOTHER CHANCE?", the answer is also provided in "OF COURSE, NO!

**VERDICT FROM THE ECONOMIST MAGAZINE**

**"...HIS RULE WAS NASTY  
BRUTISH AND MERCIFULLY SHORT.**

∞

**HE ORDERED WHIP-WIELDING  
SOLDIERS TO ENSURE THAT NIGERIANS  
FORMED ORDERLY QUEUES.**

∞

**HE EXPELLED 700,000 MIGRANTS  
IN THE DELUSION THAT THIS WOULD  
CREATE JOBS FOR NIGERIANS.**

∞

**HE BANNED POLITICAL MEETINGS  
AND FREE SPEECH.**

∞

**HE DETAINED THOUSANDS, USED  
SECRET TRIBUNALS AND EXECUTED PEOPLE  
FOR CRIMES THAT WERE NOT CAPITAL OFFENCES...**

∞

**SHOULD A FORMER DICTATOR WITH  
SUCH A RECORD BE OFFERED ANOTHER  
CHANCE?"**



**OF COURSE NO!**

**VOTE WISELY**  
COURTESY: CONCERNED NIGERIANS

Plate 4.43: Quotation and question as persuasive structure

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Monday, Feb. 9, 2015:15

**ANYONE WHO DOESN'T TAKE TRUTH  
SERIOUSLY IN SMALL MATTERS  
CANNOT BE TRUSTED IN LARGE ONES EITHER.**

**ALBERT EINSTEIN**

**“THOSE INVOLVED IN  
SUBSIDY SCAM  
AMOUNTING TO ABOUT  
2.6 TRILLION NAIRA  
MUST NEVER GO  
UNPUNISHED.”**

**“SUBSIDY THIEVES WILL GO  
SCOT FREE”**  
DAILY POST, JULY 26, 2012

**“GROUPS BLAST EFCC FOR POOR  
TRIAL OF SUBSIDY THIEVES”**  
VANGUARD, FEBRUARY 04, 2014

**“\$20BN STILL UNACCOUNTED  
FOR BY NNPC”**  
VANGUARD, FEBRUARY 04, 2014

**“\$30BILLION EXCESS CRUDE  
FUND UNACCOUNTED FOR”**  
PREMIUM TIMES, DECEMBER 26, 2014

**PENSION FUNDS THEFT: N32.88N  
POLICE PENSION FUND**  
ANTIBRAFL.ORG, JUNE 4, 2014

**“CORRUPTION MASSIVE UNDER  
JONATHAN” - US**  
PUNCH, APRIL 21, 2013

**“A COUNTRY SO CORRUPT IT  
WOULD BE BETTER TO BURN OUR  
AID MONEY”**  
MICHAEL BURLEIGH FOR THE DAILY MAIL  
©PHOTO: 2013



**PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN**  
ABUJA, JULY 4TH, 2012

**IF STEALING IS NOT CORRUPTION, WHAT IS?  
CAN PRESIDENT GOODLUCK JONATHAN BE TRUSTED WITH  
ALL THAT HE PROMISES?**

Signed: **Lai Mohammed**  
*National Publicity Secretary All Progressives Congress (APC)*



**Plate 4.44: Quotation and question as persuasive structure**

Source: *Nigerian Tribune*, Monday, Jan. 27, 2015:5

The advertisement in Plate 4.44 is structured in quotation and question pattern. The quotation is intended to criticize the incumbent president before the 2015 elections. Albert Einstein's quotation on 'trustworthiness' was used as a means of critiquing former President Goodluck's consideration of stealing as not corruption to introduce the theme of the above election campaign advertisement. This is foregrounded through the choice of light brown on white background. Light brown is often used to evoke negative emotions of being drab, lacklustre and corrupt. The colour thus reflects the performance evaluation of the then incumbent civilian regime. This supports the actual picture and quotation of former President Goodluck Jonathan. Extracts from the different newspaper reports, demarcated by a black line, corroborate the corrupt and non-performance allegations levelled against the PDP government. Plate 4.44 depicts quotation and question persuasive structure which ends in a disclosure. The quotations are from two different personalities, and are used to critique the inherent illogicalities in President Jonathan's submission that "stealing is not corruption". The two rhetorical questions that followed the quotations were probably used as conclusions to forewarn readers not to vote for the PDP's candidate in the 2015 presidential election. This multimodal configuration exemplified Petty and Cacioppo's (1986) 'central route' of persuasion used to logically convince the electorate in an anticipated context of victory.

#### **4.5 Discussion of findings**

Findings from these analyses revealed that presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers are contextually predetermined meaning-making resources and structures aimed at influencing voters' decisions. The resources and structures are deployed in transmitting complex and multiple meanings through written words, drawings, capital letters, pictures, colours and fonts in different sizes whose meanings change as the contexts change. Context provides useful insights that campaign advertisers exploited in creating persuasive messages in consolidating anticipated victory, preventing likely defeat or countering opponent's tactics. These messages are oftentimes reflective of advertiser's dynamic contextual evaluations of incumbent's performance, and socio-political challenges mutually experienced by all stakeholders within a polity. In other words, party supporters and candidates exploit contextual changes in formulating persuasive assumptions in producing campaign advertisements. New participants often come onto the political scene leading to new scenarios, new forms of political expressions and new expectations. These types of newness are often



contextually and persuasively represented in political campaign advertisements. Hence, contextual knowledge provides a better understanding of possible variations in persuasive meaning representations in competitive campaign texts. For example, both APC and PDP's competitive statuses changed during the 2015 and 2019 Nigeria's presidential elections. The competitive status of APC changed from a challenger in 2015 to that of a contesting incumbent in 2019. Conversely, PDP status changed from being an incumbent in 2015 to that of a challenger in 2019.

These changes contextually influenced the parties' selection of multimodal resources and strategies deployed in communicating persuasive intentions portrayed in the advertisements. Thus, in 2015, the APC as a challenger deployed more of CV and PRP in their campaign advertisements. However, as an incumbent in 2019, it used more of CD and CRP (*Punch* and *NT*). Conversely, the PDP as an incumbent in 2015 utilised CD and CRP, and as the challenger in 2019, it deployed CV and PRP (*Punch* and *NT*). Variations were also discovered in the use of statistical presentations of persuasive data in specific newspapers. While statistical data were symbolically represented in *NT* and *Punch*, it was not so in *DT*. However, all the newspapers variously displayed persuasive structures that exhibited request and explication, problem and solution, and question and quotation formats to contextually convince the readers before the elections.

As exhibited in the selected data, persuasive efforts were contextually predetermined and multimodally elaborated through the use of photographs, colours pictorials and images, symbols and written words for the identification and recognition of the candidates, understanding discourse issues and conveying realities intended for effective communication. Photographs, for instance, are considered to be more reliable in reproducing rather than representing reality; they evoke meanings that agree with natural convention (Baldry and Thibault, 2006; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin, 2007; van Leeuwen, 2005). The main political campaign tool for winning an election undoubtedly is in communicating values, benefits, identification and solutions to problems facing the generality of the people who are eligible to vote within a society. Hence, voters need to know the candidates to vote for, their abilities to solve identified problems and moral attributes, their stances on policy issues and what they can do if elected. Winning an election is not an easy task. It involves a lot of preparation and understanding of the political terrain in which an election will take place. It also involves contextual impetus in choosing and selecting meaning-making resources used in

composing routes of persuasion and associated intentions in political campaign advertisements in the newspapers.

It can be observed that, in election campaign advertisements, election candidates construe the period of electioneering as a crucial moment for securing better future for all citizens. The need to take urgent steps as a consequence of past mistakes which must be prevented from re-occurring in the future is underscored. However, campaign advertisements in the print media contain the repetition of context-based socio-political challenges. These have received some attention in language studies and political communication. However, context-based research on what have changed or remained constant, and how multimodal resources are integrated to communicate persuasive intentions in political campaign advertisements are limitless. Politics is a dynamic phenomenon in which multiple, diverse and complex meanings are often expressed and simultaneously represented through the integrated use of multimodal resources in political election campaign advertisements in the media.

#### **4.6 Chapter summary**

This chapter focuses on APC's and PDP's 2015 and 2019 presidential election campaign advertisements in selected newspapers to illustrate contextually projected representations of discourse issues, choice and selection of multimodal resources that are used in producing them. Discourse issues are elaborated and persuasively structured in order to influence voters' decisions before the elections. The next chapter will give the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Summary of the study

This study deals with contextual projections used in creating discourse issues and in selecting multimodal resources and structures to achieve persuasive effects in presidential election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers. The identified projections of victory, defeat and countering of opponent's strategies are indicative of persuasive trajectories and issues presented in soliciting for voters' acceptance. The discourse issues contextually reflect political doings, and how politicians make things happen through their promises and stances on policy issues that generally affect the well-being of Nigerians irrespective of tribe, religion or political affinity.

From this study, it could be confirmed that presidential election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers exemplify multimodal configurations which Iyengar and Simon (2001) described as texts that provide information value, socialising effects and reinforcement of voters' prevailing predispositions or preferences within a polity. In other words, campaign advertisements are essentially created for the purpose of influencing voters' decisions by placing relevant and timely information and messages which are multimodally constructed to reflect discourse issues and persuasive structures in different projected contexts.

Drawing insights from Kress and van Leeuwen's Multimodality Theory, complemented by Petty and Cacioppo's Elaboration Likelihood Model, the study identifies three projected contexts, seven discourse issues, eight multimodal resources and four persuasive structures in presidential election campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers. It was discovered that campaign advertisements were contextually used to define and create persuasive structures and meanings based on different real-life changes in socio-political situations as reflected in political parties' statuses (the APC

was a challenger in 2015 before becoming an incumbent in 2019, conversely PDP became the challenger in 2015 and 2019 respectively), and in presidential candidates presented to the electorate before the two elections.

The data portray three projected contexts of victory, defeat and countering of the opponent's strategies. The projected context of victory reflects the peripheral routes of persuasion which are characterised by low elaboration, credibility issues, positive self-presentation, emotional inducements and celebrity endorsements that do not require critical thinking for readers' comprehension. The projected context of defeat, on the other hand, involves the use of the central route of persuasion in high elaboration and logical presentation of facts aimed at provoking critical thinking. The projected context of countering the opponent's strategies reflects the integrated deployment of peripheral and central routes of persuasion are made coherent through the comparative listing of accomplishments and a change of slogans to reflect new realities.

These contexts converge in explaining the complexities that inform factual and verifiable representations of implicit persuasive meanings and intentions as contained in the selected campaign advertisements. The identified contexts in the selected data confirmed Cook's (1989) assertion that context is an "infinitely expandable and multidisciplinary phenomenon" and a crucial element in the production and interpretation of meanings in campaign advertisements. However, in agreement with Jewitt and Oyama (2001) criticism, Kress and van Leeuwen's framework is insufficient for the socio-political interpretation of images in texts, hence, there is a need for its complementary integration with other interdisciplinary theories such as ELM used in this study. The advertisements are analysed according to the compositional dimensions of the framework.

Seven discourse issues identified comprise leadership attributes, unemployment, insecurity, poverty reduction economic problems, education and infrastructures. These discourse issues contextually reflect people's expectations used to persuasively win the support of the electorate before the elections. The discourse issues present in the data capture the prevailing realities at the time of producing the campaign advertisements aimed at facilitating readers' understanding and influencing their voting decisions before the elections. Eight multimodal resources comprising written words, pictures, drawings, typography, slogans, colours, statistical elements and logos are contextually deployed to enhance the clarity of meaning and easy comprehension of complex and multiple

messages simultaneously communicated in the selected campaign advertisements. The findings reflect Kress' (2010) assertion that in multimodal compositions each mode performs specific functions. These functions are combined to express complex and multiple messages simultaneously communicated within a limited space. Multimodality, therefore, provides the needed resources in conserving space through the use of images to express what could have taken too much time to read while written words describe what may be difficult to represent through images. Similarly, colours and typography are used to foreground and connect specific aspects of campaign advertisements. Multimodal resources are used to elaborate the contextually perceived discourse issues intended to achieve persuasive intentions in the selected campaign advertisements.

The selection of multimodal resources used in producing the campaign advertisements depicts contextual knowledge of socio-political issues and meaning representations meant to achieve persuasive intentions. These contextually induced variations and diversities in the choice and selections of multimodal resources demonstrate discourse issues bordering on candidates' profiles, parties and their stances on policy issues. They are also indicative of the political roadmap for the analysis and interpretation of persuasive meanings in campaign advertisements in the newspapers.

Similarly, the selected data, using Petty and Cacioppo's (1986), exhibit peripheral and central routes of persuasion and their associated meanings and features. Persuasions as shown in the selected data are contextually determined and elaborated through the use of photographs, images, symbols and written words to facilitate the identification and recognition of the candidates, to understand discourse issues and convey realities intended for effective communication. Photographs, for instance, are considered to be more reliable in reproducing rather than representing reality; they evoke meanings that agree with natural conventions. Moreover, the identified persuasive structures of request and explication; problem and solution; question and answer; quotation and question patterns signal a marked difference from the overused Aristotle's 4th century rhetorical concepts of *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* often used in describing and analyzing persuasive structures in political campaign advertisements.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

The study confirms that political campaign advertisements in the newspapers are products of context-determined multimodal representations persuasively structured to

anticipatorily induce discourse issues aimed at shaping voters' perceptions and decisions before an election. In other words, campaign advertisements exhibit not only linguistic representations, but contextual representations which are elaborated, arranged, made salient and cohesive through multimodal resources to achieve predetermined persuasive intentions. The projected perspectives characterise promise-making as a persuasive strategy for a better and futuristic transformation of society. Campaign advertisements serve as an emblematic exposition of political parties and their candidates' thoughts and levels of preparedness for the task of governance.

The findings showcase how persuasions are projected and communicated in different contexts. The projected perspectives are meant to advance candidates' and their parties' political agendas through complex multimodal ensembles that text producers' often use to indicate persuasive trajectories and their associated meanings in campaign advertisements. Context provides means of evaluating the political landscape that can enhance producers' assumption formulation in choosing and selecting meaning-making resources used in consolidating voters' support, preventing likely defeat and anticipatorily countering opponent's strategies before an election.

Though success in an election cannot be totally guaranteed, it can be predicted based on some situational factors such as voters' exposure to timely information, bad experiences from unmet expectations, poor performance of incumbent administration, and sociopolitical issues bordering on the general welfare of the electorate within a particular society. These factors often form the background that informs the language choice, types of preparation and planning efforts that advertisers put into the production of election campaign advertisements in the print media.

Hence, political campaign advertisements in the newspapers are products of text-producers' careful consideration of issues which are context-dependent and expressed through the integrated use of multimodal resources aimed at achieving desired persuasive intentions. Text-producers must, therefore, possess the ability to contextually evaluate and determine relevant and appropriate meaning-making resources needed to generate discourse issues and construct persuasive messages in presidential election campaign advertisements. This is important because political parties and their candidates will continue to invest in election campaign advertisements in the newspapers in order to inform, persuade and mobilise the electorate before any election.

### **5.3 Limitations to the study**

This study is subject to some limitations. As a qualitative research design it is limited in quantitative analysis of the timing and frequency of placing presidential election campaign advertisements as persuasive strategy in specific newspaper and particular axis. This can also be used in discovering contextual under-representation or misrepresentation of discourse issues, multimodal resources and persuasive structures deployed in areas so selected. Similarly, access to data collected for the study in the newspaper houses came with a monetary cost. Getting access to past editions of presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers has been commercialised. Quantities in number of years desired by the researcher determined the cost.

### **5.4 Suggestions for further studies**

Presidential election campaign advertisements in the newspapers are contextual representations and multimodal configurations of discourse issues designed to influence voting decisions among the electorates. As contextual representations, discourse issues in political advertisement campaigns within a socio-political community cannot be fully and totally espoused or represented. Further investigation can therefore be made to identify contextual over-representation and underrepresentation in presidential election campaign advertisements in the print media. Studies can also be conducted to uncover contextual and quantitative representations in the timing and frequency of publishing of campaign advertisements in specific newspapers.

### **5.5 Contributions to knowledge**

This research is meant to contribute to the notion that language only is inadequate in determining contextual representations and meanings in persuasive texts. Other meaning-making modes such as pictures, pictorials, colours, logos and slogans equally play significant roles. Most of the socio-political issues and persuasive structures in contemporary presidential campaign advertisements are full of imaginative projections and full of promises for a better future. This research is therefore a contribution towards promoting and enriching the creative skills of copywriters and campaign consultants in their production efforts. Also, this investigation is meant to enhance readers' interpretive abilities for easy comprehension of contextual representations of complex and multiple

messages often simultaneously presented in political campaign advertisements in the print media. It will also contribute to understanding how persuasive effects are created in presidential campaign advertisements in the newspapers to consolidate envisaged support, prevent defeat and counter opponent's strategies, especially in a multi-literacy and computer-dominated society such as Nigeria. This requires a new literacy which O'Halloran (2004) refers to as 'multi literacy'. By using presidential campaign advertisements in selected Nigerian newspapers to illustrate and explain meaning-making elements in persuasive texts, the study may serve as a reference material in the teaching and learning of multimodal literacy in schools.



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