

ISSN 2141-9744

**I**badan  
**J**ournal of  
**H**umanistic  
**S**tudies

Volume 26, No 2, 2016

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Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies

Volume 26 (No 2) 2016

ISSN 2141-9744

Published by  
Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan,  
Ibadan, Nigeria.

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## Persuasive Rhetoric in Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 Presidential Political Campaign Advertisements in Nigeria

OLUGBENGA ELEGBE\* & BLESSING EFFIONG OKON\*\*

### Abstract

This study explored the rhetorical appeals expressed in Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 presidential political adverts and their influence on voting decisions of Nigerian voters during the election. Quantitative and qualitative research methods were employed for data gathering and analysis. The multistage and simple random sampling techniques were used to delineate Ibadan North Local Government into wards and to select two communities, while the purposive sampling technique was used to select respondents of voting age, those who could recall the presidential political adverts and who also voted for Jonathan during the 2011 presidential elections. Data were gathered from three hundred and nine (309) participants' duly completed copies of the questionnaire and structured interviews conducted with a political activist and a media practitioner. Survey data were analysed through simple percentages and Pearson correlation, while the video advertisements were analysed using the rhetorical parameters: ethos, pathos and logos. Respondents have positive perception of Goodluck Jonathan's personality in the adverts which influenced their decision to vote him as president in 2011. Goodluck Jonathan's credibility, as shown in the adverts, significantly influenced the voters' emotion (pathos) ( $r = 0.469$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) and their sense of reasoning (logic) ( $r = 0.624$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ) in voting him. The logical appeal in the adverts significantly influenced voters more than the emotional appeal ( $p < 0.05$ ). There is no significant difference in genders' perceptions about Jonathan's political adverts. Hence, there is need to further explore the use of rhetoric in political advertising in order to design appropriate strategies backed with appropriate messages that will persuade the audience for a reciprocal action.

**Keywords:** Rhetoric, 2011 Presidential Election, electioneering campaign advert, Goodluck Jonathan, Nigeria

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## Introduction

Political advertising is fast becoming a trend in electioneering as politicians and candidates vying for political position seek to garner support from the voters by using different appeals such that voters can be convinced to support and vote them (Clinton and Owen, 2006). Therefore, political advertising is one of the strategic tools for the purpose of winning elections (Edegoh, Ephraim, Ezebuenyi and Asemah 2013). The ability to persuade people to make a decision is germane to political advertising. Opeibi (2006) observes that the purpose of any advertisement is to convince the audience of the usefulness and desirability of a particular product and to also persuade them to purchase it. This process also applies to politics.

Political advertising provides the platform for electoral candidates to display their oratory and rhetorical dexterity in order to persuade voters. It serves as a means of informing, educating, persuading, wooing, convincing or compelling voters to vote in a particular way or support a particular candidate. While some adverts tend to inform or educate the audience, others seem to negatively influence the audience by cajoling, frightening or arousing the emotion of the target audience: “thus, the sponsors and ads writers adopt different rhetorical or discourse strategies; symbolic appeals or anecdotal expressions to achieve the primary goal of winning the support of the audience” (Cook, Bell, Opeibi, as cited by Opeibi, 2006).

Hence, politics and rhetoric have an age long relationship. Aristotle (384–322 BCE) defines rhetoric as “a practical art lying at the boundary of ethics and politics” because he understood it to be the symbolic means of translating customs and conventions or personal virtues in public action. Aristotle's definition provides a start for understanding how rhetoric is significant in persuasive communication, especially political adverts. Griffin (2012), citing Aristotle's definition of rhetoric in relation to persuasive communication, states thus: “rhetoric is ability, in each particular case, to see the available means of persuasion.” It involves using words to create effect. Aristotle saw the function of rhetoric as the discovery in each case of “the available means of persuasion”. Although Aristotle never spelt out what he meant by persuasion, his concern with non-coercive methods made it clear that he ruled out the forces of law, torture, and war. Rhetoric is the art of discovering ways to make truth seem more probable to an audience that is not completely convinced. Also, Greek philosopher Plato saw rhetoric as more of flattery than an art, as both of them are attempts to make things seem better than they really are. Plato pictured an ideal rhetoric from the point of view of a speaker's understanding of the peculiarities of his listeners (Griffin, 2012).

There are three kinds of artistic proofs which are also rhetorical appeals or modes of persuasion: logical (logos), ethical (ethos) and emotional (pathos). Logos is using logical appeal to persuade readers or listeners by leading them down the

road of logic and causing them to come to their own conclusions. Logical appeals state the facts and show how the facts are interrelated. It is an appeal to the audience's sense of *logos* when there are clear, reasonable premises and proofs, in the development of ideas with appropriate details (Killingsworth, 2005; Griffin, 2012). According to Demirdogen (2011: 3), "ethos was the first element in his theory of persuasion, which referred to the character the speaker wished to present. It could be defined as the charisma and the credibility of the speaker." Aristotle identifies three qualities that build high source credibility - intelligence, character and goodwill. Griffin (2012) expatiates on these three qualities that depict source credibility.

In the contribution of Nelson (2005:1), "pathos" appeals to passions; it stirs sentiments; it mobilises emotions". He asserts that emotion is an important part of the ability to reason. In order to make his point clear, he notes that David Hume, the chief architect of modern rationality insists that emotion and imagination are indispensable to reason. The use of emotions cannot be separated from other modes of persuasion because they (modes) all work hand in hand. Expression of feelings can also become a reason for public arguments. Media practitioners and scholars often view and treat emotion as manipulation and a source of hindrance or hold back to reasoning. Yet, a blend of emotion in the mix of other modes of persuasion is reflected in the telespots for political advertising. Here, genres, images, voices, music, and other sounds are added in the expression of reasoning, showing emotions as an intrinsic constituent of reasoning (Nelson, 2005).

Many studies have been conducted in the field of rhetoric and political advertising in developed countries. Jerit (2004), through a content analysis of newspaper coverage of the 1988 Canadian federal election campaign, examined the rhetorical strategies of candidates, speculating about the types of appeals that incumbents and challengers find most effective and that are, and which are most likely to dominate an election campaign. Findings show that candidates contesting the election have motivations to make use of arguments that produce emotions such as fear, anxiety and anger, and also use emotional appeals to organise and garner the support of the people. Thus, emotional appeals will be more enduring than other types of appeals, and hence more likely to dominate the rhetorical landscape. In the same vein, Brader (2005) observes that politicians routinely appeal to the emotions of voters. He conducted two experiments during an actual election to show that cueing enthusiasm motivates participation and activates existing loyalties, while cueing fear stimulates vigilance, increases reliance on contemporary evaluations, and facilitates persuasion. He found that political adverts can influence how citizens get involved and make choices simply by using images and music to evoke emotions.

In the African scene, Kangira (2004:1) did a rhetorical analysis of major

negative advertisements that were frequently used by the main contending parties in Zimbabwe, the ruling ZANU (PF) party and the opposition party, the MDC, in order to discredit the opponent with the efforts of journalists and academics to grapple with visual communication. The study shows that both negative-candidate theme and issue (policy) theme advertisements were meant to induce negative images of the presidential candidates in the voters' minds. Olujide, Adeyemi and Gbadeyan (2011) in their study examined the effectiveness of political advertising on Nigerian electorate and the problems associated with negative political advertising. Scholars have explored political advertising from various angles. They have looked at issues in political advertising from the negative and positive perspectives. However, there is dearth of studies on rhetoric and political adverts in Nigeria. Therefore, this study examines the influence of rhetorical appeal in political advertisements of Goodluck Jonathan on voters' decision in the 2011 presidential election in Nigeria.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Many scholars have researched into political advertising from different perspective using many theories, however, this study is anchored on the rhetorical theory.

### **Rhetoric Theory**

Rhetorical theory is “the body of thought about human symbol use”. The term rhetoric, in its popular usage, has a negative meaning. Rhetoric is seen as the opposite of action; it is seen as empty words, a weightless talk full of ornament and flattery. This modern understanding of rhetoric differs from the long history of rhetorical theory, dating back in the West to ancient Greece and Rome which provides a long-standing foundation on which the contemporary discipline of communication is built (Foss, 2009). The position rhetorical theory occupies today reflects a variation and broadening of meaning and purpose. It is no longer limited to the study of speeches or discourse but is generally viewed as the study of any kind of symbols. “In fact, many scholars of rhetoric use the terms rhetoric and communication interchangeably; both terms can refer to the process and product of a human symbolic interaction” (Foss, 2009:3).

The rhetoric theory is based on three parameters —the logos, ethos and pathos. The “logos”, which is based on logical appeals, state the facts and show how the facts are interrelated. It is an appeal to the audience's sense of *logos* when there are clear, reasonable premises and proofs in the development of ideas with appropriate details. However, “Ethos” refers to the character the speaker wishes to present. It could be defined as the charisma and the credibility of the speaker”. Aristotle notes that it is not sufficient for a speech to be reasonable, the speaker must be credible. He focused more on audience perception that are shaped by what the speaker does or does not say, emphasizing the speaker's background or reputation.

On rhetorics, Aristotle identifies three qualities that build high source credibility - intelligence, character, and goodwill. On the other hand, "pathos" appeals to passions; stirs sentiments and mobilizes the emotions towards a sense of reasoning (Nelson 2005).

The rhetoric theory was applied to examine the extent to which the credibility of Goodluck Jonathan's appeals to voters' sense of reasoning and their emotions as displayed in the adverts, might have eventually influenced their decision to vote him as president during the election.

### **Study objectives**

The following objectives guided the study:

1. to examine audience awareness and recall of Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political adverts;
2. to find out the evidence in the political advertisements that influenced the voters' choice for presidency;
3. to examine the extent to which the perceived credibility of Goodluck Jonathan in the adverts influence voters' sense of reasoning and emotions to vote for him.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Research design**

The qualitative and quantitative research approaches, in the form of a questionnaire survey, in-depth interviews and content analysis methods, were adopted for the study. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), survey attempts to describe and explain why situations exist. Survey is an appropriate method because it helps in studying the opinions, perceptions, attitude and dispositions of respondents. On the other hand, in-depth interview covered up for the lapses of questionnaire by probing and exploring the questions further to obtain adequate information. Content analysis (qualitative and quantitative) was employed to explore the adverts' content because of the obvious weaknesses of survey, whereby respondents may not be able to recall with precision the details of adverts.

### **Research instruments**

The research instruments used were interview guide, questionnaire and rhetorical analysis. The interview guide consisted of 12 open-ended questions, while the questionnaire had 17 items, with 8 open-ended questions and 9 close-ended questions, including the respondents' bio-data. The questionnaire was in five sections; Section A addressed the recalling ability of respondents concerning



Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political advertisements. Section B was on the perceived character of Goodluck Jonathan as expressed in his 2011 political advertisement. Section C dealt with the logical evidence observed by respondents in Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political adverts and Section D tackled the emotional appeal used in Goodluck Jonathan's political adverts. Section E addressed the respondents' bio data.

The rhetorical analysis explored the contents of the adverts with three major categories as follows:

Logical appeal: This category comprised reason-giving and arguments.

Ethical appeals: This category comprised lyrics, images and symbols that reflect credibility.

Emotional appeals: This comprised lyrics, images and symbols that reflect emotion.

#### ***Sample selection criteria and procedure***

The multistage sampling technique was used to delineate Ibadan North Local Government into wards; pick the name of the communities within the LGA; and select 400 respondents that possessed specific characteristics for the study (they were of voting age, they watched, listened to and saw Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political advertisements, and they voted him during the 2011 presidential elections). Two interviewees (a media executive and a political analyst) and the contents of two adverts ("I believe in Goodluck Jonathan" and "Am Goodluck Jonathan") were selected purposively from the study population. The two interviewees were among noted public commentators in Ibadan and were willing to share their experiences, while the two selected adverts contained messages about the personalities of Goodluck Jonathan which relate to the focus of the study.

The 12 wards found in Ibadan North Local Government Area in the right order include: Agbadagbo, Onyannkin, Yemetu, Igosun Ogunmola, Ikolaba, Sabo Scala Cinema, Oremeji, Ijokodo, Cocacola, Kongi, Education and Agbowo. Majority of the population of Ibadan North are in the private sector who are mainly traders and artisans, while few are civil servants who live predominantly around Bodija Estate, Agbowo, Sango, Mokola, University of Ibadan Quarters and Polytechnic Ibadan Area (Abumere, cited by Osoba, 2012).

**Table 1: Demographic Distribution of Respondents**

Variables	Measure	Frequency	Percent (%)
Sex	Male	193	62.5%
	Female	116	37.5%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>100%</b>
Age	21-25	118	38.2%
	26-30	103	33.3%
	31-35	39	12.7%
	36-40	27	8.7%
	41-45	10	3.2%
	46-50	12	3.9%
	<b>Total</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>100%</b>
Qualifications	Primary	24	7.8%
	GCE/WASSCE	20	6.5%
	NCE/OND	64	20.7%
	HND/1 <sup>st</sup> Degree	120	38.8%
	Masters	72	23.3%
	PhD	9	2.9%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>309</b>

Table 1 presents the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Male respondents were the highest with 62.5% while female respondents accounted for the remaining 37.5%. However, there should not be any conclusion that more men were in the selected areas than women, only that men in the areas met the criteria and were more willing to participate in the survey.

**Data collection, analysis and reliability**

Four hundred copies of the questionnaire were administered to respondents, with the assistance of trained field research assistants. In order to reduce biases and increase reliability of the responses, copies were administered to only the respondents who did not belong to the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the party on which platform Goodluck Jonathan contested the election. The interviewees were visited to get their consent for an interview and appointments were booked for the interview to be conducted. Four major Goodluck Jonathan political campaign video adverts produced in four major languages: English, Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa were downloaded from Goodluck Jonathan's Youtube political campaign site. These adverts titled, "Am Goodluck Jonathan", "I was not born rich", "I believe in Goodluck Jonathan" and "Let God's will be done" were analysed using the rhetorical analysis parameter. Three hundred and nine duly completed copies of the questionnaire were analysed using simple percentages, Chi-square and Pearson correlation. Qualitative data from the interview were first transcribed, coded and analysed to support findings of the study.

**Ethical Compliance**

The study followed all the ethical requirements for both the in-depth interviews and questionnaire distribution to the respondents. Before the in-depth interview sessions and questionnaire administration, the researcher and the trained

assistants thoroughly explained all the study objectives and goals to the respondents and obtained their verbal consent to participate in the study. Once the respondents agreed and gave verbal consents, the questionnaire was administered. Confidentiality and anonymity of the information were promised to the respondents while they were given the right and freedom to withdraw from the study during the research proceedings.

### *Study limitations*

The 2011 electioneering campaign advertisements, on which this research was based, was conducted about five years ago. Hence, responses from respondents might not be precise though the study sought to measure respondents' recall. Also, questionnaire copies were administered to those with vivid recall of the adverts during the electioneering campaign when the study was conducted.

## DATA PRESENTATION

**Research Objective 1:** To examine audience awareness and recall of Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political adverts. In order to fully know the respondents' level of awareness of the political adverts, their level of recall, number of adverts seen, and messages recalled from the adverts were measured.

**Table 2: Recall of political adverts**

Variable	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Yes	229	74.1%
No	80	25.9%
Total	309	100

Table 2 reveals that 74.1% respondents were aware of and could recall the 2011 Goodluck Jonathan's political adverts while 25.9% were not aware of, nor could recall the adverts. This shows that most of the respondents were aware of and could still recall the political adverts.

**Table 3: Number of political adverts seen**

No of Ad	1 ad	2 ads	3 ads	4 ads	5 ads	More	Total
No of respondents	50	80	70	48	28	33	309
Percentage	16.2%	25.9%	22.7%	15.5%	9.1%	10.7%	100%

Table 3 shows that the highest number of adverts recall came from 80 (25.9%) respondents who saw two adverts. This is followed by 70 (22.7%) respondents who saw three adverts, while the least is from 28 (9.1%) respondents who saw five adverts.

**Table 4: Messages recalled from the political adverts**

Catchy Phrases	Frequency	Percentage
Improving Education Sector	80	25.9%
Experienced Politician	53	17.2%
Party's popularity	40	12.9%
Minority representation	31	6.8%
Humble beginning	20	6.5 %
Vision 20-20	18	5.9 %
Seven point agenda	12	3.9%
New Revolution	9	2.9%
Continuation of Yar'dua's tenure	9	2.9%
Total	309	100%

Table 4 shows that 80 (25.9%) respondents could recall “improving educational sector”; 53(17.2%) remembered him (Jonathan) as “an experienced politician; 31(6.8%) could recall “minority representation”, 9 (2.9%), the least of the respondents, could recall “new revolution and continuation of Yar'dua's tenure”.

**Research Objective 2:** To find out the evidence in political advertisements that influenced the voter's choice

In order to know the evidence in the political adverts that influenced voters' choice, his perceived character, credibility and manner of gaining trust, as expressed in the adverts, were measured.

**Table 5: Perceived character of Goodluck Jonathan in the adverts**

S/N	Variable	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Total (%)
1	Skill in governance	216 (69.9%)	43 (13.9%)	50 (16.0%)	309 (100%)
2	He is a credible man	214 (69.3%)	38 (12.3%)	57 (18.4%)	309 (100%)
3	He is trustworthy	201 (65.0%)	45 (14.6%)	63 (20.4%)	309 (100%)
4	A man capable of leading the nation	219 (70.8%)	48 (15.6%)	42 (13.6%)	309 (100%)

Findings from Table 5 show that majority of the respondents (216=69.9%) agreed that Goodluck Jonathan was skilled in governance, while 43 (13.9%) disagreed; 214 (69.3%) agreed that he was a credible man while 38 (12.3%) disagreed; 201(65%) saw him as trustworthy while 45 (14.6%) disagreed; and 219 (70.0%) saw him as a man capable of leading the nation while 48(15.5%) disagreed. It can be inferred that majority of the respondents had a positive perception of his personality which influenced their choice of voting him as president in 2011.

**Table 6: Evidence of Credibility in His 2011 Political Advert**

Evidence of credibility in political advert	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Identification with the people	114	36.9%
Background	87	28.2%
Sincerity of character	59	19.1%
Experience and achievement	49	15.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>309</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 6 shows responses from respondents on Goodluck Jonathan's credibility through his adverts as 114 (36.9%) believed he identified with the people, 87(28.2%) believed in his background, 59 (19.1%) believed in his sincerity of character and 49 (15.9%) believed in his experience and achievement.

**Table 7: Content of Messages that Influenced People's**

S/ N	What influenced Respondents in Goodluck	Agree (%)	Disagree (%)	Neutral (%)	Total (%)
1	Advert messages are convincing	205 (66.4%)	48 (15.5%)	56 (18.1%)	309 (100%)
2	Advert messages are objective	201 (65.1%)	36 (11.6%)	72 (23.3%)	309 (100%)
3	Advert messages are based on true statistics.	152 (49.2%)	60 (19.4%)	97 (31.4%)	309 (100%)
4	Advert messages are based on correct evidence.	151 (49.2%)	58 (18.7%)	100 (32.4%)	309 (100%)
5	The messages in the adverts are based on truth.	145 (46.9%)	61 (19.7%)	103 (33.3%)	309 (100%)
6	The tone of the advert	163 (52.7%)	75 (24.2%)	71 (23.0%)	309 (100%)
7	The choice of words/style of presentation	184 (59.5%)	68 (22.0%)	57 (18.4%)	309 (100%)
8	The musical content	86 (27.8%)	129 (41.7%)	94 (30.4%)	309 (100%)
9	The picture/visuals of the advert	100 (32.3%)	111 (35.9%)	98 (31.7%)	309 (100%)

Table 7 shows that the political advertisements of Goodluck Jonathan influenced the respondents' decision to vote for him because the messages of the adverts were convincing (66.4%) and objective (65.1%) but not based on true statistics (49.2%), correct evidence (49.2%) and truth (46.9%), because an appreciable number of respondents were neutral about the advert messages. From the foregoing interpretation, majority of the respondents agreed that Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political advertisements had facts and objectivity but were indifferent and neutral to the idea that the advert messages possessed true statistics,

correct evidence and truth. The tone of the advert (52.8%) and the choice of words/style of presentation (59.5%) influenced respondents' decision to vote for him while the musical content (27.8%) and picture/visuals (32.3%) in the advertisements had no impact on the voters' decision. These findings, based on the rhetorical theory, show that the advert might have appealed to majority of the voters' sense of reasoning (logos) and their belief in the personality of Goodluck Jonathan, for them to have voted him during the 2011 presidential election.

However, contrary to the stance of majority of the respondents on the objectivity of Goodluck Jonathan's adverts, one of the interviewees, a prominent media practitioner said:

“No politician ever expresses objectivity in adverts, he (Goodluck Jonathan) only told the people about his good point that is, he played up his good part to advertise himself”.

This opinion was further supported by another interviewee who is a political activist that:

“There is no objectivity because everyone wants to sell himself and create awareness about his interest to vie for a position. Everyone is trying to push forth his good quality.”

This was shown in the use of good musical and picture/visual support to the content of the adverts to sensitise voters' emotion in support of the candidature of Goodluck Jonathan. However, majority of the voters were not emotional but reasonable, which might be based on evidence from Jonathan's personality as shown in the adverts before casting their votes for him. This submission establishes that using facts in adverts messages alone might not be enough to convince the audience but adding other appropriate musical or visual support can go a long way in influencing their decisions.

**Research Objective 3:** To examine the extent to which perceived credibility of Goodluck Jonathan in the adverts influenced voters' sense of reasoning and emotions to vote for him.

In order to examine the extent to which perceived credibility of Goodluck Jonathan in the adverts influenced voters' sense of reasoning and emotions to vote for him, the Pearson correlation was used to examine the significant effect of

credibility on the logical and emotional appeal used in the political advertisements.

**Table 9: Relationship between credibility, logical and emotional appeal in the adverts**

		<b>Emotional appeal in the adverts</b>
<b>Credibility in Jonathan Goodluck political adverts</b>	Pearson Correlation	.394
	Probability	.000
	N	299
<b>Credibility in Jonathan Goodluck political adverts</b>		<b>Logical appeals in the adverts</b>
	Pearson Correlation	.624
	Probability	.000
	N	300
<b>Logical appeals in the adverts</b>		<b>Emotional appeals in the adverts</b>
	Pearson Correlation	.469
	Probability	.000
	N	296

There was a significant relationship between credibility and emotional appeals in the adverts ( $r = 0.394$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), which shows that the credibility of the candidate in his political advert appealed to the emotions of the respondents. Also, there was a significant relationship between credibility and logical appeals in the advertisements ( $r = 0.624$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), which implies that credibility of the candidate influenced the logical reasoning of the respondents. Logical and emotional appeal in the adverts were also significantly related ( $r = 0.469$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). This implies that the logical approach adopted in his adverts had positive impacts on people's emotion and caused them to cast their votes for him.

### **Discussion of Findings**

The study shows that political parties and candidates now rely increasingly on advertising to inform and influence voters during elections (O'Cass, 2002; Edegoh et al, 2013). However, based on rhetorical principle, the recall of the advert was based on the credibility of Goodluck Jonathan and the story of his life which contributed immensely to the perception of his personality in the messages by the audience. This perception might have led to the level of conviction of the messages in the advert. According to Umeogu (2012:114):

the characteristics of a communicator influence an audience's reception of a message. This belief affects not only the use of testimonials for commercial advertising but also the choice of endorsers for political candidates and social causes. Researchers have found that sources having more of the credibility dimensions induce

greater attitude change immediately than do sources having less of those dimensions.

Teven (2008) in his investigation demonstrated that political candidate's believability and likeability have significant, positive relationships (while deceptiveness has a significant negative relationship) with voters' perceptions of candidate's credibility-competence, goodwill, and trustworthiness. Thus, this is in line with the proposition of the elaboration likelihood model in which the consumer's evaluation of the quality of the arguments presented in the advertising message determines the persuasive ability of the advertising message. Positive cognitive responses lead to favourable changes in cognitive structure, which lead to a positive attitude change or persuasion. The opposite also occurs (Belch and Belch 2009: 162). Hence, respondents' analysis of the message and their perception of Goodluck Jonathan might have influenced their response to his campaign messages which eventually led to their voting for him as president in the 2011 presidential election in Nigeria. The rhetorical analysis of the advertisement revealed from the lyrics of the music video, "I Believe in Goodluck Jonathan", paints a picture of his credibility. Excerpt from the lyrics below is an example:

I hear the call to defend our nation  
I see the light at the end of the tunnel  
I see the dreams of those who have died  
I see the hope for which we survived  
I see a man with the will and the passion  
To serve and to lead and to honour our nation  
I see a man who's willing to fight  
Who's determined to bring delight  
Who has shown himself a leader

This reveals the submission of one of the rhetorical parameters by Aristotle in the rhetorical theory. The use of "ethos" is an important factor in rhetorical advertising which is usually the first thing that can be noticed – the image of the person or product promoted. From the Aristotelian perspective, "ethos" shows the speaker's good sense, good moral character and goodwill which make people to believe what he says. The declaration of expertise and the authority to handle the affairs of the country is noticeable in the words "to serve and to lead and honour our nation" and "who has shown himself a leader". The image painted here is of courage, character, goodwill, willingness and stalwart commitment to the good of the people. The second stanza also presents the qualities that made Goodluck Jonathan credible

I see a leader with the heart for the people  
A man who would listen, and who knows



what we've been through.  
A man who is willing to sacrifice.

The lyrics of the advert revealed Goodluck Jonathan's leadership qualities- "a heart for the people", listens, knows what people have been through, willingness to sacrifice". The last line of the song presents a democratic principle of the right of every eligible Nigerian voter to choose his or her leader. The analysis shows that Goodluck's ability to identify with the people; his background and the eulogy of his acclaimed personality are marks of credibility. Demirdögen (2010) emphasises expertise and trustworthiness as basic dimensions of credibility that co-exist for reliable communication. This agrees with the statements that were tested in Table 7. Similarly, majority of the respondents in expressing their minds about how Goodluck Jonathan gained their trust and respect identified his academic background as a PhD holder as the causative factor. Meanwhile, this can be associated with the fact that majority of the respondents were educated with a minimum qualification of First degree/HND. This further aligns with an experiment that showed that people are more easily persuaded if they share some similarities with the source (Demirdögen, 2010). Hence, Goodluck Jonathan was viewed as a credible candidate by most of the respondents who viewed his political advertisements in 2011. The three qualities that build high source credibility identified by Aristotle - intelligence, character, and goodwill-were explored, producing positive responses from the respondents. The implication of this finding is that ethos (speaker's intelligence, character, and goodwill toward the audience) was present, strong and on the high side in Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political advertisements. From the description of Goodluck Jonathan in the adverts, one can infer that a man with such qualities is the right man for the job.

On the other hand the "I am Goodluck Jonathan" advert contained clear evidence of logos.

I am Goodluck Jonathan, I wasn't born rich  
I had no shoes, no school bag, I carried my  
books in my hand. Some days I had only one meal.  
I never imagined I would be where I am today.  
*If I can make it, then you can make it,*  
*If he can make it then, I can make it.*  
"I will never let you down"

Logos can be deduced from the lines of this political advert. Goodluck Jonathan came from the bottom of the rung of social class to the height of it. In line with Aristotle's formal arguments based on syllogisms, it presents hope - if Goodluck can make it, then everyone, not minding the background, can rise to the top of the ladder of any chosen path in life. In essence, determining objectivity in an

ideal situation from the Elaboration Likelihood model demands cognition and processing of information through the central route. This is vividly expressed in the findings of the study.

Also, the analysis of "I Believe in Goodluck Jonathan" advertisement musical video for the Goodluck Jonathan's presidential campaign was highlighted with celebrity endorsement. Different artistes featured in it with various focal points of his administration inscribed on their vest - ACCOUNTABILITY, TRANSPARENCY, I BELIEVE IN GOODLUCK, and GOOD GOVERNANCE. Many of the artistes were seen clothed in different traditional attires representing different ethnic groups singing in unity of purpose with strong faith in a man's (Goodluck Jonathan's) ability to lead the nation to greater height.

Although, Brader (2005) in his study demonstrated that political ads can change the way citizens are involved and make choices simply by using images and music to evoke emotions and Kaid (2004) buttressed the power of visual communication, the finding of this study deviated from the assertions made by Brader (2005) and Kaid (2004) as the musical content, pictures and visuals of his adverts had little or no impact on respondents' voting decision. These findings disproved the assertion of scholars who have studied "nonverbal means of candidate presentation" and found that candidate's visual image can influence how voters view them (Rosenberg et al.; 1986; Rosenberg and McCafferty 1987; Kaid 2004). It is evident from the result of the finding through the survey, interview and content analysis that it is possible for an advert with good audiovisual elements not to impact on voting decision.

The correlation of ethos (credibility) with pathos and logos was significant in the study. Umeogu (2012:113) establishes that "credibility is all about the tendency to believe or trust someone with little or no doubt of being deceived or manipulated". This means that ethos (appeal to credibility) produced pathos (appeal to emotions). This implies that having firmly planted in the minds of the people Goodluck Jonathan's expertise and knowledge, the people then could declare with certainty that Goodluck Jonathan was the man for the job, which appealed to their emotions. This was shown in the textual analysis of one of the adverts thus:

Refrain:

I believe in Goodluck Jonathan,  
I believe Nigeria has a chance to rise again  
And take its place among the nations.  
I believe in Goodluck Jonathan,  
I believe that he has what it takes  
to take this nation to a place of pride and glory.

Credibility and emotional appeal were linked. The personality of Goodluck Jonathan portrayed credibility that eventually influenced the emotion of the respondents to vote for him. From this observation, a comparison between credibility and emotional appeal on the one hand and credibility and logical appeal on the other hand indicates that there is a relationship between them but the degree varies. Emotional appeal and logical appeal are both dependent on credibility. Credibility and logical appeal have a very strong relationship while credibility and emotional appeal are relatively strong. It can be deduced from this result that the respondents were reached through logical appeal in their choice of Goodluck Jonathan as President more than emotional appeal. This implies that majority of the respondents analysed Goodluck Jonathan's advert from the central route with high elaboration, which motivated their decision to vote for him. Majority of the respondents have a positive perception of his personality which influenced their choice of voting him as President in 2011. Also there is no difference in gender perception of Goodluck Jonathan's 2011 political advertisements since both males and females viewed his adverts as being sensible and persuasive.

### **Conclusion/Recommendation**

Rhetoric is a powerful tool which can be used to persuade and influence voters to make voting decision during political campaigns. Though different people are influenced by different persuasive appeals, some by appeal to logic, some by appeal to credibility and others by appeal to emotions which are interwoven, all aspects of rhetorical appeal (logos, ethos, pathos) have roles to play in the success of a political advertisement as each one can stand independently to influence people's voting decisions. However, other factors may also contribute to candidates' success at the polls because no matter the quality of the advertisement, it cannot sell a bad candidate.

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