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Multimodal Analysis of Visual Framing in Bola Tinubu's Presidential Campaign Video

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines a political campaign video through the lens of multimodal visual and emotional framing. Focusing on a specific instance where Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the then-presidential candidate and current president of Nigeria, proclaimed in Yoruba, "Emi ló kán" ("It is my turn"), I employ Systemic Visual Grammar to elucidate how visual frames are strategically utilised to underscore critical issues pertinent to an effective political campaign. The findings indicate that (i) emotional and visual semiotics are instrumental in framing the legitimacy matter, and (ii) visual frames associated with elite closure, kinship, and ethno-religious resources underscore the necessity of executing a speech act with the relevant thematic emphasis. This paper underscores the variations in cultural signals and emotional framing within hybrid political regimes, thereby contributing to the discourse on political communication, particularly regarding frame analysis in such contexts.

Keywords: 'Emi ló kán - it is my turn', political campaign video, frames, systemic visual grammar, multimodal visual framing.

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1. Introduction

This paper conducts a multimodal analysis of a campaign video featuring Bola Ahmed Tinubu, the current President of Nigeria, who, during his electioneering campaign, proclaimed in Yoruba, "Emi ló kán" ("It is my turn," hereafter referred to as ELK). Utilising Systemic Visual Grammar (SVG), the study elucidates how visual framing is employed to emphasise critical themes essential for an effective political campaign. The findings illustrate the synergistic relationship between visual and auditory components in political videos, which collectively serve to communicate political messages and sway public opinion. The ELK slogan, along with its corresponding campaign video, exemplifies the significance of strategic communication in political contexts. Through an exploration of the visual semiotics and framing techniques present in the video, this research underscores the intricate connections among media, culture, and politics in influencing electoral results.

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Numerous investigations have examined political campaign videos through various lenses, such as functional analysis, rallying effects, and the interplay of affective and identity politics (Ademilokun and Olateju 2020; Ayuwo 2022; Gbadegesin and Onanuga 2018; Haßler, Wurst & Pohl 2023; Geise, Maubach & Eli 2024). Nonetheless, there remains a scarcity of scholarly work that approaches these videos from a multimodal holistic perspective. Much of the existing research tends to concentrate on either textual or verbal components or on isolated visual elements, such as memes, while often overlooking case studies from the African context. This gap is particularly significant given the rising prominence of multimodal discourse analysis, which frequently lacks robust linguistic frameworks. Moreso, the literature typically addresses specific multimodal or static visual resources, failing to appreciate the importance of situating an event within a comprehensive multimodal framework that includes both the speech act and the actor. The contextual backdrop of events is frequently disregarded, and the characters depicted in visuals are often portrayed as static entities rather than dynamic participants. The dynamic nature of these visuals, when viewed through a discourse lens, is accentuated by both offline and online echo chambers, regardless of whether conversations are present (Bright et al. 2021; Dubois and Grant 2018; Gentzkow and Shapiro 2011; Ludwig and Müller 2022).

To address these identified deficiencies, this paper employs Systemic Visual Grammar (SVG) in conjunction with the visual framing framework established by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996, 2006) to conduct a thorough analysis of the visual framing present in the ELK video. This approach aims to elucidate how the interplay of frames and visual semiotics has played a crucial role in the effectiveness of the campaign slogan. By integrating these theoretical frameworks, the analysis seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of the multimodal elements at play, thereby contributing to the broader discourse on political communication and visual rhetoric.

2. Video content description: Campaign message to APC delegates in Abeokuta, Ogun State

This section presents an analysis of the video pertinent to this research. It outlines the context and key figures involved, particularly focusing on the emergence of a significant political slogan. The ELK slogan, first articulated by Bola Tinubu during the APC party's presidential campaign on June 3, 2022, emerged as a crucial component of Nigeria's political narrative. Originally designed to undermine Tinubu's candidacy by suggesting that the presidency was not a birth right, the slogan unexpectedly enhanced his appeal, particularly among conservative Yoruba constituents. The 15-minute campaign video struck a chord within both traditional and digital public spheres, attracting considerable attention from Nigerians at home and in the diaspora.

The influence of the slogan extended beyond Tinubu's electoral success, catalysing a cultural movement that inspired the production of music tracks, comedic skits, memes, and various forms of political and social critique. The strategic timing of the slogan's introduction, particularly as it resonated with historical sentiments surrounding the annulled June 12, 1993, election, further intensified its significance. The video was set in Abeokuta, Ogun State, a location steeped in political symbolism, as it is the birthplace of late Chief M.K.O. Abiola, the candidate from the annulled election in 1993. June 12 is commemorated as Democracy Day in Nigeria, underscoring the video's contextual relevance. With over 3.5 million views on YouTube, the campaign video ignited extensive engagement across digital platforms, including satirical reactions from opposing parties, prompting an inquiry into how the video and its accompanying slogan became entrenched in the fabric of Nigerian political discourse. The subsequent section will examine pertinent literature on political campaigning and the role of visual framing and attention in political contexts.

3. Literature review

This section provides a review of scholarly works on framing and political campaign videos. Political campaign videos are integral to new media communication, reflecting the modern shift in political strategies.

3.1 Political campaign videos

Political campaign videos are situated within the realm of new media communication. Consequently, discussions surrounding these videos fall under the domain of new media. The new

media political campaign is recognised as a complex communication environment for electoral contests (Owen 2018; Brady and Johnston 2006). Owen (2018) illustrates the significance of new media in political campaigning, describing it as a testing ground for the development of political strategies that evolve from post-election dynamics and establish a new standard for media engagement in politics.

Moreover, contemporary political campaigns have adeptly utilized new media through various innovative tactics, such as conducting online polls, facilitating video interactions with candidates, and maintaining fan pages that regularly share videos, among other strategies. In essence, effective political parties have integrated a range of multi-layered approaches that blend traditional and modern media throughout their campaigns. This concept is aptly captured by Howard (2006:2-4), who refers to it as a hypermedia campaign, characterised by the simultaneous or viral dissemination of resources, materials, and messages across multiple platforms.

This hypermedia campaign facilitates the fragmentation of messages through the lens of ubiquitous computing (Mouffit 2016; Olaniran and Williams 2020). Consequently, campaign messages can be replicated within the public domain, modified, and reconstituted with an entirely new array of cues, functions, or symbols, leading to their widespread dissemination (Paatelainen et al. 2022; Howard 2006; Spivak 2019; Appel and Prietzel 2022).

However, despite the purported benefits, there are notable drawbacks associated with the use of new media in political campaign videos. A particularly pressing concern is the disruptive influence of misinformation in the current post-truth landscape (Spivak 2019; Appel and Prietzel 2022; Rodríguez-Ferrándiz 2023). This issue manifests in several ways: firstly, the capacity to create clones from original messages allows individuals to alter the content at will and subsequently propagate false information. Secondly, the emergence and continuous evolution of artificial intelligence, coupled with deepfake technology, enable the manipulation of audio and visual elements, allowing for the synchronisation and merging of content with the agenda of the manipulator.

The challenges associated with the rise of outsourced media campaigns in the contemporary media landscape are significant. The increasing availability of skilled social media professionals, social engineers, and various forms of online agitators, including troll farms and hired trolls, presents considerable obstacles for political candidates and parties. The presence of non-state actors, as well as state-sponsored independent operatives and organizations such as the 527 groups in the United States, further complicates this landscape. Existing literature has explored political campaign videos from multiple angles. Empirical research conducted by Tarr et al. (2022) indicates that the effectiveness of political campaign videos is primarily driven by targeted framing and the incorporation of key themes.

In other extant literatures, political campaign videos extend the reach of political candidates to electorates who ordinarily would have been exempted from the political campaign tour. This is reinforced by the predominance of top-down or bottom-up communication flows on YouTube (Adebomi 2024; Thorson et al. 2013; Dylko et al. 2011; Murthy and Sharma 2019; Zhang and Wei 2024; Ureke 2024; Gakahu 2024). Additionally, Litvinenko (2021:4-7) expanded upon this perspective by asserting the emergence of the YouTubification of political communication. The research findings indicate that political campaign videos serve to ensure a degree of representation rather than fostering polarization, particularly for all parties in autocratic or illiberal regimes. For example, during the Russian election campaign, YouTube accounts of oppositional parties garnered more views, alongside those of non-systemic opposition figures such as Navalny and pro-communist entities. The study concluded by highlighting the detrimental effects of state capture and censorship, while portraying these video platforms as a form of 'alternative television' in contrast to traditional state-controlled media.

The literature on new media effects in electoral contexts indicates a complex interplay in political communication, particularly during campaign periods. According to Fujiwara (2023), the American elections of 2016 and 2020 were significantly shaped by the utilisation of new media platforms. Their research suggests that the liberal content disseminated on Twitter may have swayed moderate voters to cast their ballots against Donald Trump.

While that assertion is disputable, Meeks (2019) opines that Donald Trump's vocal critic of the traditional news or old media created an alternative in new media which is uncensored or partially

restrictive. His utilisation of attack or negative frames to create an alternate reality or bloated truth sums up the power of new media.

The previously unfiltered nature of social media is no longer as apparent, as various platforms have implemented mandatory fact-checking measures to address the consequences of misinformation (Liu et al. 2023; Wasike 2023; Bachmann and Valenzuela 2023; Bösch and Ricks 2021). In hindsight, other researchers have pointed out the role of visual communication on TikTok as a medium for political campaigning. However, in the context of German and Italian elections, this platform has primarily been utilised as a performative instrument for populist messaging, hate speech, confrontational tactics, politainment, or personal agenda promotion (Bösch and Ricks 2021; Zurovac 2022; Adebomi 2024; Cervi and Marín-Lladó 2021; Cervi et al. 2021; Gakahu 2024; Ureke 2024).

Numerous researchers have investigated the approach of multimodal discourse analysis to elucidate the dynamics of political campaign videos (Ademilokun and Olateju 2020; Adebomi 2024). Their study employed critical multimodal discourse analysis, focusing on a selection of strategically chosen campaign rallies in Nigeria. The results indicate that these political rallies function as platforms for the articulation of ideology, engagement with political figures, and the establishment of agendas. Extensive research was undertaken across different areas of political communication. Nonetheless, it is clear that political campaign videos have not received significant academic scrutiny. While there is a considerable amount of literature addressing multimodal discourse analysis related to other contemporary media platforms like X, TikTok, and Facebook, the integration of linguistic approaches and theories with visual semiotics in the context of political campaign videos is still relatively uncharted. As a result, this paper employs the socio-functional framework of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) alongside framing theory to examine the visual frames found in the ELK video.

3.2 Visual framing and visual attention in politics

Framing has primarily been utilised to examine the various stages of the communication process, particularly how one stage may overshadow another and the reasons behind the repetition or emphasis of certain elements during communication (Oversteegen and van Wijk, 2003; Scheufele, 1999; Zhang and Wei, 2024). Entman (1993) posited that framing involves the processes of salience and selection, which means that it encompasses the identification of specific social issues, perceived realities, or problems, and prioritising them within texts, visuals, performances, signs, and speech acts (Entman, 1993:52). Consequently, frames serve to illuminate societal challenges, articulating the causal relationships and the key actors involved in these issues. Also, framing extends to making moral evaluations of these actors and proposing potential solutions or interventions for the identified problems.

Ardèvol-Abreu (2015:431-432) identifies a typology of frames that includes media and individual frames, as well as strong and weak frames, and specific and generic frames, which are predominantly employed in various contexts. This classification underscores the multifaceted nature of framing and its applicability across different communicative scenarios, highlighting how different types of frames can influence the interpretation and understanding of social issues. By categorising frames in this manner, researchers can better analyse the impact of framing on public perception and discourse, ultimately contributing to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of communication.

According to Ardèvol-Abreu (2015:431-432) the typology of frames are: media and individual frames, strong and weak frames, specific and generic frames all which are mostly used in research. This study adopts a comprehensive approach to the slogan Emi lo kan, utilising the frame typology proposed by Ardèvol-Abreu (2015). This typology encompasses speech acts, spoken language, moving images, and various visual components, which are interwoven through a series of overlapping frames. Scholars have identified visuals as contemporary frames, particularly in relation to their influence on the portrayal of wars and conflicts, event reporting, and graphic representations that bypass traditional empathy framing (Chong and Druckman, 2007; Schwalbe, 2006).

Visual framing exerts an enhancing influence that subsequently impacts the distribution of messages. (Geise and Baden, 2014). As defined by (D'Angelo et al 2019) visual framing collects specific aspects of perceived reality, highlights and prime them through visual salience. The process described by Schwalbe (2006) begins with the selection of events and the determination of what will be framed,

whether that involves images, text, graphical media, or physical objects. Given that frames reflect the context or event from which they arise, the visual focus generated by these frames constitutes an additional discourse that merits investigation.

Research on visual attention has established that in diverse social contexts, the act of visually attending to an individual can signify dominance (Mazur, 2005). Consequently, the degree of support an individual receives from their peers plays a crucial role in determining their significance and influence within the group. In essence, those who attract the most visual attention are likely to amass a larger following (Gerpott et al., 2018). The implications of this phenomenon in the realm of politics, particularly in relation to new media coverage, remain to be thoroughly examined. Nevertheless, existing studies suggest that individuals perceived as leaders tend to garner more visual attention and followers compared to their less prominent counterparts. This underscores the importance of visual priming and framing during electoral processes. Additionally, research focusing on camera angles and shot types during political debates highlights the relevance of visual attention in shaping public perception. The manner in which a political candidate gestures or utilises body language can significantly impact the level of visual attention they receive, as evidenced by findings from the 2016 primary debates, which indicated that front-runners were afforded more camera time than their lower-status competitors (Stewart et al., 2019; Gakahu 2024).

The literature on visual framing effects posits that audio-visual elements are among the most potent tools for altering public opinion, provided that the messages are effectively framed. In contrast, textual messaging tends to be more impactful when dealing with complex information. Sparks, Areni, and Cox (1998) support this assertion by highlighting that visual components facilitate heuristic processing, which is more inferential, as opposed to systematic processing that is analytical in nature. Besides, Pfau et al. (2006) stress the necessity of integrating both textual and visual elements in communication strategies. For instance, during the Iraq War, messages that combined images with captions were found to elicit less support for American involvement compared to those that relied solely on full-text descriptions. Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011) present a framework aimed at elucidating the concept of visual framing. They delineate four distinct levels that encompass visuals, beginning with their function as a denotative system, followed by the stylistic and technical transformations that occur during representation, and culminating in their role as ideological representations.

At the level of visuals as denotative system, images are processed as visual sensations or stimuli that convey information passing through nerve cells to the eye to relay information further to the brain (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011:52-53). This reflects Barthes (1977) concept of denotation in the analysis of visual messages. Thus, the object of analysis is the visual stimuli. In this paper, the denotative system examines images as they relate to the slogan, actor, audience as well as democratic elitism as it obtains in Nigeria. The stylistic -technical transformation level considers visual modality, pictorial conventions, how styles gain social meaning (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011:54-55). The stylistic-technical framework presented in this paper elucidates how specific social signals acquire significance across various cultural contexts. This suggests that ELK may convey distinct interpretations to different audiences while simultaneously generating meaning both within and outside the confines of elite closure and speech acts.

The connotative level not only denote all visual semiotic resources or elements but embraces the ideas or concepts related to the visual semiotic resources (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011:55). The connotative level as regards ELK discloses the thematic salience within a speech actor's performance. In this case, it depicts how the presidential elect through his oratory performance engaged in a mono conversation with the audience.

Lastly, the ideological representation level draws together symbols and stylistic characteristics of an image which provides a rationale behind the representations analysed. Here, attitudinal preference, class relations, religious or philosophical persuasion are represented (Rodriguez and Dimitrova, 2011:57-58). The levels of visual framing as revealed here, prepare the ground for an approach to classify and analyse visual frames.

In the subsequent section, I delineated the research methodology employed in this study.

This framework serves as the foundation for understanding the approaches and techniques utilised to gather and analyse data throughout the research process.

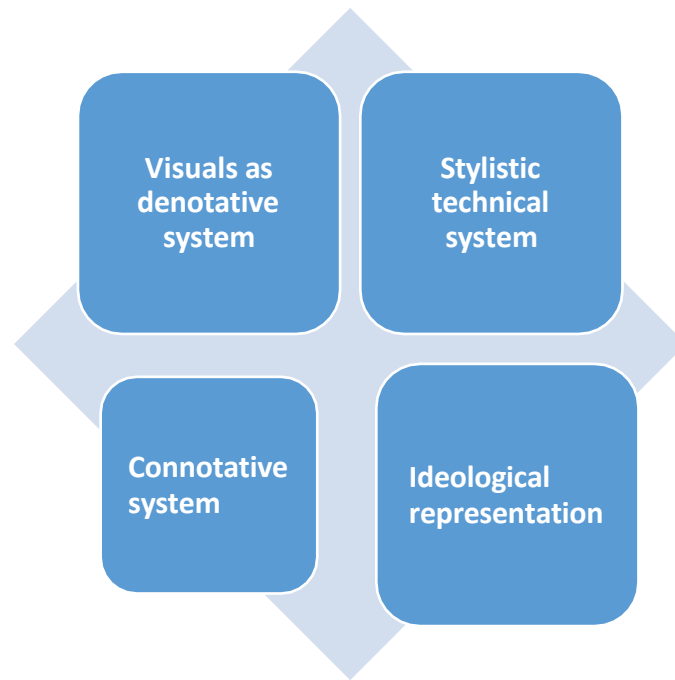


Figure 1. Visual framing

4. Methodology

This section outlines the analytical framework employed in this paper, accompanied by an introduction to the thematic focuses derived from the video. Additionally, it addresses the methodologies for data selection and collection, as well as the ethical considerations involved.

4.1 Data collection and analysis

The main focus of this analysis is the presidential campaign video available on YouTube, along with a brief video featuring the presidential candidate explaining the significance of his slogan as articulated in Abeokuta and the implications of its delivery at that specific site. The data collection commenced with a YouTube search using the keywords: 'Emi ló kán or Emi lokan'. This search aimed to identify visual materials on social media platforms, although there was potential to discover additional visual content on TikTok. However, the researcher opted to limit the search to YouTube, as it is the primary platform for the majority of visual resources. In contrast, TikTok often serves as a platform for repurposed primary or secondary visual content.

Following the search, two videos were identified as pertinent to the study, evaluated based on three criteria: the articulation of the slogan, linguistic choices, and the event's location. The chosen videos were transcribed and translated from Yoruba to English. The selection process for these videos was conducted objectively, taking into account the source of the media and its relevance to the research.

The media landscape is characterised by a convergence of traditional and contemporary platforms, particularly evident in television stations that maintain an online presence through social media and other digital channels. Furthermore, the content of the videos analysed was scrutinised to ensure alignment with the event's context and the relevance of the discourse. The relevance was determined through an ELK search on YouTube, which focused exclusively on videos released during the election campaign period. Consequently, only those videos published during this timeframe were included in the analysis. Additionally, the content and linguistic choices of the primary figure, Ahmed Bola Tinubu, were considered in both videos, in contrast to other available videos on YouTube.

This study investigates the editing sequence of the Emi ló kán video, specifically examining how various scenes were arranged to address similar issues that resonate with the prominent themes presented in the video. As illustrated in Table 1, the thematic significance arises from critical video sequences that delve into visual semiotics within those scenes. The analysis will focus on specific visual sequences in relation to their thematic importance.

To facilitate this analysis, key scenes were identified, and screenshots were captured for visual examination. Following a comprehensive analysis, the study illustrates how these scenes were employed to frame significant topics, contrasting them with the SVG and levels of visual framing. The paper will explore the following salient themes: elite legitimation, kinship, elite closure, and ethno-religious resources.

Regarding data selection bias, the limited number of relevant videos constrained the potential for bias in the research. As noted, only two videos on YouTube were pertinent based on the ELK criteria and the primary speaker. From an ethical standpoint, public campaign materials are generally accessible to the public. However, the implications of such materials and their representations may set a concerning precedent. Distinctions must be made between analysing misinformation and actively promoting it; the former highlights a societal issue, while the latter exacerbates the problem. The ethical implications in this context highlight the role of linguistic choices in shaping political communication, power, and influence, rather than advocating for it.

Table 1.

Thematic salience in Emi lo kan campaign video.

Media	Duration	Topics
YouTube (Channels Television)	15:22	Legitimation, political party evolution and history, ethno-religious resource, godfatherism, public service, elite legitimation, public service, highly personalist view, Kinship.
YouTube (Plus Media TV)	1:18	Elite closure, Kinship, Humour, elite legitimation.

4.2 Analytical framework

Scholarly literature has initiated a paradigm shift in which language is perceived not as a fixed entity but as dynamic and existing across various multimodal contexts. For example, Ledin and Machin (2020:74-79) support this notion through their multimodal analysis, which investigates semiotic choices in visual representations, including the modalities of images—such as naturalistic, sensory, and abstract or technical modalities—alongside the semiotic resources, textures, and materiality involved. This paper builds upon the application of both social visual grammar (SVG) and visual framing through a semiotic perspective, drawing from established academic traditions. Its objective is to unveil the visual frames present in political campaign videos, as discussed by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), Machin (2013), and Rodriguez and Dimitrova (2011).

In this context, SVG encompasses three primary connotations. The first is representational meaning, which elucidates the rationale behind the depicted events, participants, and environments within the images. This aspect also considers the narrative and conceptual processes involved. Kress and Leeuwen (2006:59) differentiate these processes, noting that the narrative process illustrates the relationships among actions and events, transient spatial arrangements, and processes of change. Conversely, the conceptual process is more static, portraying participants based on their generalized essence, class, or structure. Notably, the narrative process possesses a unique characteristic absent in the conceptual process: vectors, which are diagonal lines formed by the depicted images that connect one or more participants.

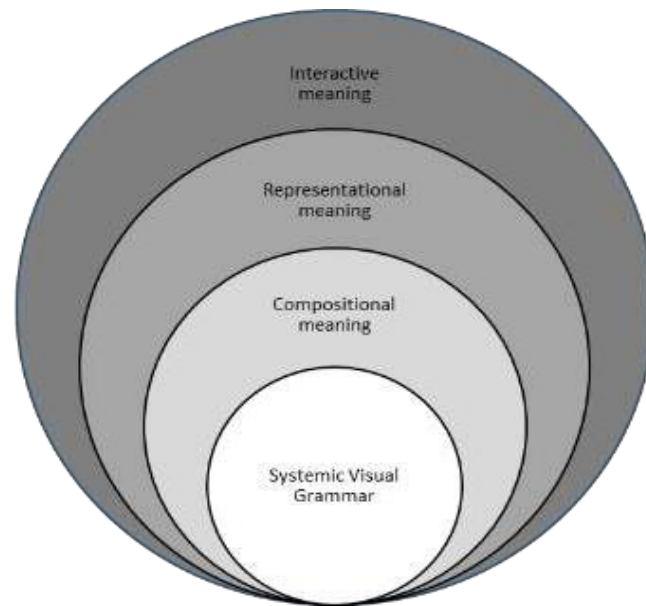


Figure 2. Systemic visual grammar.

The two videos analysed in this study emerged from a presidential political campaign in Nigeria, focusing on the slogan "ELK," which translates to "emi lo kan" or "it is my turn." President Ahmed Bola Tinubu's speech exemplified elite closure, as he predominantly communicated in Yoruba, interspersed with some English phrases. Myers-Scotton (1993:149) defines elite closure as a strategy of social mobilization whereby those in positions of power reinforce their authority and privileges through specific linguistic choices. Such choices often involve the use of a language that is not widely spoken or understood by other ethnic groups. Consequently, the strategic use of elite closure in the political campaign video was directed towards particular ethnic communities, underscoring Tinubu's intention and capability to position himself as a proponent of semantic and moral integrity, while also fostering a personalized and emotionally resonant interpretation of the meaning-making process.

5. Multimodal analysis of Bola Tinubu's presidential campaign video

This section examines how the ELK video exploited both emotional and visual framing for political gain.

5.1 Visual frame

Figures 3, 4, and 5 illustrate the audience's welcoming demeanor alongside various other visual indicators. Within a span of less than 13, 15, and 30 seconds, the audience's warm reception is evident through their singing, chanting, and other expressive actions. The central figure, Bola Tinubu, is often seen interacting with the audience, which reflects his recognition of their support and his reciprocation of their enthusiasm through gestures such as fist pumps and blown kisses. The initial moments of his arrival are particularly significant, as they emphasise his esteemed status within his party and the palpable excitement from the crowd in anticipation of his address. The presence of notable party officials, including the current governors of Lagos and Ogun states, Babajide Sanwo-Olu and Dapo Abiodun, respectively, further highlights the importance of the event, considering their geographical proximity and political affiliations.

Moreover, the video features the APC chairperson, Abdullahi Umar Ganduje, who contributes to the event's significance. This assembly of influential figures not only enriches the atmosphere but also prepares the audience for the subsequent visual elements accompanying Tinubu's speech. The interaction among these frames will be further analysed, shedding light on the dynamics of the event and the strategic portrayal of leadership within the party. The following section will present the visual frames evident in the speech.



Figure 3. Screenshot Bola Tinubu responding to the warmth welcome from the audience/Ogun-State governor applauding the reception.



Figure 4. Screenshot depicting the Lagos state governor and party chairperson.



Figure 5. Screenshot reception and show of love to the audience.

5.1.1 Frame of elite legitimization

The pivotal moment in the video occurs when Bola Tinubu announces his presidential mandate while speaking to party delegates. This particular shot serves as a denotative mechanism that highlights the candidate's aspiration for the presidency. In contrast to other images, specifically figures 3 and 4, this shot showcases a cheerful facial expression that communicates a message of warmth and approval. The gesture of striking his chest further personalises his appeal and conveys an interactive social significance, utilising a stylistic-semiotic approach within the visual representation. The sequence of images collectively illustrates the advantages of the video, as each frame, when analysed, reveals dynamic interactions. The framing in figure 6 implies a form of elite validation within the presidential race. Consequently, engaging with party delegates and garnering their support transcends mere performance, contributing to a broader narrative of public endorsement within the political party and among observers.



Figure 6. Screenshot declaring Emi ló kán - it is my turn.

At the level of stylistic and technical transformation in visual framing, Figures 7, 12, and 13 collectively illustrate the socio-political dynamics of power sharing and its complexities in Nigeria. Figure 7, in particular, challenges the dominance of Northern hegemony while adopting an inclusive approach, either by encouraging greater involvement from Western political elites or by highlighting the disparities inherent in the power-sharing framework. Both connotative and ideological aspects of visual framing reveal semiotic elements, such as variations in vocal tone and facial expressions during specific statements, which signify underlying tensions within elite circles, as well as issues of inequality and social injustice. Figures 7 and 8 stand out as they aim to expose the systemic nature of Northern hegemony while simultaneously seeking support from party members through elite closure and strategic linguistic choices. Additionally, the use of persuasive discourse to rally support is evident, accompanied by the presentation of historical narratives, particularly those emphasizing a long-standing commitment to public service, as frequently articulated by Ahmed Bola Tinubu. The recurring themes of behind-the-scenes candidate selection and strategic discourse reinforce the ideological preference frame, as discussed by Hawthorn (1987) and van Dijk (1998), employing persuasive techniques such as emphasis, direct repetition, modification, and interpretative associations.

The concept of personalisation is illustrated through an idiomatic expression in the Yoruba language, attributed to Ahmed Bola Tinubu, who states: 'Àpè mór.a la n pe temidire,' which translates to the idea that self-personalisation is a pathway to actualisation. This expression underscores the significance of individual agency in the process of achieving one's goals and aspirations. [12:35-12:44] (Channels Television,2022).

Visual and verbal strategies of self-promotion, coupled with elite legitimisation, serve to enhance the agenda-setting framework and the communicative intentions among the speaker, delegates, and the audience. The audience in this context comprises individuals who accessed the video via mobile devices following the live event. Of particular interest is the distinctive visual framing concerning the delegates. A notable semiotic element that illustrates the use of visual frames is the headwear worn by the presidential elect. The infinity symbol featured on his cap throughout both the election and post-election campaigns signifies his enduring presence in the political arena. This notion is further emphasised by segments of his speech that recount his past and ongoing efforts to influence the selection of certain individuals for elected positions.



Figure 7. Screenshot contesting Northern hegemony.



Figure 8. Shot appealing for delegate support.

5.2 Emotional frame

This section examines the emotional frameworks present in the ELK video. It will analyse prominent frames, including kinship and elite exclusion, particularly in relation to the exploitation of ethno-religious resources, which correspond with the manipulation of emotions within these frames.

5.2.1 Frame of Kinship

The movements captured in figures 7 and 8 serve as significant indicators of emotional and authentic speech delivery. This video sequence, along with the accompanying snapshot, reveals a range of subtle cues that are perceptible to human observers; for instance, in Figure 7, the speech actor's open mouth and direct gaze towards the audience are readily identifiable. Additionally, this figure highlights a distinct visual focus on the prominent party members and security personnel positioned in the background. Conversely, Figure 8 presents a different visual dynamic, where both the audience in the foreground and background are visibly engaged with the speech actor's performance.

The concept of kinship is vividly illustrated through the stylistic-semiotic interpretation of "Emi lo kan," which underscores the sense of belonging to an ethnic or linguistic community characterised by a shared history and collective aspirations. This notion is further exemplified in the close-up shot of Figure 9, which captures a light-hearted atmosphere. Here, the audience, along with the esteemed party elites situated behind the speech actors, can be observed smiling and laughing in response to a humorous remark involving a play on words between "delegate" and "delicate," as the speaker transitions to offering prayers and well-wishes for the delegates.

This scenario highlights the utilisation of specific social cues that resonate within a particular group. The contrasting perspectives of eye contact and body language depicted in Figures 7 and 9 reveal geometrical alignments that contribute to the representational significance of ELK.



Figure 9. Screenshot appealing to the delegates not to turn the race to kinship affair.



Figure 10. Humour as a tool of visual attention.

5.2.2 Frame of elite closure to ethno-religious resource

The concluding frame of the video encapsulates some of its most prominent themes, particularly in relation to Nigerian politics, where these themes intersect significantly. Despite this intersectionality, the concept of elite closure is strategically utilised to cater to specific demographic groups rather than the broader populace. Ethno-religious considerations play a crucial and expansive role in shaping electoral dynamics in Nigeria, with framing techniques that leverage these resources proving particularly compelling in the electoral contest. Elite closure pertains to kinship ties or communities that share linguistic and historical connections. However, the video’s captions primarily address those outside these groups, albeit in a limited context. The application of elite closure employs emotional framing to effectively engage members of targeted groups. Consequently, the interplay between elite closure and ethno-religious framing serves as a mechanism to highlight the political landscape and the distinctive features of various democratic frameworks. This dynamic is further illustrated by the performance of the speech actor, which underscores particular ideological positions and meanings that are specific to the democratic context in question. The use of the Yoruba language to address delegates exemplifies elite closure, as it emphasises certain narratives and fosters a relational dynamic between the performer and the audience within that linguistic community. Figure 11 illustrates the strategic influence of the video and its accompanying slogan on the campaign billboard.



Figure 11. Billboard poster for election (Fadoju 2022-Naijanews.com)



Figure 12. Narrative about ethnic choice by electorates.

Figure 12 and 13 illustrate the semiotic implications of color, particularly focusing on the cultural significance of the brown background. In Yoruba culture, the color brown, referred to as *Pupa-ṣan*, embodies notions of earthiness, stability, and warmth (Adesanya 2018; Adedina and Taiwo 2020). This hue is also perceived as a gesture of friendship, reliability, and simplicity towards the electorate (Adesanya 2018:509). In a visual semiotic context, the characteristics of brown—its brightness, saturation, and purity—convey a sense of truth, clarity, and emotional depth. While the hybridity of color may be viewed negatively in Western contexts, it is interpreted positively in Nigeria, where brown is associated with cultural significance and warmth. As a color that is both highly modulated and straightforward, brown conveys a sense of class and status (Ledin and Machin 2020: 100- 103).

Figures 12, 13, and 14 serve as representations of the ethno-religious factors influencing elections, acting as a unifying signifier. This element is strategically utilised in debates, speeches, and the selection of candidates. Despite the diverse body language exhibited, such as the swaying of the 'agbada attire' or gestures directed towards the audience, there is a discernible form of affective framing and legitimation within the speech acts. This is evident in the intensity of the speaker's eye contact with the audience and the emphasis placed on informal selection processes among the elite.



Figure 13. Narrative about ethnic orientation by electorates.



Figure 14. Narrative about religious orientation by electorates.

6. Conclusion

This research contributes to the limited body of literature on visual political communication by emphasizing the significant influence of visual frames within this domain. The legitimization process and agenda-setting of ELK frame visual communication as a strategic political tool. The findings indicate that the interpretation and implementation of democratic principles vary across nations. In Nigeria, the political landscape is shaped by unique cultural elements, which are prominently reflected in the communication styles of political actors, particularly through mechanisms of elite closure and elite legitimation.

Framing is strategically employed to enhance the promotional effectiveness of political campaign videos. The analysis demonstrates that various frames, or combinations thereof, resonate differently with distinct audience segments. The use of diverse visual semiotics, including elite legitimation, kinship, elite closure, and ethno-religious resources, plays a crucial role in this process. Following the video's release, its effects were evident, eliciting a range of responses, with humorous and satirical elements proving particularly impactful. The incorporation of narratives that align with thematic relevance fosters audience engagement and meaning-making, significantly contributing to the campaign video's overall success.

Future investigations could focus on the role of cultural cues within various political systems, particularly at the grassroots level. Additionally, exploring the effects of elite closure on visual framing and the audience's reception of these frames through both quantitative and qualitative methodologies would provide valuable insights.

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