

INTERNAL AFFAIRS: An Aristotelian Perspective on SABC 3 News

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ABSTRACT

As one of the largest broadcasters on the African continent, the content aired on the South African Broadcasting Corporation's television channels has a wide reach; and hence, has great potential to shape perceptions and influence a variety of audiences. This paper examines SABC News broadcasts for occurrences of the broadcaster's use of Aristotle's means of persuasion and their conscious organisation of news into the three categories of rhetoric, namely, forensic, deliberative and epideictic. The data analysed in this paper are gathered from the English prime time news bulletins aired on SABC 3 between March 7, 2013 and April 2013. I focus mainly on the news items that address SABC's own internal affairs. In this regard two key findings emerge. The first is that in the time period that was considered, the SABC frequently employed emotional appeals (*pathos*) in its reports, primarily through the reporter's reliance on authoritative newsmakers as the main sources featured in the reports. The second key finding is that the broadcaster's framing of the news conforms to a heavy use of epideictic rhetoric. This paper concludes that while emotional appeals (*pathos*) were appropriate, to a reasonable extent, for these types of stories, epideictic oratory was not, and the broadcaster should have instead employed elements of forensic rhetoric, which relies on ample evidence, analysis and logical argumentation, to make its reports on internal developments within the organisation more credible.

INTRODUCTION

Television is a relatively new medium in South Africa, having only been launched in the 1970s.¹ Since it was introduced, it has been viewed as a powerful tool used to communicate, inform and influence perceptions within the South African context.² As the largest broadcaster in the country, ‘with more than half of all South Africans tuning into the South African Broadcasting Corporation during prime time,’³ the SABC’s content enjoys extensive distribution, and thus has remarkable potential to influence multiple audiences on a range of topics. But with South Africa’s changing and growing television news landscape, the SABC has lost its large audience share.⁴ In July 2018, the daily viewership figures of e-TV’s news program were more than 3 times those of the English television news bulletin on SABC 3: 1 737 130 and 485 043 respectively.⁵ On any given day, these broadcasters will air very similar news stories. However, the viewers’ choice of patronage is dependent on whether they are convinced that the conduct of the broadcaster in presenting the news on these respective channels is credible. Rhetoric serves as an analytical method to critically examine SABC’s television news reports and gauge their credibility and persuasiveness.

Cottle and Rai’s (2006) description of the television as a communicative architecture will help to provide an outline of the most dominant and internationally recognised story-lines or ‘frames’ that are used by television reporters in order to create ways of knowing for both viewers and content-creators.⁶ The paper describes the stories collected for the study, then presents the key findings in terms of the rhetorical proofs and prevalent genres

¹ Barnett 1998.

² Mpofu *et al.* 1996; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli 1995.

³ SABC 2018: 43.

⁴ SABC 2018: 44.

⁵ Broadcasting Research Council of South Africa 2018.

⁶ Cottle & Rai 2006.

deployed, and finally arrives at a conclusion as to whether or not these texts can be viewed as rhetorically persuasive. The starting point is to unpack how television news reports function as rhetorical texts.

TELEVISION NEWS AND RHETORIC

I adopt the Aristotelian definition in this paper, which has been paraphrased by Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2005: 4): Rhetoric is ‘the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject.’ Scholarly pursuits in the discipline have enhanced our understanding of the different ways that people communicate in order to persuade their audiences. In recent years, there has been growing scholarship that examines the applicability of rhetorical analysis to television.⁷ In his book, *The Rhetoric of Television*, Primeau (1979) notes the applicability of rhetoric to the medium of television. He argues that, ‘[t]elevision viewers often forget that programs are intended not only to entertain but to sell products and to communicate attitudes and beliefs.’⁸ He thus implies that the manner in which television programmes are structured and produced exposes an inherent view that they are texts that possess that potential to persuade: a feature that characterises all rhetorical texts.

At the crux of performing a rhetorical analysis on television news is an assumption that this television genre possesses characteristics that make it possible for it to be analysed using rhetorical techniques. A number of scholars have written about this. Burke notes in *The Rhetoric of Motives*, that

[r]hetoric deals with the possibilities of classification in its partisan aspects; it considers the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become

⁷ Abercrombi 1996; Berg 1972; Bitzer 1992.

⁸ Primeau 1979: 21.

identified with groups more or less at odds with one another.⁹

The implication then is that individuals or groups can negotiate their views. That is precisely what happens when people watch television news. Television news bulletins are constructed to objective reality, and in some cases critical viewpoints from the broadcasters, which enable viewers to negotiate what they see on the screen versus what their daily reality is. Woal (1982: 32) supports this line of thinking when he writes '[t]o the extent that television viewing involves confrontations with ideological frameworks toward which viewers must negotiate a stance, it is a rhetorical activity.' Thus, each broadcaster deliberately selects the stories it will cover, and then reports on them in such a way as to position itself as having a credible version of the events.

But what of the highly esteemed news value of objectivity, where the news is supposed to be balanced and without bias? Surely, if all news is broadcast so that it is factual and objective, there will not be a need for a broadcaster to persuade viewers that its bulletin is the most credible? Scholars such as White address this question when they note that even though news media

claims a special epistemological status for its texts, asserting that, at least in principle, the news report is factual, disinterested, impersonal and objective. . . . Media theorists, of course, usually regard news reporting as value laden and ultimately ideological.¹⁰

Inherent in the way television news bulletins are structured, written and produced, are instruments that moderate the news production process in order to expunge biases totally. These instruments include professional values, conduct and ideologies that inform the choice of stories featured. The suggestion then is that, the manner

⁹ Burke 1969: 22 – 23.

¹⁰ White 2000: 379.

in which a particular broadcaster chooses to cover a certain story, and how they go about deciding which stories to cover, is part of their strategy of establishing their credibility.

Now that the applicability of rhetorical analysis to television news reports has been established, the paper will proceed to discuss how the analysis was undertaken based on the three branches of rhetoric as outlined by Aristotle, those being judicial rhetoric, also known as forensic rhetoric, deliberative rhetoric, and epideictic rhetoric. It will also analyse how Aristotle's triadic means of persuasion, namely *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*, were employed in the respective news reports.

CLASSICAL RHETORIC AND TELEVISION NEWS

According to Aristotle:

Of the modes of persuasion furnished by the spoken word there are three kinds. The first kind depends on the personal character of the speaker; the second on putting the audience into a certain frame of mind; the third on the proof, or apparent proof, provided by the words of the speech itself.¹¹

When it comes to television news, all three modes are present. The 'orator,' or 'orators' herein refers to the news anchors, journalists and newsmakers featured. The text refers to the news bulletin, encapsulating the words and visuals used. The audience refers to the viewers.

In terms of the genres of rhetoric, Aristotle introduces them as follows:

Rhetoric falls into three divisions, determined by the three classes of listeners to speeches. For of the three elements in speech-making—speaker, subject, and

¹¹ Aristotle 1994: 8.

person addressed—it is the last one, the hearer, that determines the speech's end and object. The hearer must be either a judge, with a decision to make about things past or future, or an observer. A member of the assembly decides about future events, a jurymen about past events: while those who merely decide on the orator's skill are observers. From this it follows that there are three divisions of oratory—(1) political, (*deliberative*) (2) forensic (*legal*), and (3) the ceremonial oratory of display (*epideictic*).¹² (Emphases added.)

Aristotle further notes:

There are, then, these three means of effecting persuasion. The man who is to be in command of them must, it is clear, be able (1) to reason logically (*logos*), (2) to understand human character and goodness in their various forms (*ethos*), and (3) to understand the emotions—that is, to name them and describe them, to know their causes and the way in which they are excited (*pathos*).¹³ (Emphases added.)

These appeals (*logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*) are not unique to any particular rhetorical situation, but the ways in which they manifest will differ from context to context. In relation to television news reports, for example, the idea of *ethos* has as much to do with naming and describing emotions as it does with showing visuals that evoke emotion. In terms of *logos*, it is important to note that television news reports fall into a genre of texts that does not follow the traditional format of rhetorical argument because they do not 'relate concepts with each other explicitly.'¹⁴ A television news report is, in essence, a text that lists certain facts relating to a particular news story. These

¹² Aristotle 1994: 15.

¹³ Aristotle 1994: 9.

¹⁴ Brandt 1970: 255.

facts are not necessarily structured in a way that makes an argument; rather, the facts are included in the news report as long as they are deemed relevant to the story at hand. And finally in terms of the *pathos*, unlike a public address where the speaker has to build rapport with the audience through his mannerisms and body language, for a news bulletin to be persuasive, the burden of conveying credibility lies with the news anchor and/or reporter who is not in the same space as his or her audience. This is achieved through various techniques that are unique to the medium of television. These include conventions such as the news reader extending a 'warm' welcome and sincere 'goodnight,' at the beginning and end of the programme respectively, giving the impression that he or she is someone viewers can relate to, and who is part of their everyday lives, and is thus trustworthy;¹⁵ the ability of broadcasters to make 'each viewer. . . feel that what he or she [is] seeing and hearing [is] addressed to him or her directly and individually, even though it [is] clearly intended for anyone who happened to be tuned in;'¹⁶ and the fact that the news anchor is filmed in such a way that their eyes 'meet' the eyes of the viewer 'and we are brought "face-to-face" with our distant interlocutor.'¹⁷

METHODOLOGY

The study considered the above-mentioned elements of persuasion when undertaking a rhetorical analysis on purposively selected news reports that were broadcast on the SABC 3 English evening news bulletin between the March 8, 2013 and April 7, 2013. This 30-day time frame was chosen because it was deemed long enough to be able to monitor the development of various news stories from when they first appeared in the public domain, to when they were finally resolved, in most cases. Further, the specific months were chosen because there were no notable events that could have skewed the coverage. Often, when there is an election, or a major court case or

¹⁵ Vianello 1985.

¹⁶ Lorenzo-Dus 2009: 57.

¹⁷ Frosh 2009: 91.

even a natural disaster, coverage by the news media takes on a sense of urgency that is not typical of the day-to-day reporting that normally occurs. There was nothing particularly out of the ordinary in the time period considered, so the way news reports were written can be assumed to correctly reflect the manner in which stories are generally covered by the SABC.

One thousand and eighty minutes of audio-visual footage was recorded and around 205 distinct news stories were identified. Given space allocation in this study, producing any meaningful analysis of all the footage and engage in a meaningful discussion on its persuasive attributes at the same time would prove extremely difficult. I have limited the discussion in this paper to eight new report that dealt with operational issues at the SABC: mainly, internal affairs. These included the appointment of two renowned sports presenters, the resignation of several board members, and the subsequent appointment of others as replacements. Additionally, I include the change in scheduling that resulted in the news bulletin being extended from airing for 30-minutes a day to airing for an hour a day on weekdays, and 30 minutes over the weekend. The reports filed employed various communicative frames, a notion defined by Cottle and Rai as dominant story-lines that becomes a “way of knowing” for news producers, news audiences and news participants alike, practically organizing the production, communication and reception of “news.”¹⁸ The notion of communicative frames is important in understanding how television news reports persuade because these frames provide useful insights when analysing the persuasive nature of television as a medium.¹⁹ As such before proceeding to discuss the findings, the idea of communicative frames will be discussed briefly in order to understand its relevance to this study.

COMMUNICATIVE FRAMES

¹⁸ Cottle & Rai 2006: 163.

¹⁹ Cottle & Rai 2006. 163.

Cottle and Rai's analysis of television news as a communicative architecture argues that 'the naturalized. . . theoretically invisible, communicative architecture of television news serves to display and deliberate conflict and consent in the contemporary world.'²⁰ They argue that the reason for this is that in the coverage of any story, the media are attempting to fulfil several roles which include 'providing information and social surveillance; demonstrating independence, balance and impartiality; acting as a critical watchdog; and facilitating public discussion, debate and opinion formation.'²¹ This is important to note because such research presupposes that even if journalists and news producers do not approach a story with the intention of covering it in a certain way, it is inevitable that coverage will fall into one of these predetermined reporting frames. The benefit is that these communicative frames make the analysis of news stories easier, as one has a 'template' of how a news story that is classified under a certain frame is expected to develop and how it is reported on. Thus, their research informs the categorisation of the news items to be discussed in this study, as it provides an objective way of classifying television news stories for the purposes of analysing them. It must be noted, though, that while Cottle and Rai's work gives a general description of what kinds of news stories that will fall into the respective communicative frames, the present author is not prescriptive on how the actual categorisation should be done. They provide a general guide of the type of story that will fall within a certain frame, but do not give specifics on how this should be decided on.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In total, there were eight news reports on developments within the SABC in the time period that was considered.²² The first news story was an announcement about the employment of two prominent

²⁰ Cottle & Rai 2006: 163.

²¹ Cottle & Rai 2006: 169.

²² The transcripts of text, and description of the images used, are attached in the appendices.

sports presenters, Thomas Mlambo²³ and Tshepho Mabona.²⁴ This employed the classical reporting frame, which is focused on providing information and surveillance of current affairs and is usually brief.²⁵ The next five news reports filed were about developments within the SABC board, and they included a story on the resignation of six executive members (Appendix B – Appendix F). These news stories were covered using a range of communicative frames including the classical reporting frame; the contention frame which usually involves a plurality of voices and perspective, which may not necessarily have opposing views; and the dominant frame where a news story is dominated and defined by single external news source, which in this instance was a report where the views of the minister of communications clearly dominated the coverage. The final set of news reports were about the change in the time-slot and duration of the flagship news bulletin (Appendix G and Appendix H). Both of these reports did not follow the traditional format of a news report and would be better classified as interviews. The first one was on March 30, 2013, and was a fairly brief pre-recorded interview with the-then SABC's Acting Chief Operations Officer (2011-2013), Hlaudi Motsoeneng (Appendix G). The second interview was on April 1, 2013, and it was a much longer interview with the Chief Executive Officer (2012-2014), Lulama Mokhobo, and was conducted live in the studio, as SABC 3 aired its first hour-long broadcast of the flagship English news bulletin (Appendix H). Both of these reports used the dominant communicative frame of reporting as the reports were centred solely on the views of the COO and CEO respectively, and there were no other voices to either confirm or challenge these.

²³ Thomas Mlambo is a well-known South African sports anchor, who has worked for a number of broadcasters including SuperSport and SABC.

²⁴ Tshepo Mabona is a well-known South African radio and television sports presenter who has presented programmes on free-to-air channel, e-tv and SABC. (Appendix A).

²⁵ Cottle & Rai 2006.

Most of the visuals used were of prominent people, such as board members and executives, and the then-Minister of Communications, Dina Pule. These role-players were filmed while participating in high-level meetings, including sessions in parliament. There was a noteworthy shot and interview included in one of the news reports where the SABC's CEO, Lulama Mokhobo, was framed looking directly at the camera, instead of at a slight angle as per the filming convention of using a long-sided shot when filming interviewees. The significance of this shot will be discussed in greater detail further below, but it is being noted here because it was an unconventional visual, which, as will be argued, may have been used to achieve a particular rhetorical effect.

Because of the variety of the topics of the reports, the rhetorical genres used for reporting on these were also varied. Where the stories were about the SABC board, epideictic oratory was employed, as the reports sought to allude to the fact that something or someone was to blame for the resignations of some of the members.

The news report that profiled the nominees who were set to replace the SABC board members who had resigned was designed in alignment with the epideictic genre of rhetoric. By highlighting the achievements and failures of the candidates, it indirectly praised some, while censuring others. In terms of the reports on pending changes, the reports were filed in such a way as to mark these changes as occasions of celebration for the public, indicating the use of the epideictic genre once again. The appointment of the two new sports presenters was portrayed as 'quite a catch' for the public broadcaster, as the two were described as 'renowned personalities.' Further, the explanation of the extension of the bulletin from 30 minutes to an hour was described as 'listening to the suggestions of people,' and in this was the SABC portrayed itself as a broadcaster that is in touch with the desires of the viewers, and marked this occasion by celebrating the launch of its hour long newscast on April 1, 2013.

The primary means of effecting persuasion used in these reports was *pathos* because, as noted above, the most dominant communicative frames used in the reports were the contention frame and the dominant frame, which both prioritise the views of the speakers. When *pathos* is used as a means of persuasion, '[p]ersuasion is achieved by the speaker's personal character when the speech is so spoken as to make us think him credible.'²⁶ By relying on the seniority of the officials featured, as well as visuals from high-level meetings, the news reports were centred on the credibility and character of the news-actors featured. The reports also included interviews that were conducted with both the SABC CEO, as well as the acting COO, to contextualise the developments and explain how they had arisen. *Ethos* and *logos* do not appear to have been relied on in these news reports because there is very little evidence of the use of linguistic devices to evoke emotions, and since the texts are written as 'reports' they do not exhibit the traits of a logical argument, as outlined by Aristotle. Instead of following the traditional rhetorical argumentation format by relating ideas and formulating an argument based on these, reportorial writing 'explicates a central term' and tries to link seemingly unrelated pieces of information together.²⁷

A RHETORICAL SUCCESS OR FAILURE?

The exigency that gave rise to news reports on internal developments within the SABC was the fact that as a public broadcaster, the SABC needs to be seen as being transparent. As such, when there are stories on developments within the public broadcaster, it has to be proactive and air news reports that address these, otherwise it might be seen as trying to cover matters up. As a *public* broadcaster, the SABC is rightly subjected to considerable scrutiny from other news broadcasters and the South African citizenry. Its reports on internal developments at the organisation thus need to come as being credible.

²⁶ Aristotle 1994: 8.

²⁷ Brandt 1970: 256.

The news report on the SABC securing the services of ‘two of the country’s most experienced sports presenters’ (Appendix A) was a story that was included with the aim of portraying the broadcaster in a positive light. Even before considering how the news report was written and packaged, the inclusion of this story must be noted as one of the ways that the SABC used to try to come across as being credible. It showcased the fact that the SABC is able to attract ‘leading’ presenters and is thus a credible broadcaster. Rhetorically speaking, by highlighting the pair’s credentials and also referring to the fact that ‘[Thomas] Mlambo joins from rival SuperSport,’ and that this was Tshepo Mabona’s ‘second opportunity at the public broadcaster,’ the message that came through was that leading media personalities desire to work for the SABC, and it must, therefore, be a leading and credible broadcaster. The story itself is not one that can be deemed newsworthy, since the employment of journalists and presenters is something that broadcasters do regularly and is not really noteworthy. In this instance it was evidently included to portray the SABC as a broadcaster that attracts reputable presenters and is thus a credible source of news. The news reports that dealt with developments within the SABC board relied heavily on testimonies given by politicians (see Appendix B – Appendix F). The coverage endeavoured to give numerous political parties an opportunity to be heard. It was a pity that the voices of media experts and the public did not feature in the reporting.

By focusing on the views of the then-President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma, the then-Minister of Communications, Dina Pule, and other parliamentarians, at the exclusion of voices from civil society, academia and other actors with an interest in the SABC, the broadcaster positioned these developments as political and failed to facilitate the public engagement that should have arisen, given that the SABC is a *public* broadcaster. This bias perpetuated the view that the SABC is more of a political tool than it is a public entity. The news reports on the developments should have included analytical voices, and perhaps even *vox pops* from the public to move the story from being one with a predominantly political slant.

Furthermore, instead of merely reporting on who was in and who was out of the SABC board, the reports should have also incorporated an educational element that provided the public with an overview of the reasons behind the dissolution of the board. The SABC board seems to be an entity plagued with a plethora of problems,²⁸ and even though the public does not need to know all of the details behind these problems, it does need to be given a sense of objectivity and fairness. South Africans also need to be educated on how members of the board are elected, and on what grounds the board can be dissolved. These aspects did not reflect in the coverage, and it appeared to be merely a case of politicians voicing their views: an endeavour that did not leave the public more informed, and thus did not bode well in terms of the credibility of the broadcaster's coverage.

The female reporter's script on the developments within the SABC board further fuelled confusion as to what was going on at the SABC, because instead of contextualising things, she merely reported on who had resigned, was reinstated and appointed. These reports showed no evidence that the journalist tried to get reasons for the resignations, reinstatements, and appointments, and they simply provide a sequence of events. This simplistic reporting, for such a complex situation, suggests that the reporter either did not bother to investigate further, or could not investigate further, which may suggest editorial interference. Either way, the failure to contextualise why things were happening the way that they were at the SABC brought the credibility of the reports filed in this regard into question.

The report filed on March 18, 2013 (Appendix D), on the resignation of six board members, had a feature that is peculiar to a pre-packaged television news report. The address by CEO, Lulama Mokhobo, where she spoke facing the camera directly, as is normally done by announcers, rhetorically conveyed a sense of her making an urgent or unusual announcement. The anchor prefaced this as the

²⁸ Kadalie 2013; Public Protector of South Africa 2014.

CEO ‘giving assurances that it’s business as usual.’ The peculiarity here is twofold. Firstly, this type of announcement, in this format, is usually reserved for a live broadcast or a separate insert. It is not normal for it to be included as part of a broader news report where interviews with various other news actors are also included. Secondly Mokhobo is framed in such a way as to position her looking directly at the camera, a technique that is normally used solely for ‘[a]nnouncers, weathermen and women, newsreaders.’²⁹ Abercrombie notes that this type of shot is used to give ‘the illusion of having an intimate, direct, domestic conversation’ with viewers.³⁰ In this particular story, Mokhobo is the only one framed in this way. This was probably used to emphasise what she had to say, namely that in spite of the turmoil that was highlighted in the report, the message of ‘business as usual’ was of utmost importance for viewers. It is unlikely that any other person, other than another senior SABC executive, would be allowed to deliver a message in this manner in a story like this. This then raises the question of how the SABC covers the negative aspects of stories around internal developments, and whether these are merely included so that it is perceived as being balanced in its reporting when all the while the real focus is on interviews and coverage that portrays the broadcaster in a positive light.

This is also evident in the reports filed on March 30, 2013 (Appendix G), and April 1, 2013 (Appendix H), about changes to the format of the SABC 3 flagship English news bulletin. These reports featured the SABC COO and CEO respectively, and in both instances, they were given an unusually long time to talk about the pending changes, and there was no additional interview to challenge or even support their statements. The interview with the CEO, Lulama Mokhobo (Appendix H), was especially noteworthy because even though it was a live interview, with the news anchor asking her questions, it came across as scripted, in order to ensure that the changes were reported on in a positive light. The anchor asked a

²⁹ Abercrombie 1996: 18.

³⁰ Abercrombie 1996: 18.

number of predictable questions such as what gave rise to the changes, what difference the changes were expected to make, and the views of the audience. Mokhobo gave lengthy responses to these, and instead of probing some of the points further, the anchor simply moved on to the next question, hence an impression was created that the questions were strictly scripted. In conducting the interview in this way, the intention appears to have been to ‘pretend’ to be conducting a probing interview with a senior SABC manager about these developments, when it was, in fact, more of a public relations exercise, where the CEO used the platform to tell the public just how ‘wonderful’ these developments were going to be. This then speaks to the question raised above: was the SABC’s coverage of this story a genuine attempt to help viewers understand what was going on at the public broadcaster, or was it an opportunity to spin these developments in a positive light? The manner in which the interview was conducted came across as the latter, thus bringing the credibility of SABC’s reporting on this story into question.

Taking the above into consideration, as well as the fact that as discussed in the findings, the SABC’s coverage of internal developments often employed epideictic oratory, with a particular tendency to report on those elements that are of a celebratory nature, it would appear that the reporting is not very credible. The issues related to the developments with the board required forensic oratory to help viewers ‘[establish] the justice or injustice of some action.’³¹ The reports on the changes in scheduling should have employed deliberative oratory because this would have afforded the audience and opportunity to establish ‘the expediency or the harmfulness of a proposed course of action.’³² The use of *pathos*, based on the credibility of the newsmakers featured in the reports, was appropriate. Drawing on emotions through *ethos* would not have worked in these types of stories because they need viewers to engage with them on a more rational basis in order to understand

³¹ Aristotle 1994: 15.

³² Aristotle 1994: 15.

the details of what was happening within the SABC. On the other hand, due to the fact that television news reports are not written in a way that aligns with Aristotelian logic, due to the reportorial nature, *logos* would not have worked either. In this sense, therefore, the SABC news reports used the most fitting persuasive appeal by basing it on the characters of the newsmakers featured.

In sum, I have examined the treatment of SABC's internal affairs in their news broadcast using Aristotelian typology as a framework and additionally borrowed Cottle and Rai's (2006) description of the television a communicative architecture to frame the analysis in this paper. The findings do not really show the correlation between the construction of news along typological lines and the corresponding artistic proofs (*ethos*, *logos* and *pathos*) in Aristotle's formulation. While the SABC's reports on internal developments at the organisation seemed to have deployed certain means of persuasion, by employing *pathos* excessively, the epideictic oratory, near panegyric, adopted did not make the reporting come across as being credible.

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