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FOREWORD

This book is a collection of some of the papers presented at the monthly seminar series of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, between September 2015 and January 2017. The seminar series started as part of the effort to fill an important gap in the academic culture as it exists in the Faculty. This is in terms of the need to provide a platform for regular dialogue and exchange of ideas among colleagues in the Faculty, from other faculties within the university of Ibadan, other academic and research institutions and society at large. Apart from providing an avenue for colleagues to test their ideas and present their research findings, the monthly seminars provide an opportunity for colleagues and intellectuals from diverse walks of life to converge in the Faculty of Arts, University of Ibadan, to interrogate ideas and engage issues that are relevant not only to humanistic studies but also to different aspects of society. These seminars have also enhanced the spirit of collegiality among colleagues within the Faculty.

The design of the seminars is such that presenters are drawn from the departments in the Faculty in an alphabetical order. This, nonetheless, does not preclude presentations by colleagues from other faculties or institutions. Hence, between September 2015, and January 2016, colleagues from all the 12 departments in the Faculty had presented seminar papers. We have also had a seminar presentation from a colleague from Emory University, Atlanta, USA. However, only seven of the papers presented are included in this publication. They are the ones submitted by the deadline given by the Faculty Editorial Committee.

I am grateful to all Faculty members for their active participation in all seminars. Special thanks go to the Faculty Programmes Planning Committee for its consistent hard work in ensuring that seminars hold monthly. I also thank the colleagues who have made presentations at our seminars. Without our collective efforts we would not have recorded the level of success we have had. Special thanks also go to the authors of the papers in this publication for their diligence in ensuring that their papers were submitted in time for this publication.

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MUSIC AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION IN POST-INDEPENDENCE SOUTHWEST NIGERIA

By

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Introduction

Music is a powerful means of communication. It serves many expressive purposes and has been used for political communication in post-independence Nigeria. This communication has overtime operated in formal and non-formal settings in many countries. Its use during elections in different parts of the world is remarkable and more recently during the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in July, 2016. Generally, music is known for “its capacity to appeal to the intellect and to the emotions” (Schacter, 2011). It is for this reason that music was effectively deployed for political communication in post-colonial Southwest Nigeria.

Knowledge about the importance of music for political communication looms large. Politicians, musicians, administrators and citizens rely on the platform for political information dissemination, acquisition and interaction. Like other forms of communication, songs are informative and educative. They are deployed for persuasion, mobilisation, socialisation, sensitization and empowerment of the public for informed decision making and actions. Through its entertainment component, music exposes individuals and groups to state matters and

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imprints political knowledge into their cognitions. Exposure to public matters may generate positive administrative actions that can drive political and socioeconomic wellbeing of individuals and the state. Music facilitates the spread of information, hence, its efficacy for political message dispersal and management in Yoruba communities.

As used in this paper, political communication is purposeful communication about politics (McNaire, 2011). It includes the dissemination of political information, a critique of the opposition and general governance discourse. It captures election campaigns and it is in this sense that the study focused on music and political communication. The objectives of the study are: to examine the use of music for political communication and describe music campaigns between 2011 and 2015 in post-independence Southwest Nigeria. It highlighted the divergent roles of musicians and campaign actors in targeted political music conversations. Analysis of music electioneering was limited to the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) and the All Progressives Congress (APC)¹ within the geopolitical region.

The study was anchored on some propositions of the Agenda Setting theory. Propounded by McCombs and Shaw (1972), the theory assumes that the mass media force attention on certain issues, suggesting what individuals should think about, know about, and have feelings about. The first part of the process lies in the prominence given to some issues, hence, its success in telling people what to think about and how to think about it. The propositions of the theory are unidirectional, stating that: news media make people aware or not aware, pay attention to or neglect, play up or downgrade specific features of the public scene, and include or exclude from their cognitions what the media include or exclude from their content (Shaw, 1979). The role of the music media in political communication and agenda setting in Southwest Nigeria is the focus. Littlejohn (2002: 320) summarises its spiral influence in

¹ APC = ACN. APC was formed during the 2015 elections from a merger of some political parties, including the Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN), which was a Southwest-based political party during the 2011 elections. In other words, ACN was translated to APC, thus, their use in this paper as a single political party. However, APC is used when addressing 2015 elections and ACN for the 2011 elections.

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society by looking at how “the media agenda affects the public agenda”.

Political communication is central to electoral and policymaking processes (Norris, 2004). Its professionalization is more evident in established and new democracies (Gunther and Mughan, 2000). The communication varies according to the target groups, while the media create public awareness by placing importance on certain issues to affect the cognitions of the public (Shaw, 1979). As a communication medium, music is assumed as making prominent some political information for public interest.

Materials and Methods

Focus group discussion (FGD), in-depth interview (IDI) and historical narrative were used to collect data for the study. The research approach was appropriate as it enabled the retrieval of detailed, in-depth, historical and comprehensive data concerning the study phenomenon. The historical and analytical approach aided the review of post-independence use of music for political communication in Southwest Nigeria. Two musicians, Hubert Ogunde (1916-1990) and Fela Anikulapo Kuti (1938-1997) were purposively selected based on their prominence in the use of music for political communication in post-independence Nigeria. Both artists are indigenes of the study area, Southwest Nigeria, and were identified by study participants as the foremost Nigerians to use music for this purpose. Their emergence was, therefore, based on spontaneous narratives of discussants and interviewees, who identified the musicians as well-known individuals that have used music for political communication in post-independence Southwest Nigeria. In like manner, two political parties, APC and PDP were purposively selected based on popularity in the use of music for electioneering in the area. While the former is a regional party, the latter has a more national spread. Their choice is important because of their indigenous and national affiliations. Being at the centre of elections in Nigeria, the inclusion of music campaign of the Independence National Electoral Commission (INEC) was appropriate in examining political communication.

While discussants and interviewees comprised Southwest residents that have in-depth knowledge of the study phenomenon, music

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campaigns were limited to songs used by the main contending political parties, APC and PDP, and their national and state flag bearers in Lagos and Oyo states. The study was therefore limited to presidential and governorship music campaigns because most political campaigns were centred on these groups relative to those seeking national assembly seats (Agbaje, 2016). Although the current study was conducted in Ibadan, the Oyo state capital, it captured a broader range of individuals resident in the Southwest geopolitical zone. Samples were purposively selected to capture adults and young people who are eligible voters and were exposed to the political communication. They provided information on the phenomenon across different periods.

The FGDs and IDIs were respectively conducted on young people and adults because the latter have the capacity of providing comprehensive accounts of political communication across different post-independence periods, including the music performances of the foremost music artist, Hubert Ogunde. For a holistic examination, the study reviewed historical documents of the music artists and online commentary about them and their music. This information was used to complement the FGD and IDI data. Hence, examination of the use of music for political communication was approached from different methodological perspectives. It analysed online views of citizens, verbal submissions of study participants and historical assessment of political songs. The triangulation of research methods and data sets enabled in-depth and robust understanding of music and political communication from historical and contemporary perspectives.

While two musicians and two political parties were the focus of research, six FGD among young people and six IDIs of adults were conducted based on age, sex and political music literacy. The FGD sessions comprised 8 to 10 discussants, aged 18 to 35 years. Participants discussed issues based on their personal experiences, observation, understanding of the phenomenon and interpretation of the issues. The interviewees who were between 36 and 65 years of age specifically addressed early post-independence and contemporary political communication issues. Each discussion lasted for about 30 and 45 minutes. The FGD and IDI discussion guides were used for obtaining the information. Data were analysed through ethnographic summaries, explanation building technique and historical analysis.

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Results

The results describe the use of music for political communication in post-colonial Southwest Nigeria. They focus on communication from the viewpoint of musicians, their songs and election campaigns. Findings describe political communication from the angle of governance, politics, music and the strategies for information dissemination, interaction and transaction. They present the role of musicians in political communication, including electioneering in Southwest Nigeria. Post-independence historical narratives, music artists, and the nuanced nature of APC and PDP music campaigns during the 2011 and 2015 elections were highlighted. At the centre of elections in Nigeria is INEC, hence, the inclusion of their dynamics in ensuring political participation. The music communication is intended to bring about political awareness, informed citizens and politically conscious people, who are equipped with relevant information to exercise their franchise as well as fight for their human rights.

Use of Music for Political Communication

The use of music for political communication in Southwest Nigeria has a history, dating back to early post-colonial period. Some musicians used the medium to challenge the activities of rulers and propagate good governance and accountability. Hubert Ogunde and Fela Anikulapo Kuti used the popular music genre and Afrobeat respectively to communicate with leaders and disseminate political information to citizens on state leadership and credibility. The music was used to critique incumbent governments, incite responsible administration and empower the public to fight against political oppression. Consequently, the content of music is multifaceted; it reveals and addresses salient political issues that are of public interest.

Political communication also occurs in contemporary Nigeria. Music is increasingly used for election campaigns. Its viability could be attributed to the packaging of the message, which is usually accompanied by dance, sound and other nonverbal cues so as to bring about message visibility and audiences' attention, as well as comprehension and retention of political messages. Music aids easy dissemination and recall of political messages, hence, both online

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commentaries and responses from study participants highlight the role of music for political communication in Southwest Nigeria.

An examination of Southwest residents reveals that different people use songs in diverse ways to disseminate political information. Musicians use the medium to set the political agenda by unravelling bad governance and exposing unruly political behaviour. Acknowledging its use for political communication, youths also applauded Fela Kuti for challenging Nigerian leaders on state issues, including the economy, corrupt practices and anti-human behaviours. Adults narrated the relevance of Hubert Ogunde's music in exposing the wrong deeds of postcolonial rulers. In other words, music was used as a political communication tool in post-independence Southwest Nigeria. It plays an important role in political discourse and its songs are structured for easy comprehension of messages.

Chief Hubert Ogunde and political communication

Music communication is not a new political activity. An examination of Hubert Ogunde (1916-1990) and his music reveals that he used the platform to inform, educate, propagate, advocate and correct diverse publics on issues related to politics and governance in the region. Study participants highlighted the relevance of music for political knowledge dissemination and interrogation. They noted that music served as an advocating and critiquing vehicle for citizens and government, respectively. According to them, Chief Hubert Ogunde used the medium to contend with post-colonial administrators because of his vision for the construction of a people-sensitive state.

Ogunde was identified as one of the foremost musicians to use music to challenge the government in postcolonial Nigeria. Adults relative to youths emphasised the popularity of his music because youths might have been unborn or too young to comprehend or appreciate Ogunde's political message. A male interviewee expressed his views on the role of Ogunde's music in political communication, thus:

When I was growing up, I knew Ogunde because of the popularity of his songs. He used his music to attack rulers who were exploiting the common citizens. He critiqued colonial masters and Nigerian

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politicians for their lack of integrity and used the same medium to appeal to Yoruba people to be united and fight against oppressive rule.

Hubert Ogunde is a man of varied talents and skills. He is described as a playwright, actor and musician, who used popular musicals featuring jazzy rhythm, folk songs, fashionable dance routines, and contemporary satire to fight colonialism and corruption (The Editors, 2015a). As an entertainer, theatre manager and founder of the first professional and indigenous theatre company (Ogunde Concert Party) in 1945, he sought to reawaken Nigeria's indigenous culture and showcase the malpractices and ills of government through his music-drama and folk opera performances (Mohammed, 2013; The Editors, 2015a). His music portrayed this agenda through the unravelling of corruption and bad administration.

Chief Ogunde's political music featured positive and negative songs. His political communication comprised songs of praise, advocacy and criticism. In October 1960, his commissioned 'Song of Unity' was to celebrate Nigeria's independence, a long awaited cry of freedom from colonial masters. Contrary to the high expectations from an independent state, Ogunde observed political issues that could jeopardize the unity of the region. In addressing the situation, he composed 'Yoruba Ronu' (Yoruba Think!) to politically unite the Yoruba people because of the existing strife among them (Mohammed, 2013; The Editors, 2015a). The authors noted that Ogunde used highlife to sing this folk song to appeal to the Yoruba community, who were undergoing political division following Obafemi Awolowo's imprisonment on charges of treason and Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola's break away from Action Group to form the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNPD). For Hubert, this behaviour was in contrast to the tribal solidarity and one political organization of the Yoruba.

While he used music to celebrate Nigeria freedom from colonial masters, he framed Yoruba Ronu to appeal to the emotions of the Yoruba publics to create peace and unity among his people. Accordingly, "Yoruba Ronu" was to communicate unity to a disintegrating ruling class and politicians. He used music to advocate

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for peaceful coexistence as well as fight for the downtrodden. Although Ogunde used music for diverse political communication purposes, not all his songs were favorably received. Most of them were unpopular because they criticized colonial masters and Nigeria leaders. Accordingly, "Yoruba Ronu" was banned while those that played the song stood the chance of imprisonment. In relation to his songs, an online commentator observed:

The Nigerian Government under Tafawa Balewa banned this song in Nigeria. If you play this song in Odua land, you risk going to jail. This was around the time Chief Obafemi Awolowo was in jail for sedition. Chief Samuel Ladoke Akintola later joined forces with NCNC of Tafawa Balewa taking the Yoruba into the government that Chief Awolowo opposed to. Hence, Chief Ogunde composed this music about the Yoruba selling their fellows politically.

Hypothetically, early musicians were fearless as they used the medium to combat political leadership. Ogunde was socially responsible to citizens and the state. He chose to be politically incorrect as his message clearly presented the issues as he perceived them. He placed the state above human figures. The ban of "Yoruba Ronu" by the government shows the level to which music was potent for political information dissemination and incitement of behavioural change. His songs reflected the prevailing political climate and described the political crises that were building at that time. He devised a communication strategy to diffuse these tensions. His music also interpreted the aspirations of the political elite and those in power. While Ogunde's songs generated diverse responses from the ruling class, "Yoruba Ronu" generates online reactions as posited by a commentator (2015), thus:

I thought this music was banned as politically explosive and secessionist! With benefit of hindsight and our experience in the last 42 years, I wonder if leaders of the Yoruba nation will reflect on the prophetic value of Hubert Ogunde's music. Has it all been worth it to sell our birthright for the illusion of federal unity, knowing that our British warmonger

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overlords did what they are good at; dividing to conquer by melding incompatible nations? "Yoruba 'ronu" what an oxymoron.

His concern about loyalty, unity, brotherliness and fair dealings in the political landscape in Southwest still exists. Considering the generational span between when he sang and the current political dispensation, it is obvious that Ogunde's songs are value laden, prophetic and empathic of his people. He decried among other things the inhuman political environment, insensitivity, postcolonial power tussle, corruption, and rivalry. His songs were targeted at different publics, including citizens, administrators and politicians. The negative reactions of the ruling class to his songs indicate that Ogunde was successful in using music for political communication.

His music therefore informed, educated, entertained, instigated, persuaded and mobilised different publics for political rejuvenation of post-independence Southwest. A reflection on Ogunde's political communication indicates that his message reverberates and remains relevant in contemporary Nigerian society. Virtual and physical commentaries support this claim; hence, after so many years of independence, Ogunde's music campaigns remain in people's consciousness. This is likely because, the political issues that he was fighting against exist in the current political environment as evidenced in the political divisions and socioeconomic disparity between leaders and citizens. This could be credited to high levels of greed, corruption and nepotism, which breed disunity, hatred and misplaced national priorities.

Hubert Ogunde's music played a prominent role in post-independence political terrain in Southwest, Nigeria. Although his music informed and persuaded the public, the conditions that propelled this communication still prevail in the region. Music is therefore seen as a powerful political communication tool for message dissemination and human integration. It sets public agenda through the prominence of its messages, leading to awareness creation, human incitement and leadership interventions.

Fela Anikulapo-Kuti and political communication

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Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (1938-1997) is another artist who used music for political communication in post-independence Nigeria. He was a pioneer Afrobeat exponent and human rights activist who used music to fight political domination, oppression, economic hardship, unemployment and nepotism (Planet, 1998; The Editors, 2015b; *Vanguard*, 2015). Situated in the Southwest, many young people identified with his music due to its relevance to national issues, currency and appeal of his music genre to the younger generation of people. Kuti (popularly called Fela) used his music to expose bad governance and corruption in Nigeria. Through his issue-based musical performances, Fela emphasised the socioeconomic and political life of the nation. Accordingly, interviewees and discussants observed that Fela confronted the exploitative tendencies of leaders and their other wrong deeds. This is summarized in the views of a male discussant, thus:

Fela is one of Nigerian legends in music and his own music already goes to politics, talking about the flaws of leaders ... their secrets, what they have done, what they have done in the past and all their negativities to Nigerian economy. People reason along with them like they expose the flaws of governors, the president. People really see what's going on. People that are ignorant of what is happening [would] now know.

In other words, Fela's music informed the public about state political issues. It exposed the administrative flaws of rulers, equipping masses with accurate information about their oppressors, who exploit them through leadership. As observed by the discussants, Fela's music increases knowledge as those that were ignorant about the activities of government officials will have information about the functioning of their rulers and its impact on the economy. Music communication, therefore educates, empowers and persuades citizens to take a particular course of action based on their human rights.

Being popular among the Nigerian and African publics, Fela used the music platform to run sociopolitical commentary and choose protest music to be a part of politics of revolution (Labinjo, 1982). He was consistent with his musical interpretation of political events and his display of same to achieve his goal. Due to the conditions of living of

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the masses and the behaviour of the ruling class, his music became increasingly politicized as he exhorted social change in songs like "Zombie," "Monkey Banana," "Beasts of No Nation," and "Upside Down" (The Editors, 2015b).

The anti-military pieces - "Zombie" and "Unknown Soldier" - were products of his sustained attacks on the Nigerian administration. These metaphors were used to describe the approach of the Nigerian military (Barrett, 1998; *Vanguard*, 2015). His politically charged songs decried oppression of military government (The Editors, 2015b). In other words, Fela used music to criticize military dictatorship and exposed the corrupt civilian approach to politics. His political communication tendencies were actualized through different music forms and structures. Accordingly, his song "ITT" ("International T'ief T'ief") was performed to abuse Chief MKO Abiola, the then Vice President for Africa and the Middle East of International Telephone and Telecommunications, ITT (Barrett, 1998).

The value placed on Fela's music is also portrayed in online interactions, which project the social responsibility attributes of the musician. He is identified as one that enlightens the public and fights for the Nigerian masses as commented in online discussions, thus:

Fela was the mouthpiece of the poor masses
(Ichiebart, 2015)

A legend whose music and message reverberates till
date (Unapologetically Yorubas, 2015)

Fela was a fearless and highly talented musician.
Master of the sound. The world lost a rare gem
(Collins, 2015)

Throughout his lifetime, Fela Kuti used music as a political communication corridor to fight for the rights of the common man. Most of his records are dominated by political events and discussions from the Pan-Africanism approach (Planet, 1998). He was a supporter of human rights, hence, many of his songs are direct attacks against dictatorship, specifically the militaristic governments of Nigeria in the 1970s and 1980s (*Vanguard*, 2015). For intelligibility and accessibility of

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his music in Nigeria and other Anglophone African nations, the lyrics of his political songs were in Pidgin English (Barrett, 1998). He believed that the most important way for Africans to fight cultural imperialism was to support traditional African religions and lifestyles (Grass, 1986). Accordingly, Fela exploited his human rights pedigree to challenge different authorities using the music genre.

The potency of music for political communication is recognized by musicians and rulers who at different points attempted to repress songs that threaten their administration. Such songs were perceived as having innate abilities of jeopardizing their government. Fela's and Ogunde's music still reverberates. They are important political communication tools of addressing the political terrain, elites and citizens in the Southwest geopolitical zone.

Music Campaigns between 2011 and 2015

Music performs a critical role for campaigns in the contemporary era as exemplified in the study period between 2011 and 2015. It encompasses electioneering to other politically-motivated campaigns in Southwest Nigeria, where campaign songs were used in different forms and for diverse purposes. The communication was sometimes linear, interactive and transactional, ensuring a discourse among the political class and citizens. Songs were used to make or mar, build or destroy, inform or discredit and to achieve praise or hate campaigns.

In 2011, music electioneering provided information on the strong points of contestants. Although it portrayed candidates in a positive light, music was also used to negatively frame opponents as revealed in the hate campaigns between the PDP and ACN gubernatorial candidates in Oyo State. The song for the PDP governorship candidate, Christopher Alao Akala - "Alao Akala Lo'lorun yan" - communicates that Akala is the God-chosen candidate for another term. His rival, Abiola Ajimobi, however observe that Akala is 'campaigning with guns and cutlasses' in the song, "Gbo Ohun Awon Akala". This song was used to ridicule and discredit the claims of the incumbent governor, Akala. It is a parody of Art Alade's religious song. It is important to note that both candidates' songs exploited spiritual sentiments to appeal to voters, hence, while the PDP candidate used a religious tune to state his position, his ACN opponent used the same

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appeal to discredit him. In both cases, therefore, music was used to parody the state and satirise the protest genre.

Through this transactional communication approach, the ACN campaign song informed citizens that Akala is not suitable for the job because he lacks 'goodwill' due to his 'violent' personality trait. In response, Akala portrayed Ajimobi as a psychiatric case using the song, "Olarun Opolo". This literally translates that the governor who turns a market sweeper is mentally deranged, an allusion to the ACN party symbol – the broom. Such verbal combat reveals that while informing, music was also used for negative campaigns. The play on words is important to listeners, who decode and give meaning to their music utterances, hence, while the PDP candidate was tagged "violent", the ACN contender was framed as being "mad". Although negativity might have been intentionally used to persuade citizens, it may have adverse effects, which may lead to low voter turnout and political participation, high public cynicism and alienation, and anti-democratic threat (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1995).

Apart from the uses of music campaigns for electioneering in 2011, other political stakeholders used the medium to exercise their corporate social responsibility. For example, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) used songs to sensitise and mobilise the public to actively participate in the 2011 general elections. The commission advocated for higher voter turnout because a lot of Nigerians at this point have become sceptical of the Nigerian election process and the correlation between actual votes and election outcomes. To change this perception, INEC released the song, "Come out and vote, it is your right. Come out and choose your leaders for the future of your children". The song was intended to affect the perceptions and attitude of citizens about the validity of election and results.

The song was structured to appeal to the emotions of voters by inciting family and generational sentiments based on audiences' sociocultural background. The connection between voting, children and the future is a strategy to ensure that many citizens exercised their franchise. The invocation of this sentiment is based on the understanding that Nigerians place a high premium on children and the family. Projecting

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into the future is to remind voters that their decisions have implications for future generations of the family, hence, the expectation that they took responsibility by voting. The song further communicates INEC's intention for election credibility following their promise of 'one man, one vote'. They encouraged citizens to make their vote count. This sociodemographic and culture-incited song was meant to inform, sensitise, persuade and attract the attention of the public towards political participation.

Music campaigns also featured during the "Occupy Nigeria" protest of January 9, 2012. It was a semi-revolutionary forum intended to communicate the grievances of Nigerians against the removal of fuel subsidy by the Jonathan administration. Centred in Lagos, music was used to communicate to government the intentions of citizens as well as sensitize the masses about the insensitivity of the ruling class to the economic conditions of citizens. Music therefore communicated the grievances of the public on the one hand and was also used to relief human tension on the other. It helped in sustaining participants' energy to go on with the protest rally for a longer time. Accordingly, popular artists like Banky W, Funmi Iyanda, Seun Kutu, Femi Kutu, Ras Kimono, 9ice, Dede Mabiaku, among others, kept Gani Fawehinmi Park active for the length of the political protest.

Likewise, in 2015, different musicians also used the platform to enhance electioneering. The choice of artists was based on the knowledge that a particular musician will appeal to the varying audience and attract votes. Subsequently, Wasiu Ayinde Marshall featured prominently in the Southwest APC campaigns, as observed during the rallies of Muhammadu Buhari and Akinwunmi Ambode, the presidential and Lagos State governorship candidates, respectively. This is an indication the the value of musicians in political campaigns is high; hence, Buhari commented that musicians contributed to driving home the APC 'change' message. Furthermore, he attributed his election victory to the contributions of Nigerian musicians and artists, who mobilized citizens for peaceful, orderly and transparent elections (Nwabughio, 2015). Ambode also used popular music artists to passionately campaign to Lagosians (Obono, 2016). Equally, music campaigns in 2015 elections were used by PDP. For instance, President Goodluck Jonathan actively involved musicians when he

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launched his election campaign at the Tafawa Balewa Square, in Lagos. Due to the importance of music for electioneering, he engaged the services of Obesere, Oritsefemi and Sammy Okposo for the launch (Ezeamalu, 2015). These stage performances were strategic acts meant to keep people focused on the election agenda.

In other words, music campaigns were used to disseminate information and improve political communication. The campaigns appeared in traditional and new media platforms, enabling easy reach of information and transactions among political parties, contestants, opponents, electorates and the citizenry. The content of music campaigns are therefore structured for desired political effects. The use of negative campaigns by the ACN and PDP is not new but consistent with global trends, including the USA (Schacter, 2011). Evidently, songs perform tasks that they are intended for. They inform, sensitize, persuade and entertain the publics for result-oriented political outcome, political participation and good governance.

Discussion

The use of music for political communication encompasses entertainment, sharing of information, communication of discontent, exposure of the ruling class and electioneering. Herbert Ogunde and Femi Kuti utilized this platform to fight against colonialism, nepotism, military dictatorship, corruption, and oppression; while APC and PDP used the genre to campaign and criticize their opponents (Grass, 1986, Olarewaju, 2011; Titus & Bello, 2012; The Editors, 2015a & b). The medium is therefore used for setting political agenda by persuading the audience and enabling them to make informed decisions on national issues. While music frames, informs, educates, sensitizes, entertains, persuades and mobilises the public, citizens also use songs to cry down ethnicity, social injustice and bad governance.

Music plays a vital role in transmitting political information, critiquing leadership, sensitizing the electorates and enhancing political campaigns. For the 2015 electioneering in Lagos, popular musicians used the platform to prescribe good governance and the resolve for Akinwumi Ambode as governor (Obono, 2016). Following some of the propositions of Agenda setting theory, the music forced attention of

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Lagosians to the key political issues, which may be of individual and state interests. Corroborating McCombs and Shaw (1972) on agenda setting, post-independence music directs individuals to what they should think about, know about, and have feelings about. However, it is for this viability that some political communication music were repressed, especially songs that were critical of incumbent administrations.

Songs perform subversive functions. They have been used to express the socio-political state of different groups and democracies as well as express the grievances of the masses due to oppression, alienation and lack of freedom. The music of Ogunde and Kuti, who were Nigerian human rights activist, as well as Miriam Makeba used different genre of music, including, folk, pop rock, and jazz to campaign against the South African system of apartheid. This resulted to the revoking of her passport by the government. Negro Spirituals were used by African slaves in the United States of America to deny their conditions but project their intended hopes in songs like "swing long, sweet chariot". Folksongs were used and served as a way of expressing their new faith, sorrows and hopes (Performing Arts Encyclopedia 111.969).

The use of drums, chants, mime, proverbs, among others, resonates with the general motif of music performances. The interaction of political actors like candidates, musicians, interest groups and social movement shows that music has the ability for relational and transactional communication and discourse. The general verbal exchange has the capacity of increasing electorates' information base and influencing voter decisions. Music campaigns would increase political knowledge because of the prominence given to some issues. They therefore increase the public's level of awareness and attention on politics by playing up or downgrading specific issues (Shaw, 1979). That is why politicians attempt to capture the attention of voters using different musical forms. The Occupy Nigeria protest and INEC's song played up on this by setting the political agenda that was successful in telling people what to think about and how to think about it. Other forms of music like Rock were used in Great Britain to repress the establishment. Such anti-establishment music resonates with Fela who used Afrobeat to satirise the nation in protest of the government.

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The use of music for political campaigns emanates from a traditional system where the platform was functional for battles. It is identified as an instrument for preparation, mobilization and prosecution of war in traditional Yoruba society as revealed in the proverb, “songs herald hostilities” (Olanrewaju, 2011; Titus & Bello, 2012). This implies that music is an instrument of war, including political battle and fight for electoral votes. Its style of presentation achieves different goals (Ilesanmi, 1998; Olutoye & Olapade, 1998), including critiquing, challenging, interrogating, campaigning, mobilizing and defending the masses.

Music has been central to the lives of African people. It permeates different life events and activities and has been used for political communication and setting agenda. Using election campaigns as an example, music can be described as having the capacity to set agenda because it brings to the fore political issues that citizens are expected to know about, think about and have feelings about. This projection is arrived at by virtue of the fact that music has been used as a political communication tool. Music is, therefore, voiced towards political liberation and with potential of changing the socio-political landscape of a nation.

Conclusion

The paper examines music and its multiple political communication pedigree in post-independence Southwest Nigeria. It reveals that music has been used to mobilize the public, address the ruling class and expose the shortcoming in governance. The use of music for political communication cuts across military and civilian administrative regimes. Specifically, Hubert Ogunde and Femi Kuti utilized the platform to oppose military dictatorship, corruption and oppression of the citizenry. While music was used in post-independence Nigeria for addressing the ills in leadership, it also featured as a campaign tool during the 2011 and 2015 elections and for protests in 2012. Music serves as a mediating force between rulers and citizens, and an interaction channels among political actors. Generally, music has been used in post-colonial Nigeria to disseminate political information, to set agenda, to challenge the ruling class, to expose bad leadership, to empower citizens and for negative campaigns. It

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enhances political participation and has implications for political development in Nigeria and other developing nations of sub-Saharan Africa.

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