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SELF-PRAISE, OTHER-ASSAULT: REPRESENTATIONS IN SELECTED POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SONGS IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Politicians in Nigeria and across the world use political campaign songs to create awareness about their personalities, intentions, and programme in order to convince the electorate to fully support their candidacy. Existing scholarly works on politics and political issues have examined aspects of political speeches, electoral discourses, media reportage of elections, electoral violence in Nigeria, among others. There is, however, a dearth of work on the use of campaign songs to Self-praise and Other-assault among political rivals. This study, therefore, examines political campaign songs in southwestern Nigeria with a view to identifying the representations in the campaign songs. For data, the YouTube Channel was visited in order to retrieve the transcript of political campaign jingles used during the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria. The selected period witnessed numerous assaulting campaign jingles in the political history of Nigeria. The data were subjected to discourse analysis, guided by the van Dijk's ideological square model of critical discourse analysis. The identified representations are both positive and negative – Self as messiah, anointed, superior, symbol of success; and Other as invalid, criminal-minded, poverty-destined, symbol of hunger, prodigal, and enemy. The representations confirm our argument that Nigerian politicians, and others like them, go to any extent to praise themselves and denigrate their political opponents to the electorate because they are mindful of doing whatever it takes to get to power at all costs. The identified structure of verbal assault in political campaign jingles creates awareness on the intention of politicians in denigrating their political rivals and applauding Self. Current kind of political campaign jingles contributes to electoral violence in Nigeria.

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1. Introduction

Politicians often craft words in political jingles (a jingle, being a short song or tune used for advertisement purpose, contains one or more meanings used to hook the listener) to create awareness about their personalities and intentions. Such words are often deliberately chosen to hype their personality and defame their opponents. Hence, language choices and songs are important political tools during political campaigns. Language plays an important role in political campaign across the world. Political campaign – series of actions intended to achieve political result or political gains – is very common in the media all over the world, especially when a particular state or country, like Nigeria and other countries in Africa and the world at large, moves towards the electioneering period. The language choices used by politicians to represent self and other become more obvious during political campaigns to occupy offices as local government chairman/councillor, assembly representative of the statehouse, state governor, member of the national assembly, and president. Political candidates spice their political campaign with jingles and discourses to create awareness to the electorate. Different kinds of discourse can be said to involve such political campaign strategies, including parliamentary debates, broadcast interviews, campaign speeches, advertisements, campaign rallies, campaign jingles and manifestoes. Hence, central to the idea of politics within and outside Nigeria are issues that relate to power, persuasion and struggle for dominance. The discourses are relayed through different media. Before now, such strategies are mostly popularised via the traditional media such as radio, television and newspapers; but today, the arrival of modern technologies and the Internet has enlarged the scope to include different social media.

The argument in this paper subsists in the fact that for political jingles on different traditional and social media, politicians go to any extent to portray their opponent as bad and themselves as good to win the heart and vote of electorate. On the one hand, in promoting their good, they defend themselves and portray the image of spotlessness in their own character. On the other hand, in denigrating their opponent, they deploy diverse slanderous, libelous and verbal assaults in their political jingles. Such political jingles, fraught with Self-defence, Other-assault, often have proverbial elements, and are carefully crafted to project the evil in their political opponents and the good in themselves. The

concern in this study is to examine how political songs are used to achieve Self as Good and Other as Bad during political rallies. Such songs are often transmitted beyond the immediate spatial setting of the campaign to remote setting through the media, especially radio, television and the new media. The new media, therefore, give politicians and political contenders the opportunity to transmit their campaign messages beyond space and time.

The political landscape in Nigeria has enjoyed scholarly attention from practitioners in the social sciences and humanities-based disciplines including political scientists, linguists, sociologists, cultural anthropologists and psychologists. Evidently, linguists, discourse analysts, among others have also sufficiently examined the discourses on politics in Nigeria. Such discourse studies have examined, among others, electoral discourses in the media (Osisanwo 2011, 2012, 2013, Oyeleye and Osisanwo 2013a and 2013b), advertisement and campaign discourses among Nigerian political parties (Adegoju 2005; Opeibi 2009; Akinwale and Adegoju 2013; Ademilokun and Taiwo 2013), political interviews and debates (Odebunmi 2009), political speeches of past leaders (Awonuga 1988; Oha 1994; Ayeomoni 2007; Alo and Igwebuike 2009), neglecting the consideration of political jingles. Some more related works have examined the impact of music in politics. Obono (2017) examined the impact of music on political communication in post-independence Southwest Nigeria. Peterson (2018) conducted a rhetorical analysis of campaign songs in modern elections, exploring the evolving patterns and trends in campaign music, and observed that the studied political parties largely used congruity, which has increased over time in their campaign songs. Kachii (2018) examined politically motivated campaign songs and voting behaviour with a reflection on TV campaign songs in the 2015 Elections in Benue State, Nigeria. Akinola (2019) carried out a pragmatic analysis of musical rhetoric in the post-2015 elections in Nigeria, while Aririguzoh (2019) examined the impact of music and political messaging on Nigeria's 2015 presidential election; and Amoakohene, Tietaah, Normeshie and Sesenu (2019) investigated the impact of campaign songs and political advertising in Ghana. Osisanwo (2020) examines the use of political campaign songs and uncovers the vital relationship existing between the political campaign songs and the Nigerian socio-cultural spatial setting that produced them. The paper identified eight discursive strategies: allusion, propaganda, indigenous/native language usage and code alternation, reference to collective ownership, figurative/proverbial expressions, adaptation of common musical tune, and rhythmicity; and opines that politicians use different discursive and

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rhetorical strategies in their political campaign songs to open the door to the heart of the electorate. However, despite the foci of the works, a dearth of work exists on political campaign songs, especially considering the use of assaulting songs among political rivals. This study, therefore, examines and analyses the use of verbal defence-assault in political songs among political opponents in southwestern Nigeria with a view to identifying the 'Good-Bad' representations in the songs.

2. Music, politics, and electioneering campaign

Music has been accorded a significant role in different contexts, including religious, cultural, social and political. Music, which is capable of bringing people from various backgrounds together and creating for them a collective experience (Ramet, 1994), can possess "a greater unifying power than other forms of campaigning because it has the ability to transcend language, cultural and socioeconomic barriers" (Peterson 2018: 4). Music significantly impacts humans at both the emotional and cognitive levels. Sellnow and Sellnow (2001: 398) argue that "music symbolises emotion through rhythmic patterns of intensity and release." Music is emotive; it has emotional power. Music also impacts the cognition. At the cognitive level, music, as argued by Irvine and Kirkpatrick (1972: 272) plays "a key role in the development and maintenance of attitudes and values." Irvine and Kirkpatrick further enumerate five assumptions on the rhetorical import of music, and these can be summarised. The artist manipulates sound, rhythm and lyrics to react to and modify dominant philosophical, political, religious and aesthetic values of both general and specific audiences. Musical form operates independently to generate rhetorical impact by getting the listener to modify his or her current judgments, such that the transformed message has a more diverse, intense appeal because the musical form "involves and stimulates the body." Meanwhile, music and song are two interrelated terms. According to Gonzalaz & Makay (1983), a song is made up of both the lyrics and the music; yet, as it is the concern of this paper, the lyrics receive more critical attention.

Music has become an important campaign tool in politics. The first recorded deployment of campaign songs during electioneering campaign was in the USA in 1800. During the earliest use of campaign songs, partisan ditties were used in American political canvasses and more especially in presidential contests. Presidential campaigns have used theme songs to set the tone, underscore the candidate's message and frame a candidate's personality (Harpine, 2004). Recorded accounts show that campaign songs during the mid-1800s were politically specific and dealt with specific societal issues, including slavery,

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war, freedom; hence, songs of the era either focused on the candidate or on brave men who were sacrificing their lives on the battlefield in the name of freedom (Schoening & Kasper, 2012). Meanwhile, "the 1920s would serve as the start for the fall of the popularity of the long tradition of campaign music" (Schoening & Kasper (2012: 97). Much of the literature suggested that beginning around the mid-20th century, songs in politics were not as much about the music or lyrics as they were the personas of the various campaign song artists (Cowie & Boehm, 2006; Donaldson, 2007; Schoening & Kasper, 2012). By the 1950s and 1960s, the norm for music came to be short, catchy jingles that repeated a candidate's name approximately 30 times in 60 seconds (Peterson 2018). Rhetorical theories of music, as documented by Peterson (2018), have revealed that music can resonate with the listener both emotionally and conceptually; consequently, campaign songs should be given greater attention since the lyrics and music resonate with the electorate.

In recent times, political songs have become communicative devices engaged for stimulating warriors and for lunching verbal assault in inter-personal conflicts, as evident in the political arena where political opponents see one another as conflicting to earn a position. Most often, songs of assault are accompanied by laughing and cheering; and this often infuriates the assaulted. Songs of assault, often embedded with metaphors or other linguistic devices, have been deployed by politicians and their apologists as politically effective weapons. Unfortunately, occasions subsist where lexically-dense, linguistically-provoking and repetitive verbal assaults with jeering and cheering have resulted in physical assaults accentuating combative conflict. Are such provocative words not avoidable in political campaign jingles?

3. Electoral contest and political parties in Nigeria

Nigeria has experienced three types of government from 1960 to 2015 (Osisanwo 2016b). From 1960 to 1966, it had a ceremonial government but from 1966-1979 and 1983-1999 Nigeria was ruled by military administrators. Meanwhile, the civilian government – a government voted to power by the electorate – was in control, first, from October 1, 1979 to December 31, 1983 (four years), and May 29, 1999 to date. There was also an interim government of three months in 1993 (August – November). Under the democratic government, especially since 1999, Nigeria became a federal republic with a democratically elected government comprising three separate arms: executive, legislative

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and judiciary. Since the post-independence era, Nigeria has witnessed over twenty years of uninterrupted democratic dispensation.

During general elections in Nigeria, as it is now the structure, six different elections are conducted within two weeks. On the first day, three elections are conducted. Elected by Nigerian electorate for a four-year term are an individual who occupies the seat of the president, 109 senators elected across the 109 senatorial districts in the country and 360 House of Representative members. On the second day, usually a fortnight after the first set of elections, three other elections are held. Elected across the 36 states and the Federal Capital Territory are state governors, members of the states' houses of assembly and local government chairmen/councilors.

Elections are conducted, using party system, and Nigeria operates a multi-party system, with two or three strong parties. At different times, different political parties have challenged one another to win a particular seat. The People's Democratic Party (PDP) won every presidential election between 1999 and 2011, and was in power from 1999 – 2015. The PDP's major challenger in 1999 was the All People's Party/ All Nigerian People's Party (APP/ANPP). It was a contest between Chief Olusegun Obasanjo (OBJ) of PDP and Chief Olu Falae (Falae) of APP. Both contestants were of southwestern extraction: PDP's OBJ was a military Head of states, while Falae was a secretary to the Federal Government. OBJ won the election with 62.8% votes. OBJ of PDP repeated the feat with 61.9% votes in 2003 after contesting with more politicians and political parties, including General Muhammadu Buhari of ANPP, Chief Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu of All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) and so forth. Upon the completion of OBJ's tenure, Umaru Musa Yar'Adua (Yar'Adua) won the primary elections as PDP's flag-bearer for the 2007 elections. He won other contestants, including General Muhammadu Buhari of Congress for Progressives Change (CPC) with 54.5% of the total votes at the general presidential elections. Yar'Adua had not completed his tenure when his ill-health led to his demise. His vice, Dr Goodluck Ebele Jonathan (GEJ) took over from him. GEJ was chosen as the flag-bearer of the PDP in the 2011 election where he defeated the other major contestants like Buhari of CPC, Mallam Nuhu Ribadu of Action Congress of Nigeria (ACN).

Some of the stalwarts of the other parties who had been playing second fiddle to the PDP felt the need for collaboration in order to unseat the PDP. Hence, politicians from ACN, CPC, ANPP, a faction of APGA, and another faction of PDP, called new PDP – nPDP, came together for a merger. Finally, on 6 February 2013 in anticipation of the 2015 general elections, The All Progressives Congress (APC) emerged as a new party, and

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General Muhammadu Buhari was chosen as the party's flag-bearer. Meanwhile, after the completion of his first term in office, GEJ was fielded to contest the 2015 election, which was keenly contested between him and General Muhammadu Buhari. Buhari defeated GEJ in the keenly contested election with 2.4 million votes. By 2018, Alhaji Abubakar Atiku (Atiku) had deflected from the APC to the PDP. He won the primaries of the PDP and was fielded to run against the incumbent President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB). However, Atiku lost to PMB. Out of the 71 political parties that presented candidates, the other major contenders were Kingsley Moghalu of the Young Progressives Party (YPP), Omoyele Sowore of the African Action Congress (AAC), Fela Durotoye of the Alliance for a New Nigeria (ANN) and so forth.

Cross-carpeting comes with ease in the Nigerian political space. This has been criticised by many as an easy take due to lack of strong ideological orientation. The association and dissociation occasioned by political allies being in the same party today, and becoming political enemies tomorrow confirms the view that there is no permanent friend or enemy in politics. The ally today and opponent tomorrow, evident among Nigerian politicians, has gone a long way in influencing the tactical changes observed in political campaign rally songs witnessed today. Such songs have successfully moved from discussing the positives and promises about oneself to running one's political opponent down with incessant reckless abandon. At the inception of running others down, opponents had only attacked one another using indirectness. However, such verbal attacks have recently become quite direct. This study is therefore interested in examining some of the rhetoric such as altercations in order to identify the representations embedded in them.

4. Theoretical framework

The present study adopts the critical discourse analysis (CDA) to examine the political campaign strategies deployed in the political campaign songs and jingles by political parties and politicians. Given that there are many dimensions to CDA, the study adopts van Dijk's (2006) framework which comprises two main discursive strategies of 'positive self-presentation' (semantic macro-strategy of in-group favouritism) and 'negative other-presentation' (semantic macro-strategy of derogation of out-group). These become visible by means of some other discursive processes, otherwise termed categories of ideological discourse structure such as 'actor description', 'authority', 'burden' ('Topos'), 'categorisation', 'comparison, 'consensus', 'counterfactuals', 'disclaimer', 'euphemism',

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'evidentiality', 'example'/'illustration', 'generalisation', 'hyperbole', 'implication', 'irony', 'lexicalisation', 'metaphor', 'self-glorification', 'norm expression', 'number game', 'polarisation', 'Us-Them', 'populism', 'presupposition', 'vagueness', 'victimisation. Although the intention in this paper is not to deploy all the ideological discourse structures, rather emphasis will be placed more on van Dijk's (2006) model of ideological discourse square. Van Dijk (2006) argues that ideological discourse often features the following overall strategies of what might be called the ideological square:

- emphasise our good things
- emphasise their bad things
- de-emphasise our bad things
- de-emphasise their good things

Hence, contestants associate Self – ingroup – with good things and dissociate Self from bad things. On the other hand, they identify the Other – outgroup – with bad things, while they dissociate Them from good things. Oyeleye and Osisanwo (2013a: 763) put this as "ingroups typically emphasise their own good deeds while they de-emphasise their bad deeds; on the other hand, outgroups de-emphasise or even totally deny their own bad deeds while they emphasise their good ones". The interest in our paper is to examine how the ideological square has been deployed to make meaning in the lyrics of the campaign.

5. Methodology

Data for this study were drawn from political campaign rally songs. The YouTube Online Channel was accessed to retrieve the transcript of political jingles used in the southwestern region of Nigeria during the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria. The selected periods witnessed numerous assaulting jingles in the political history of Nigeria. Out of the over seventy campaign songs that were retrieved, only the twelve that are illustrative of the representations were purposively selected for analysis. The twelve selected songs cover the selected years. Since the songs are mainly retrieved from the southwestern part of Nigeria, they were rendered in the Yoruba language. After scripting the songs in Yoruba, Yoruba Language specialists were consulted to tone mark appropriately; and the songs were translated into English. The data, guided by van Dijk's ideological square model of CDA, were subjected to discourse analysis. The identified structure of verbal assault in political campaign jingles should make politicians become mindful of their craftiness

towards their rivals, assist the decision of electorate, add to existing literature on political discourses, and provide new insight to discourse analysts. This study will also make recommendation on how political jingles can forestall electoral violence in Nigeria.

6. Analysis and discussion

The data revealed that there are two broad ideological representations deployed in the campaign jingles: positive self-representation and negative other-representation. While the positive self-representation has four other sub-representations: Self as messiah, Self as chosen/anointed, Self as superior to Other and Self as symbol of success; the negative other-representation has six other sub-representations: Other as invalid, Other as criminal-minded, Other (and supporters) as poverty-destined, Other as symbol of hunger, Other as prodigal and Other as enemy.

6.1 Positive self-representation

In positive self-representation, a speaker tends to project the good in self, using two of the ideological square proposed by van Dijk, that is emphasise our good things and de-emphasise our bad things. A representation where a speaker, political orator or musician conveniently emphasises what is good in anyone associated with Self is perceived as positive representation. Politicians deploy this as a marketing strategy for the electorate to see what is good in them, while they background what is bad in Self. All their descriptions here show positivity about Self. We now engage the positive sub-representations.

Self/Party as Messiah: The most popular sense of the word "messiah" is its association with Christianity. The word is used to refer to Jesus Christ, who was sent to the world to save people from evil and sin. Meanwhile, that description has a correlation with the semantic extension given to the word, which means a leader who people believe will solve the problem of a group, people, country or the world. Such a leader or an individual so represented is a savior, defender, or a champion whose presence is accompanied with liberation for his people. Such a person can be seen or believed to possess the power to save his people from a devourer or an imminent disaster. The individual is also believed to be success-personified. In the discourse of the political campaign songs, representation of Self as messiah is motivated for meaning. Campaign rallies are fraught with such positive and infallible representations to persuade and

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convince the electorate to support the emerging "defender of the masses and the defenseless." Consider texts 1 and 2 below:

Text 1	Bye bye to játijàti Bí Bùhárí bá'gorí àléfà Bye bye to játijàti	Farewell to recklessness/ineptitude when Bùhárí takes over the governance.
Text 2	Ha! ẹgbẹ́ mi, Ẹ w'àsía bi tín fẹ́lẹlẹ Ogun Jésu, fẹ́rẹ̀ dé ná Àwa yóò ṣégun	Ho, my comrades, see the signal, waving in the sky! Jesus signals still, victory is near.

Texts 1 and 2 are some of the songs sung at different rallies in the 2015 election campaigns. As at this time, the People's Democratic Party (PDP) had spent 16 years in power. The All Progressives Congress (APC) was putting its entire arsenal to task to ensure a people-receptive representation. The party identified the gap in the PDP government, which resonates with the masses. Since Nigerians had criticised the PDP government under the leadership of Dr Goodluck Jonathan of recklessness and ineptitude to the detriment of the masses, the singer used the song to present APC and President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB) as the chosen messiah who can terminate the suffering meted out to the people. APC/PMB is represented as a savior, defender, liberator, and champion. The name "Jesus" was also used thus: *Ogun Jésu, fẹ́rẹ̀ dé ná* (Jesus' angels are almost here). This sort of representation is used to correlate Self with the character of Jesus, who is believed to be an embodiment of success. The rendition also associates the defender – PMB – with promised absolute success at the poll thus: *Àwa yóò ṣégun* (victory is near). The direct translation of *Àwa yóò ṣégun* is "We will win." Hence, the 'will' is a promissory note to the electorate not to waste their vote elsewhere, but cast it in favour of the APC and PMB. This representation is specifically meant to draw the masses to the party and the APC and its flag-bearer to depict the sense of cleansing and freedom from all sorts of problems and sufferings that Nigerians have been undergoing under the government of the PDP. The marketization of Self – APC/Buhari to the electorate speaks to their cognition to behold the leader whose emergence as the president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria is certain to terminate all troubles and sorrows.

Self/Party as anointed/chosen: This is another representation that emphasises not only the good in Self but that Self is anointed and chosen. Although the word "anoint" has

to do with a religious ceremony or ritual where oil or water is put on somebody's head for separation from others, protection from others or evil, or for higher responsibility, its use in this context is more related to being separated for leadership responsibility. This represents the infallibility of a contesting politician or political party. The sense of the contextual positioning of the term "anointed" or "chosen*" hypes the potentials of a politician or party, and cognitively tasks the masses and electorate that the political party or aspirant being campaigned for, who is purportedly without blemish, has been separated and divinely chosen to lead the people. Another sense of the use of "chosen" in political parlance also relates to political blessing from party stalwarts and or godfathers. Such also demand trust from the electorate that a particular candidate has received the blessing of the political elders at the top echelon of the party, society or country. The confirmation of such blessings are sometimes extended to the doorsteps of royal fathers, formers leaders, spiritual leaders, and so forth, just for the electorate to assure that the candidate or party is a good choice. This also plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 3.

| Text 3 | *A egbẹ́ mi ẹwàsíá PDP tó ń fẹ́lẹlẹ,*
 Àlàó Akálà ẹni Ọlọ́runyànkósẹlẹ́kejì,
 Ẹgbẹ́ ọlọ́m̀bùrẹ́là egbe PDP,
 Ẹgbẹ́ oníre tidé kíre wọléwà,
 Solo-Ẹ fibò gbedébẹ̀ kó wọlé,
 Chorus-Àlàó Akálà lẹni Ọlọ́run yàn o,
 Solo-Ẹni Ọlọ́run yàn làwa ńfẹ́,
 Chorus-Àlàó Akálà lẹni Ọlọ́run yàn o,
 Solo-PDP, Chorus- power to the people. | Oh my comrades see the signal of PDP waving in sky,
 Alao Akala is the God's choice to run a second term
 PDP, the umbrella party!
 The blessed party has come, may blessing be ours
 Vote him to office
 Alao Akala is a God-chosen
 We desire a God-chosen
 Alao Akala is a God-chosen
 It's umbrella party, it's PDP. |

In text 3, the political party and politician self-praising are PDP and Otunba Alao Akala (a former governor of Oyo State) respectively. The song begins by calling on the electorate to behold the signal of the party; and continues by hyping the potentials of the party, portraying it as a godly party. The following expressions are motivated: "The blessed party has come, may blessing be ours," "Alao Akala is a God-chosen," "We desire a God-chosen." The expressions which positively present Self are motivated to melt the heart of

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the electorate and warm up to the candidacy of PDP and Otunba Alao Akala (Akala). To convince the people that God has a hand in the choice of an individual is a spiritual strategy to implicate incorruptibility and immaculateness in Self. The texts of the song intertextually relate the political space and persona to religion. The rhetoric of God-chosen underscores an anointed candidate whom if voted to power will use his position like a God-fearing person to bless the people. The use of the collective-we in "We desire a God-chosen" invites other undecided electorate to join the train and elect the God-chosen.

   Self/Party as Superior to Other: *"*Superiority" is a prominent term in advertising, which is always used to imply that a product is better in quality than others. This positive representation is equally meant to accentuate worthy or associate good quality to Self. A fair question to ask is to know whose decision it was or how it was measured before it was arrived at that one is superior to the other. This also positively represents the supremacy of Self over Other. The logic in the representation of Self as superior to Other magnifies the capabilities of a politician or party, and cognitively demands endorsement from the electorate that the political party or aspirant being campaigned for, is a better candidate or party with possible more sagacious appraisal and understanding of governance than the Other. This also plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 4.

Text 4	A ń sòrò àwọn tó gbayì	We are speaking of
	Agbájé náà y'ojú	celebrated/dependable
	PDP naay'oju	people, Agbájé/PDP is trying
	Láì mọ̀ pé Sanwó-Olú lògá	to show his face, not
	Láì mọ̀ pé APC lògá	knowing that Sanwó-Olú/APC is superior.

The background to the political jingle in text 4 is the 2019 gubernatorial election campaign in Lagos. Although three out of the five lines in text 4 convey negative portrayal of Other, our interest is in the last two lines which project positive portrayal of Self. The expression, *Láì mọ̀ pé Sanwó-Olú lògá, láì mọ̀ pé APC lògá* (not knowing that Sanwó-Olú/APC is superior), evinces the superiority of Self (APC/Sanwo-Olu) over Other (PDP/Agbaje). Both parties and their flag-bearers contested the 2019 governorship elections in Lagos. However, the APC's rendition projects to the electorate that in matters of governance which would include infrastructural development, economic buoyancy, political stability, good and acceptable policies and so forth, both APC and Sanwo-Olu are better party/candidate who the people can trust since they are superior to their opponent.

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Self/Party as Symbol of Success: "Success" is a term everyone wants to identify with. It is a term often associated with an achiever. This obvious positive representation is equally meant to accentuate achievement to Self. This depicts another quality that positively positions Self over Other since the electorate prefer to be associated with success rather than failure. Hence, the logic subsists in the contextual representation of Self as a better achiever than Other to demand endorsement from the electorate and associate themselves with success by voting for success. This also plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 5.

Text 5	Fásọlá gan-gan l'àseyọrí	Fásọlá is a symbol of
	Fásọlá gan-gan l'àseyọrí	success.
	Fásọlá ti sà'seyọrí	Fásọlá has succeeded in
	Ẹ wo ìlú Èkó, ìlú Èkó	turning Lagos around.

The scenario in text 5 played out during the 2015 and 2019 presidential and gubernatorial election campaigns in Lagos. The connotation in the expression, *Fásọlá gan-gan l'àseyọrí* (Fásọlá is a symbol of success) is that Fasola is not just a replica or symbol of but success itself. Babatunde Raji Fasola (SAN) was the governor of Lagos State from 2007 – 2015. The accolades being showered on him by the musician is politically motivated. Since Babatunde Raji Fasola (BRF) was at the campaign rally, the onus lies in the electorate who are present at the rally or watching far away to embrace the candidate and party being supported by the success-personified BRF. The lyrics therefore implicates BRF as the *àseyọrí* who is nominating and supporting his APC proto-type: Muhammadu Buhari and Babajide Sanwo-Olu.

6.2 Negative other-representation

In negative Other-representation, a speaker tends to project the Bad in Other, using two of the ideological square proposed by van Dijk, that is emphasise their bad things and de-emphasise their good things. A representation where a speaker, political orator or musician conveniently emphasises what is bad in anyone associated with Other is perceived as negative representation. Politicians deploy this as a strategy to de-market and or possibly cast aspersion on Other for the electorate to perceive Other as bad or evil, while they background what is good in them. As pointed out in our review session, political campaign

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songs have recently become communicative devices engaged for stimulating war and for lunching verbal assault in inter-personal conflicts, as evident in political arena where political opponents see one another as conflicting to earn a position. This view is evidently apt based on our data.   All the descriptions here show negativity about Other. We now engage the negative sub-representations.

   Other/Opponent as Invalid: This representation de-emphasises Good and accentuates Bad in Other. An invalid is a sick, unwell or medically unfit person. The denigration of Other as invalid implicates Other as unfit, mentally imbalanced to rule a fit and mentally balanced people. Campaign rally songs are fraught with such negatives and scornful representations to dissuade the electorate from supporting Other, to throw their weight behind Self, believed to be valid, normal and absolutely well to paddle the canoe of governance to the seashore. No doubt, as pointed out by Peterson (2018), rhetorical theories of music have revealed that music can resonate with the listener both emotionally and conceptually, hence the denigration of Other as invalid is an emotional invitation to the electorate to invalidate the Other's capability and consequently withdraw support from them. This description plays out in the context of our data as depicted in text 6.

Text 6	Ó fẹ́ ìtójú nla Ó fẹ́ àmójútó Ẹni tó ń ṣe power tẹ́lẹ̀ Tó tún wá d'agbálẹ̀ ọjà Ó fẹ́ àmójútó	A person who once belonged to the POWER camp but has now metamorphosed to be a sweeper at the market square needs serious (medical/spiritual) attention

The concept of àmójútó (medical or spiritual attention) as depicted in text 6 is a bit deeper than someone who is just an invalid, but more with someone with psychosis, or who is beginning to exhibit or display traces of lunacy. No doubt this description is a fall-out of cross-carpeting (as discussed earlier). In fact there are politicians in Nigeria who have cross-carpeted for countless periods. In this particular context, it was an attack from PDP to APC. The logo of PDP is the umbrella; and for them, with the umbrella, all Nigerians can be shielded from all manners of danger, lack and insolvency. On the other hand, the logo of APC is the broom. A broom is used for sweeping floors; and to the APC, the essence of the broom is to sweep away all corrupt practices and other untoward dogmas already enmeshed in the Nigerian society by the PDP.   In addition, the slogan of PDP is "power to the people", while that of APC is "change." APC sang the need for change in

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government in order to rescue power from PDP, and this, they did in 2015. When they contested again in 2019, the change mantra had to be changed to "next level" in order not to contradict and force themselves out of office with the supposed "change." However, some members of the PDP had reasons to cross-carpet from PDP to APC. In order to show their displeasure, PDP deploys the use of attack songs to negotiate between dropping the umbrella for the broom.

The expression, *Ẹni tó ń ṣe power tẹ́lẹ̀ tó tún wá d'agbálẹ̀ ọjà, ó fẹ́ àmójútó* (a person who once belonged to the POWER camp but has now metamorphosed to become a sweeper at the market square needs serious medical/spiritual attention) has a socio-cultural undertone. Culturally, when an individual is addressed as a sweeper at the market square, this is a pointer to the fact that the person is not mentally alright. PDP therefore defames and maligns the character of such politicians and supporters or voters involved in cross-carpeting from PDP to APC by equating them to people who are mentally imbalanced.

Other/Opponent as Criminal-Minded: This emphasises Bad in Other. A criminal is someone who has once been convicted of a crime or criminal offence. The condemnation of Other as criminal incriminates Other as lawless, immoral or evil. Hence, it is illegal to allow a criminal and lawless person to lead the people. The representation of Other as criminal is another musical attack rhetoric which dissuades the electorate from supporting Other, while they throw their support behind the opponent believed to be non-criminal. This vilification of Other is an emotional invitation to the electorate to nullify the Other's suitability. This description plays out in our data as depicted in text 7.

Text 7	*Gbọ́ ohùn àwọn Akálà tó ń kọrin*	Hear the sound of Akálà's team
	Gbọ́ ohùn àwọn Akálà tó ń kọrin	singing and campaigning with
	Wọ́n ń kọrin ìtibọntìbọn	guns and cutlass.
	Wọ́n ń kọrin tòbẹtòbẹ	
	Gbọ́ ohùn àwọn Akálà tó ń kọrin	

It is a criminal offence to unlawfully go about with cutlasses (*tòbẹtòbẹ*) and guns (*ìtibọntìbọn*) in a sane society. According to Section 3 (1) of *Robbery and Firearms Act* (2004):

> Any person having a firearm in his possession or under his control in contravention of the Firearms Act or any order made thereunder shall be guilty of an offence under this Act and shall upon conviction under this Act

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be sentenced to a fine of twenty thousand naira or to imprisonment for a
period of not less than ten years or to both.

Section 3 (1) of *Robbery and Firearms Act* (2004) criminalises unlawful possession of
firearms like gun. When individuals possess, display and brandish guns and cutlasses, they
can be associated with hooligans and criminals. Text 7 was used by the APC to denigrate
and cast aspersion on the PDP governorship aspirant, Chief Alao Akala. The vilification
was to discredit him and implicate him as a misnomer and misfit for the government house.
The musical attack rhetoric here is another negative representation which does not only
castigate and relegate the Other (Akala) as morally unfit; it emotionally invites the
electorate to have a change of heart about supporting the Other.

   Other/Opponent as Symbol of Hunger: The projection of Other as a symbol of
hunger also accentuates Bad in Other. Hunger has to do with lack of food to eat for
sustenance. Undoubtedly, hunger can generate anger which has the tendency to destabilise
a nation. Depicting Other as hunger-personified is another musical attack rhetoric which
seeks to dissuade the electorate from supporting Other. This description is evident in text
8.

Text 8	Mẹ́rin mẹ́rin àròpò̀ Ebi ni o (3ce)	Four plus four is equal to hunger.

Text 8 is a verbal attack from PDP to APC. As earlier stated, APC rescued power from
PDP in 2015. By 2019 when APC decided to flag President Muhammadu Buhari (PMB)
for another four years with the claim of consolidating the programmes and policies it had
started, they came up with the slang 2015-2019 is four years, another 2019-2023 is four
years (4+4) to make the maximum possible eight years of governance under the leadership
of PMB. To sustain their attack of the incumbent president and his party, PDP claimed
that PMB's government had not been good to Nigerians. Hence, should they be given
another four years, there will be hunger or drought in the land. Therefore, the expression
Mẹ́rin mẹ́rin àròpò̀ ebi ni o (four plus four is equal to hunger) is a deliberate negative attack
on the competence of APC and PMB. Nigerians are, therefore, cautioned about entrusting
their lives and finances to them for another term.

   Other/ Opponent-supporters as Failure-Destined: This negative representation is
not just about emphasising Bad in Other, rather it is about a subtle curse on whoever votes
the opponent. The condemnation of Other and its supporters as destined for failure not just

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at the polls but also in other endeavours is a height of anger and political desperation for power. This profane altercation was first used by APC to PDP in the 2015 election campaign, as discussed in texts 9 and 10.

Text 9	Ẹní bá dì'bò PDP, òfò n'óse	Whoever votes PDP is doomed for failure (in all endeavours of life).

Text 9 says *Ẹní bá dì'bò PDP, òfò n'óse* (Whoever votes PDP is doomed for nullity in all endeavours of life). The word *òfò* can be translated to mean *null, void, zero,* or *loss*. To be *doomed to fail* therefore means that the failure that will befall such a person is unavoidable; the individual is destined to fail and or possibly become worthless person in the future. This absolute negative vibe and display of swearword or expletive with reckless abandon in a public place is a show of shame and desperation for power which accompanied political campaign songs, especially in Nigeria.

Text 10	Ẹníbáwadìtẹ̀, kònír'ówójẹun Ẹníbáwadìtẹ̀, kònír'ówójẹun Ìrókò tó gbàbọ̀dè gígé la ó ge	All our antagonists/conspirators/ saboteurs are doomed to fail or suffer poverty.

Similarly, text 10 says *Ẹníbáwadìtẹ̀, kònír'ówójẹun Ẹníbáwadìtẹ̀, kònír'ówójẹun* (All our saboteurs/conspirators are doomed to fail or suffer hunger), which is also another use of expletive and invective to place a curse on the opponents and their supporters. The expression *kònír'ówójẹun* means to become impoverished or poverty-stricken and not be able to fend for oneself. For the electorate who are overtly conscious and scared about the power of words, this negative representation and outright spat of financial insolvency will yield a favourable reaction. .

Other/Opponent as Prodigal: A prodigal is a profligate, wasteful, extravagant person who cannot be entrusted with a public treasury. The denigration of Other as prodigal implicates Other as a spendthrift, in whose custody Nigerians must not be misled to put their investments. This is also meant to deter the electorate from supporting Other before or at the polls. The denigration of Other as profligate is an emotional invitation to

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the electorate to annul the Other's competence and subsequently withdraw support from them. This description plays out in the context of our data as depicted in texts 11 and 12.

Text 11	Pátápátá kówá máa lọ Akótilétà	The prodigal politician has to be ejected from office.

Text 11 has the expression *Pátápátá kówá máa lọ Akótilétà* (The prodigal politician has to be ejected from office). This representation was made by APC to PDP during the 2011 campaign rally in Oyo state. Specifically, it was directed at Akala who was popularly described as a "waster." The representation is meant to call the attention of the electorate to the danger of waste. A prodigal spends and consumes all funds and resources without thinking about the future. Hence, this is another emotional appeal to the electorate to join hands with Self to build a virile and sustainable economy. The solution, therefore, is to use their voting power to stop and eject the represented *Akótilétà* from the government house.

   Other/Opponent as Enemy: This is another negative representation where Self sees Other as enemy. An enemy is a person who hates or acts against somebody. The representation of Other as enemy implicates Other as a political antagonist who will stop at nothing but ensure the downfall of Self. Hence, the designation of Other as a foe incriminates Other as somebody not trustable by Self and the supporters of Self and spits the need for a counter move to conquer Other.

Text 12	Mo le moba Mo tún gbà á padà Mo le moba Mo tún gbà á padà Mo le moba Mo tún gbà á padà Ire gbogbo t'ọ̀tà á gbà lọ́wọ́ mi	I ran after and retrieved my stolen mandate from the enemy.

Text 12 with the expression, *Mo le moba, mo tún gbà á padà, ire gbogbo t'ọ̀tà á gbà lọ́wọ́ mi* (I ran after and retrieved my stolen mandate from the enemy) was used by Akala during the 2015 and 2019 campaign rallies. He was in office as the governor of Oyo State from 2007 to 2011. However, Senator Abiola Ajimobi (Ajimobi) defeated him and emerged the governor in 2011. To gain the trust and confidence of the masses and electorate, Akala's

team went positive, believing he had already won the election even before the conduct at the polls, underscoring the belief that he would automatically retrieve the mandate. The use of *gbà lọ́wọ́ mi* (snatched my mandate) in Akala's rhetoric also incriminates Ajimobi as a rigger who rigged the 2011 election to have defeated Akala. The denigration of Ajimobi as *ọ̀tà* (enemy) conceptually invites the electorate and those not particularly impressed by the four-year tenure of Ajimobi to engage in Other-dereliction and Self-embrace so that Self can once again be in power as an actual proof of the stolen mandate.

7. Conclusion

This paper examines the use of campaign songs to Self-praise and Other-assault among political rivals in southwestern Nigeria with a view to identifying the representations in the campaign songs. The YouTube Online Channel was visited to retrieve data that dwelled on political jingles used in the southwestern part of Nigeria during the 2011, 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria, while the discourse analysis was guided by the Van Dijk's discourse ideological square model of critical discourse analysis. The analysed data revealed that two broad ideological representations were deployed in the campaign jingles: positive self-representation and negative other-representation. While the positive self-representation has four other sub-representations: Self as messiah, Self as chosen/anointed, Self as superior to Other and Self as symbol of success; the negative other-representation has six other sub-representations: Other as invalid, Other as criminal-minded, Other as poverty-destined, Other as symbol of hunger, Other as prodigal and Other as enemy.

The representations (positive and negative) confirm our argument that Nigerian politicians go to any extent to paint evil of their political opponents to the electorate because they are mindful of doing whatever it takes to get to power at all costs. While the choices for the Self-representation are expected, especially when they are not particularly hyped, the Other-representations are rather too damning, condemning, denigrating, slanderous and libelous, especially with unverified and unconfirmed allegations. The political goal of such rhetoric or language choices hidden in musical rendition is based on the knowledge of the emotive and cognitive impacts of music. Such confrontational vituperations are hardly found in campaign speeches. In essence, musical rendition packed with such Other negative-representations have created a hiding place for the political contestants to negatively attack one another almost with reckless abandon. And as equally confirmed by Irvine and Kirkpatrick (1972) and Peterson (2018), conscious of the impact of rendered

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musical rhetoric to the listener's cognition, politicians deploy musical rhetoric as avenue for attitude change or development and value destruction or preservation. Politicians also use it to generate rhetorical impact in order to get the listener to modify their current judgments or surreptitiously force them to modify dominant philosophical, political, religious and aesthetic values on the individuality or ideological position of Self or Other.

The identified representations of verbal assault in political campaign jingles create awareness on the intention of politicians in denigrating their political rivals and applauding Self. It is recommended that there is need for a rethink, especially on assaulting political campaign musical rhetoric that are fraught with lexically-dense, linguistically-provoking and repetitive verbal assaults. Such renditions have recently resulted in political scuffles, and others have promoted fracases, accentuating physical assaults and clashes. It is posited that the sort of current political campaign jingles today contribute to electoral violence in Nigeria and the world over. Political candidates should strive to give more information about Self, reeling out the workable plans and policies, while they minimise engagements with Other, especially such engagements that are rife to spark violence.

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