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**EXPLORING THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SONGS ON VOTING  
BEHAVIOUR OF ELECTORATES IN GHANA DURING 2008, 2012 AND 2016  
GENERAL ELECTIONS**

**BY**

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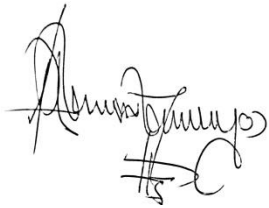
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## CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my original research, and that no part of it has been presented for another (degree or diploma) in this institute or elsewhere. I am responsible for any shortcomings.



.....

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### **SUPERVISOR'S CERTIFICATION**

I hereby declare that the preparation of this dissertation was supervised by me in accordance with the guidelines of supervision of dissertation laid down by Ghana Institute of journalism.



**September 30, 2020**

**Dr. Collins Adu -Bempah Brobbey**

**Date**

**(Supervisor)**

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this book to God almighty, to my dear parents who supported me financially and in prayers, to my dear supervisor who worked tirelessly to support and correct this work, and all my family and friends who helped me in one way or the other, I say I am most grateful.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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## ABSTRACT

In recent times, Musicians of all genres both old and contemporary have come to brace this idea of composing campaign songs for political parties and candidates during election seasons. The likes of Nat Brew (AKA Amandzeba), Daddy Lumba, Kwabena Kwabena, Lucky Mensah, Shatta Wale, Mzbel, A Plus, Bukum Banku and Diana Asamoah, have all participated in composing songs for candidates of their choice or otherwise, their songs have been used in the process. Many who do not have identifiable tracks/songs have been seen performing for one political party's or the other on their campaign platforms and the number has been increasing over the period till today. Undoubtedly, political science literature shows how strong the tool of symbolism is for political process towards election. Analysing the musical interpretations of Nina Simone songs found that it served a symbolic purpose because it spoke to the hundreds of thousands of African American men and women fighting for their rights during the 1960s. This study posits that there seems to be the use of campaign music as part of systematic attempts to encourage voters to perceive their candidate as worthy of a vote. Findings revealed that this is done, rather than focusing on developing substantive positions campaign strategy, music is invoked as a peripheral persuasive tactic to help facilitate diverse strategic objectives associated with political campaigns. It however, concludes that from a psychological perspective, the question remains whether or not such songs exert some influence to make an individual behave in a certain way. It recommends that a political campaign song influence a voter to vote for a particular candidate and so it should be deployed as an arena not only for celebrities to make huge sums of fortunes from politicians but also, for endorsing songs for them to win elections.

**Keywords:** *Musicians of all genres; Old and Contemporary; Composing campaign songs; Political parties; Candidates; Election seasons; Identifiable tracks/songs*



## **CHAPTER 1**

### **GENERAL OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

#### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This document introduces the entire overview of the study which includes background of the study, objectives of the study, problem statement and significance of the study.

#### **1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

Since 1993, Ghanaians have guarded their multi-party democracy carefully and progressively, which paved way and set the stage for the struggle for greater Freedom, Justice and Happiness. It is for such reason that framers of the 1992 Constitution provided for, in its preamble, the need for exercising citizen's natural and inalienable rights. This in turn establishes a framework for government of the day which is achieved through the principle of Universal Adult Suffrage (Asah, 2015: 102).

Accordingly, Asah (2015: 102) posits that political communication has become an integral part of democratic elections in the Fourth Republic. He stated that for many years now, political parties have relied extensively on the media to get their messages across to the electorate. He wrote "Messages in the form of songs, slogans, jingles and gestures, among others, have featured in the various elections and been communicated using the media. The effect of these messages on voter choices is worth considering".

In the past, many Ghanaian governments/public policies have gone hand in hand with campaign songs to get the targeted audience change or modify behavior. For instance, the changing from old Ghana cedi to the new cedi campaign in 2007 witnessed the use of songs.

Again, when the country changed from right hand driving to the left, songs were used as a tool to educate the people. It may be argued that the success of using songs and celebrity endorsements is what has been translated into using political campaign songs. Darko, (2016) in his article; “Political campaign songs that made hits”; wrote, “Since independence, the likes of E.T. Mensah, E.K. Nyame, Kwaa Mensah etc. all did political campaign songs that were played at CPP functions back in the day.” Darko, (2016, para: 2).

Scholars such as Tomolo (2016); Veringa (2014); and Agyapong (2016) mention that campaign strategists now hold contests to pick official themes and they use whole playlists of popular songs to get crowds attend rallies. In Ghana, the use of political campaign songs transpired during the 2008 elections, 2012 and 2016 elections as well. For instance, in 2008, popular musician Lucky Mensah composed a political song for the National Democratic Congress titled “Yesesa mu”.

On the other hand, for the New Patriotic Party was a song by Daddy Lumba titled “We are moving forward”. These songs were composed to communicate to the target of the political parties. The question that one could ask is if these songs played a significant role in the election process? Could we say that campaign songs are not mainly to entertain but are meant to influence electorates to make a particular choice? Similarly, in elections elsewhere such as the United States, anecdotal accounts indicate that songs upon songs have been released by musicians to support and endorse a political candidate.

As Agyepong (2016) citing (Huntington, 1991, 1993) puts it, in an emerging, or so-called third wave, of democracy, the phenomenon of using songs and artists to garner support and rally votes to them seems to be on the rise.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM**

In recent times, Musicians of all genres both old and contemporary have come to brace this idea of composing campaign songs for political parties and candidates during election seasons. The likes of Nat Brew (AKA Amandzeba), Daddy Lumba, Kwabena Kwabena, Lucky Mensah, Shatta Wale, Mzbel, A Plus, Bukum Banku and Diana Asamoah, have all participated in composing songs for candidates of their choice or otherwise, their songs have been used in the process. Many who do not have identifiable tracks/songs have been seen performing for one political party's or the other on their campaign platforms and the number has been increasing over the period till today.

Undoubtedly, political science literature shows how strong the tool of symbolism is for political process towards election. Freyermuth (2008) analyzing the musical interpretations of Nina Simone songs found that it served a symbolic purpose because it spoke to the hundreds of thousands of African American men and women fighting for their rights during the 1960s. He furthered that politicians will often select a popular song to use as a theme song. These theme songs he argued are songs that are selected to give voters a glimpse into the personality of the candidate, issues he or she feels strongly about and who they hope to connect with.

Tumolo (2015) asserts that there seems to be the use of campaign music as part of systematic attempts to encourage voters to perceive their candidate as worthy of a vote. He furthered that this is done, rather than focusing on developing substantive positions campaign strategy, music is invoked as a peripheral persuasive tactic to help facilitate diverse strategic objectives

associated with political campaigns. However, from a psychological perspective, the question remains whether such songs exert some influence to make an individual behave in a certain way? Does a political campaign song influence a voter to vote for a particular candidate? Is it just an arena for celebrities to make huge sums of fortunes from politicians? Why would politicians spend huge fortune using celebrities to endorse songs for them?

These questions are asked because, like Agyepong (2016) puts it, Ghanaian political parties and media systems are distinct from those of established Western democracies. Various contributions to the literature on the subject in Africa as a whole has until now, been excluded from the literature in this field therefore, something worth considering. This research seeks to find out whether political campaign songs have influence on voter behavior patterns among the Ghanaian electorate. The study will therefore help to contextualize the similarities and differences in how songs influence voters and how they are utilized in election campaigns in a westernized democracy versus in an emerging African democracy.

### **1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

This study has two-fold objectives namely; broad and specific. Broadly speaking this study explores the influence of political campaign songs on voting behaviour of electorates in Ghana, however; specifically, it sought to:

1. Examine electorate's perception and attitude towards political campaign songs
2. Ascertain the significance of the phenomenon of making songs during political campaign seasons for political parties during election seasons.

3. Unearth what influence political campaign songs had on electorates voting behaviour during 2008, 2012 and 2016 general elections?

#### **1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

This research seeks to provide answers to the following questions;

1. What are the perception of the electorates and their attitude towards political campaign songs?
2. What is the significance of making songs during political campaign seasons for political parties?
3. How influential are the political campaign songs on electorates voting behaviour during 2008, 2012 and 2016 general elections?

#### **1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

For a matter of principle and application, every research, whether big or small must be relevant in one way or another to solving societal problems as well as augmenting academic literature. Previous literature has predominately focused on established democracies like the United States and European countries, such as the United Kingdom. Very little is known about Africa, Ghana for that matter. This thesis seeks to explore the reason behind political campaign songs in Ghana and help political strategists create songs that appeal to electorates. This study is also to inform political parties who hitherto do not employ campaign songs to consider adopting or rejecting the concept.

## **1.6 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

The focus of this dissertation is to find out if campaign songs and the artists influence the way voters vote during elections. The study looks at the perspectives of Ghanaian voters in the context of the 2008, 2012 and 2016 general election campaigns.

The study will be conducted in the Greater Accra Region specifically, among electorates. Subjects for the research will encompass people of 18 years and above because the constitution of the republic of Ghana gives them the right to vote in all national elections, a situation which empowers them to exercise a certain democratic right of participation, ensuring they are not left out of the decision making process.

## **1.7. CHAPTARIZATION OF THE STUDY**

The research shall comprise of five (5) chapters. Chapter one covers the introduction of the study, statement of research problem, aim and research objectives, research questions, relevance of the study, and the scope of study. Chapter two on the other hand deals with the literature review which shall include: introduction, related studies to the research topic under study, definition of key concepts, and review of theoretical framework. Chapter three discusses the methodology used for the study and would outline the setting of the research, target group and research design. This research is based on a quantitative research method. Other key areas under methodology to be considered are sources of data and data collection techniques and tools, population, sample size and the sampling technique. Chapter four of this research looks at the organization and presentation of data collected in the study. It will also unveil the findings of the study and their interpretations. And finally, Chapter five will focus on the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.0. INTRODUCTION**

This chapter reviews the related and relevance literary works conducted by different researchers on the influence of political campaign songs on the electorates voter's decision making globally and Ghana in particular with the aim of ascertaining the factors that influence voter's choice of during 2008, 2012 and 2016 presidential and parliamentary elections in Ghana.

It also encompasses the theoretical foundation of this study and analyses how theories relate to this study could help explain and gain understanding of the research topic. This study also provides the conceptual framework of political campaign songs, general elections and the influence of political campaign songs on the electorates voter's choice during elections with specific emphasis on the 2008; 2012 and 2016 general elections conducted in Ghana and what informed the voter's decision in the 2008; 2012 and 2016 parliamentary and presidential elections.

In what follow, is the discourse on the theoretical foundation, review of the related and relevant literatures as well as the conceptual framework or underpinnings of voter's choice or decision making during elections globally and Ghana in particular and the implications of campaign songs for the electorates and the election outcome in Ghana.

## **2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

A theory is usually a conceptual representation which offers explanations of what factors bring about some kind of consequence. The theories used for this study are

### **2.1.1 HYPODERMIC NEEDLE THEORY**

The hypodermic needle or magic bullet theory infers that mass media has a direct, powerful and immediate effect on its audiences. The theory suggests that the mass media could influence a very large group of people directly and uniformly by 'shooting' or 'injecting' them with appropriate messages designed to trigger a desired response. Both images used to express this theory (a bullet and a needle) suggest a powerful and direct flow of information from the sender to the receiver. The bullet theory graphically suggests that the message is a bullet, fired from the "media gun" into the viewer's "head". With similarly emotive imagery the hypodermic needle model suggests that media messages are injected straight into a passive audience which is immediately influenced by the message.

The pioneers of this theory Kartz and Lazzarsfeld express the view that the media is a dangerous means of communicating an idea because the receiver or audience is powerless to resist the impact of the message. For them, the population is seen as a sitting duck; passive and having a lot of media material "shot" at them. The consequence is that the people end up thinking what they are told because there is no other source of information. It is by such reason that mass media in the 1940s and 1950s were perceived as a powerful influence on behaviour change. Katz & Lazarsfeld (1955).

Many literatures on this theory has often used "War of the Worlds" broadcast as the archetypal example of the Magic Bullet Theory. This effect of that broadcast is exactly how the theory worked, by injecting message that would trigger reactions directly into the "bloodstream" of

the public, attempting to create a uniform thinking. The effects of the broadcast suggested that the media could manipulate a passive and gullible public, leading theorists to believe this was one of the primary ways media authors shaped audience perception.

Conceiving the way, the theory would explain how songs can influence the voter, this research argues that just as messages are encoded and broadcasted to the people uniformly using the mass media example television, radio online, Political candidate's message/ideas/ brand can also be packaged into songs and broadcasted to the audience who are expected to receive the message and subsequently react to it. The advantage of this model is that, candidate does not have to go everyone in the society individually to campaign because policy is assumed to have been packaged in the song and directed towards the mass audience far and near.

Despite the attractive nature of this theory, critiques of this theory have often argued that conception of this theory was flawed in various ways. They posit that if proponents of this theory often claimed that the message flow is always from sender to receiver or top to bottom and if the audience is passive and susceptible, easily influenced by the message which might not be true every time. This they refute by stating that the reactions of people differ. Some people can be passive whereas some people might not believe in media.

They also put forward that the theory has been proved to fail by many studies like "The People's Choice" research; this research that sought to understand the voting pattern and political behaviour during the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt by Lassarsfeld et al. The study showed that the pattern was affected by media in minimum amount but was more affected by interpersonal communication. The other argument is that the theory flawed when it assumed that there was no other option for the audience to choose from. It claims that there are many

media options with the growth of media outlets today. The theory is not applicable in today's world.

### **2.1.2 AGENDA SETTING THEORY**

The term agenda setting was coined by McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1976. The theory argues that the mass media have an effect on masses indirectly by choosing certain issues and neglecting others. The basic tenet of this theory is that the media takes up an issue and puts that agenda to public by telling the people how to think about issues instead of telling what to think about. People tend to pay more attention to those issues according to the order of priority set by media. Therefore, it is the media who sets agenda for masses, which helps individuals in bringing cognitive change in individuals i.e. it tells people what to think about. Therefore, agenda setting theory also supports a structural perspective of media literacy.

McCombs, writing on the role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion through agenda setting noted that, the agenda of issues or other objects presented by the news media influence what the pictures in our heads are about. The agenda of attributes presented for each of these issues, public figures, or other objects literally influences the pictures themselves that we hold in mind. Images held by the public of political candidates and other public figures are the most obvious examples of attribute agenda-setting by the news media”.

McCombs added that, mass awareness campaigns developed in collaboration with the health sector to create awareness among the masses regarding health of adolescents has led to a successful transition in the community by way of behavioral changes. For example, a country wide media campaign to push through pulse polio drive. Agenda setting played a major role in implementing Oral Polio Vaccine throughout the United State by Mass media campaigns. The

intense social mobilization used agenda setting by way of advertisements, internet, television, newspaper and radio to create awareness and influenced the public opinion.

McQuail (1993) stated that the personal experience and interpersonal communication of individuals is influenced by agenda created by Media, Public and Policy makers. Brown (2002) added that media changes the thinking process of the people. It highlights certain issues and neglects other. People generally try to compare and change their thinking after receiving media messages from news and entertainment programmes. This research posits that agenda is therefore set for the people by using two tools (framing and priming).

The framing, idea, product concepts are positioned that it attracts the audience's attention, interest and arouse their desires. Here, the media draws the public attention to certain topics, it decides where people think about, and the journalists select the topics. For instance, in the major newspaper, captioning of the headlines, colour of the headlines, font Size and styles are few of the many framing tools used by the media to capture audience attention and to sway them to think in a particular way.

Priming is achieved by the way media lays emphasis on a certain issue, idea, or product.

Assessing how agenda setting affect the audience, (Davis, 1993) found that the problems like childhood and adolescent obesity, unhealthy dietary practices, and consumption of cigarette and alcohol are all due to the excessive exposure to commercial advertisements especially. Linking how this theory applies to the topic this research draws attention to (Iyengar, 1991) when she wrote "agenda-setting proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw is usually applied to media, especially advertisements targeting adolescents". Since advertising is a pervasive influence on adolescents, if this is situated in influence of campaign songs on voter behaviour pattern, we can thus argue that just as agenda are set in advertising so is the song

used to set agenda for the candidate and political parties by communicating their policies and qualities to the audience in a single message with the intent of persuading them.

## **2.2. REVIEW OF THE RELATED AND RELEVANT EMPIRICAL LITERATURES**

This section highlights the theoretical review of related and relevance studies, and conceptual framework in order to establish the knowledge gaps and also to place this study in proper and better context for clarity and comprehensibility. The review is therefore thematized as follows:

### **2.2.1. CONCEPT OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS**

According to Key (1964), political campaigns are means adopted by political parties to educate and inform people about candidates and their issue positions. Key (1964) likens political campaigns ‘to the appeals of opposing counsel to a jury’. Key assert that, electoral campaigns when looked at in its entirety is a systemic manipulation of the mass mind where political parties and candidates adopt techniques and strategies to profess their love for the people all with the aim of seeking their consent to govern them. Marletti and O'Neill (2001) defines the concept of political campaigns in the context of the mass media’s role as transmitters of political messages. They view political campaigns as a multifaceted process whereby politicians use the mass media to influence the choices of the voters. Marletti and O'Neill (2001) further defined political campaigns as the period of heightened use of propaganda and other forms of electoral communication tools.

Brady, Johnston, and Sides (2006) share in the above definition by Marletti and O'Neill (2001) in one of their two approaches adopted to define political campaigns. Brady et al. (2006) defined campaigns from two angles namely the institutional or quasi- institutional conditions and ‘campaigns as periods of uncommon intensity in the political order’ (Brady et al., 2006). The institutional conditions are those guidelines that governs elections in a country, they

include knowing the election date, knowing the identity of the candidates and the rules regarding what can and cannot be done during campaigns, etc. Brady et al (2006) believes that these conditions can be used to define political campaigns because in the case where the election date for example is constant like it is in Ghana, a speech by a presidential or a parliamentarian hopeful which has undertones of soliciting for support in an election long before the election date can be considered as a form of campaign. Simply, institutional conditions serve as a constant reminder to campaigners to boost their campaign effort as they approach the elections. Thus, Brady et al. (2006) use of institutional conditions to define political campaigns captures the whole process of electoral campaigns although these conditions do not specify the exact period campaigns begin.

Barring the institutional conditions, Brady et al. (2006) used the intensity approach to suggest that, electoral campaigns can be defined based on the heightened intensity of the campaign which can be measured by the effort put in by the campaigners in terms of their engagement with the media, involvement in political discussions and the media's focus on campaign issues. This approach basically suggests that, campaigns can be defined within the context of how candidates, the media and voters engage each other and not necessarily by knowing the date of the election (Brady et al., 2006). For instance, an election campaign is ongoing when the media focuses most of its resources to cover and report the activities of candidates whiles at the same time political parties through their activities also aim at attracting voters to become aware of what is going on in the political scene.

Through its activities, the media orient the voters' minds toward a particular end in their electoral choice (Brady et al., 2006). As well, effort put in by the political actors also defines political campaigns. These efforts range from increased advertisement to regional and national

rallies to increased debates and rebuttals on issue positions (Brady et al., 2006). Given the above, the striking difference between the two approaches is that while the institutional conditions suggest that electoral campaigns build up steadily to a point where the activities consume the parties, the intensity approach is denoted by the increased interaction between political actors, the media and the voters.

According to Enns and Richman (2013), early scholars of political campaigns in their attempt to forecast winners of elections analysed the importance of campaigns. In rating the importance of campaigns, issues raised as part of the campaign agenda were analysed against the fundamental variables voters align to like ideology, race, gender, socio-economic status inter alia. As a result, some scholars came up with the campaign enlightenment theory (Enns & Richman, 2013). According to this theory, campaigns educate voters about the fundamental variables and the candidates' position concerning the variables in relation to issues on the ground thus grounding the electorate to make a choice. As well, campaigns trigger hidden predispositions and it reduces uncertainty about candidates which in turn enables the electorate to choose a candidate that best relate with their fundamental variables as mentioned above (Enns & Richman, 2013).

However, scholars on the other side of the debate argue that, campaign information does not reach everyone in the first place (Enns & Richman, 2013). This leaves some of the electorate politically unaware of campaign issues thus leaving such electorate to decide on a leader based on certain fundamental variables they align to which correspond to a candidate (Nadeau et al., 2001). As cited in Enns and Richman (2013), scholars like Downs (1957), Popkin (1991), Shaffner and Streb (2002) consider loyalty to a party as a dominant fundamental variable which

voters emphasize in making a choice and thus campaigning for months will serve no purpose for such voters. Similarly, scholars who base their argument on fundamental variables also considered past election results in the light of certain demographic figures and argued that, if the trend of voting by a particular ethnic group, gender or race is consistent over certain period of years then such voters do not need campaigns to decide on whom to vote for (Enns & Richman, 2013). Given the above, the importance of electoral campaigns cannot be glossed over. Above all, the fact that political parties and candidates are investing in new trends of campaign activities shows the relevance of these new trends to the success of their party in elections.

Moreover, Chirwa (2001) explored the context-sensitivity of the Malawian political songs and dances; the inter-relationship between dance-and-song use and the political preoccupations of the Malawian people under the dictatorship of Dr. Hastings Banda; and the political culture that emerged from the process. Ibid (2001) posit that when one listened to the songs of the period, under his study, one would not miss phrases such as "we Malawians", "our land", "we are proud of" and many others of that nature. (pg 6) such songs he posits, is use to mobilize citizens of Malawi to unite and rally behind the nation. It must also be noted that other popular art forms aside music were used to mobilize and promote nationalistic sentiments.

Such role played by the song demonstrates how powerful the song-and-dance use is to the construction of the country's political culture. He further pointed out that the phenomenon of using songs for such nationalism and mobilization, even began during the fight for independence from colonial rule and as a result affects the modes of expression to create a nationalist identity, and to mobilize all for same course. Political songs and dances are, instead, used to justify the existence of the ruling and party and its leadership in a particularistic and individualistic fashion, creating a Muluzi - centered populist political culture.

Among his revelations where that, Malawians used modes, such as music and art as an expression to create a nationalist identity, and to mobilize themselves against colonial rule. After independence, new leaders such as Hasting Banda used the art forms to consolidate political power and to campaign against elements of opposition. He projected that creation and entrenchment of the dictatorship also capitalized on the power of political songs, dances and other forms of artistic performances to challenge the dictatorship. He also pointed out that the advocates of multi - partyism equally mobilized their support by the same methods. As such, political songs and dances are, instead, used to justify the existence of the ruling and party and its leadership in a particularistic and individualistic fashion, creating what he called ‘a Muluzi - cantered populist political culture’.

Olusegun and Omotoyosi (2012) in their study, sought to examine the forms of selected campaign songs of 2011 general elections in Nigeria. They conducted content and context analysis of the songs used in political campaign and in summary, it revealed some findings about the roles of campaign songs for political mobilization. They pointed that in the traditional Yoruba society, songs and music occupied a unique place in the mobilization of war. They cited scholars such as Olutoye and Olapade (1998) and Ilesanmi (1998) to have examined the importance of drums, chants and songs among the Yoruba and aver that more than their entertainment roles, they perform religious, social and military purposes.

Similarly, Olusegun and Omotoyosi (2012)’s study thus reveals that just like the elections during the colonial rule, first, second and third republics; songs have continued to play a key and dominant role in Nigeria Fourth Republic post-election protest songs. They cite an example of a onetime foremost afro beat exponent, Late Fela Anikulapo - Kuti, who used his music to preach against political domination, oppression, economic hardship, unemployment and

nepotism. They therefore viewed that music plays a highly important function in creating awareness in the framework of mass-mobilizing the populace towards the next general election.

In a clerical example account in the study is a campaign song for President Goodluck Jonathan which excerpt is written below:

*“Good luck to you..., good luck to me.....good luck to everybody...good luck Nigeria o”*

The song above is part of the campaign song composed and performed for Good luck Jonathan. The song promises good luck to Nigerians, as an individual and as a nation. It promises better living condition of Nigerians, which includes; better education for Nigerian youths, good governance and better economic growth. All these seem to package the candidate’s message into a single sound track for dissemination. Songs like *“come out and vote it is your right, come out and choose your leaders for the future of your children”* were played by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) by Sunny Ade was also used to sing *Nigeria yitigbogbowani* (this Nigeria is for all of us) during the 2011 post-election violence in some part of the country. In effect, this study could not identify if the songs analysed had impact in the electorates decision to vote for a particular candidate or not. It only focused on the mobilization might of music which is acknowledged by most scholars.

Meanwhile, Tumolo (2016) assessing ‘Popular Music as a Public Relations Resource in Political Campaigns’ addressed how music is used by political campaigns as a strategic rhetorical tactic that he called ‘audible optics’. Aside that this, his other line of inquiry is to better understand how political campaigns use available means of persuasion to influence prospective voters. Audible optics he explained are a variation of political “optics,” which are public relations practices designed to make a client’s cause appear in a positive light without attending to their substantive positions or character; among the various audible optics discovered in the research is using songs for campaign. According to Tumolo (2016), music

can and is utilized with other art work to further the course of candidates contesting for positions during election especially in America. Such song/songs were made to fulfill several tactical purposes, including telling the candidate's story, motivating voters, and less 'honorable' purposes such as inciting base prejudices for political gain.

Besides, a readily available example used by Tumolo is the Obama/Biden campaigns of 2008 and 2012 which he claimed are of particular interest. This is because, to him, campaigns forged associations with musicians based on shared political beliefs. He contended that unlike in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, musician could compose songs for political candidate they may not share common beliefs with. However, in recent times, the trend has changed. He argued that the legitimacy of the campaigns' musical selections is not contradicted by the beliefs and aspirations of the artists who produced the created works.

On the other hand, he noted that it is important to identify other artists who may not be affiliated to politicians or political party but may find themselves performing on campaign platforms for different reasons such as 'money', 'fame' or exposure. Having pointed out the alliance of artists and their music's to the political ideology, it is also important to note that the study does acknowledge the fact that during the two federal election cycles (2008 and 2012) the Obama/Biden campaigns had an upper-hand in attempts to connect to audiences through popular music due to creative professionals being drawn to Barack Obama's brand and celebrity power. Tumolo (2016) in his conclusion, posit that there is a historical shift towards campaigns using existing popular songs indicates that music persists as a communicative medium that frames and differentiates politicians and their campaigns. He argued that such shift also created a host of opportunities and problems for politicians and musicians because

musicians whose songs are used in campaigns enter into relationships with political campaigns with a broader range of objectives.

Another literature related to the above is Martiniello and Lafleur, (2010), article; “Si se Puede! Music, Musicians and the Latino vote at the 2008 US Presidential election” which questioned what role music and musicians can play in the political participation of citizens from immigrant or ethnic minorities (Latino). Among such questions were if musicians and music can be used to build or strengthen electoral support of the candidates? What attitude do candidates adopt with regard to artists during a campaign? To understand the interest of candidates to use music and musicians, they grounded the work of Kenneth Burke (1969) on the theory of identification which, applied to artists during the presidential US election, shows that if a segment of the population, especially youngsters, identify with an artist, this population will then tend to follow the political preferences of the artist.

More so, Lafleur and Martiniello (2010) thus noted that although artists have historically been involved in US electoral campaigns, it is the election of 2008 that seems to have given a new dimension to the presence of artists: be it record financial contributions made by the artists themselves, songs composed in honour of the candidates, or evidence of explicit support in the press or cultural events. Their research analysed the role artists have played in the campaign of Barack Obama by focusing on Latino artists citing Les Inrockuptibles (2008). Lafleur and Martiniello (2010) stated that according to the press, no less than thousand songs, known or unknown, were written in support of Barack Obama and it would take about 50 hours to listen to. The result of the analysis indicates that the role of artists in the 2008 US electoral campaign could have significant results to Obama’s victory; however, they indicated the importance of two limitations in the use of artists and music in such campaigns. First, that it is difficult to

precisely measure the impact of a song or an artist's presence alongside a candidate on the electoral results among the Latinos.

This points out to explain that despite musicians and music's ability to mobilise the electorate, it is not possible to determine the importance and role of music and artists to influence their choice. However, they were quick to recognize that the resurgence of the political mobilization of artists and the attention that they have gotten from the candidates confirm the need for further research into the phenomenon.

Similarly, Veringa (2014)'s study on Political campaign and music sought to analyse the effect of music during election. In his article "Where Words Fail, Music Speaks: The Use of Music during Election Campaigns" Veringa conducted a musical analysis of the used campaign music during the Dutch Parliamentary elections of 2006, 2010 and 2012. In conducting such analysis, he chose to use focus groups as the basis for this study and also selected six political parties in analysis of the study.

The selected parties he claims are the largest parties or biggest winners or losers at some point in the analysed time period. In achieving his aims, Ibid (2014) analysed Dutch campaign music, which he said include two different uses/application of music. The first application he put forward, is the music played during campaign meetings, activities and the entrance of the party leader during the election night. The second type of music is the music used in political television spots and ads. The study shows differences in the use of music between different kinds of parties in the Dutch political spectrum. It claims that the use of music does not depend on whether a party was part of the governing coalition before the election campaign, but it does depend on the party's principles, the party's base.

In his findings, he conceived that Music can play a part in influencing and convincing ‘volatile’ voters, not only with celebrities writing songs for politicians or political parties, but also by the feelings music evokes (Veringa, 2014). It also revealed that music used by leftish parties (opposition) is found to be more positive, than music used by parties on the right(ruling) of the political spectrum.

In Ghana, Agyepong (2016) adopted mixed methods (Qualitative and quantitative content analysis carried out on selected media coverage of celebrity political endorsements of presidential candidates/political parties in the 2008 and 2012 election campaigns). In this study, purposefully sampling was used in understanding the concept of celebrity capital through an empirical study of the role of celebrity political endorsements in the 2008 and 2012 Ghana election campaigns. Her thesis aimed to investigate the role of celebrity endorsement in the political marketing of the 2008 and 2012 general election campaigns, drawing on emerging theories about celebrity capital. The study looked at the perspectives of the Ghanaian media, voters, and election campaign managers from the two main political parties in Ghana, and celebrity political endorsers in the 2008 and 2012 general election campaigns.

The findings indicate that the most successful role played by celebrity endorsers (including musicians) was generating excitement for political parties’/candidates’ campaigns, especially in terms of attracting potential voters to rallies. However, their success in influencing voters’ choices, even of their fans, is seen as minimal. In relation to celebrity political endorsers from the entertainment and media fields, it was found that their specific role in the 2008 and 2012 election campaign of the NDC and NPP parties was to entertain and attract people to the campaign.

The findings further suggest that the influence of celebrity political endorsements on voting preferences is minimal. She concluded by stating that in a country where the difference between winning and losing a general election is as small as less than one percent of total votes cast, such influence by celebrities cannot be ignored, and for this reason, celebrity political endorsers will continue to feature in Ghana election campaigns.

### **2.3. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS**

**Political Campaign:** Political Campaign is a communication strategy adopted by politicians to reach larger audience that is, the electorates.

**Political Message:** Political message refers to ideas, policies and values send by political actors to persuade electorate in order solicit for vote.

**Election:** An election is a conventional group decision-making process by which a population chooses an individual or group of people to hold public office.

**Electorate:** Electorate are people who are eligible to vote in an election. This means that they have met all the constitutional rights and are eligible to exercise their franchise.

**Voting:** Voting decision refers to a conclusion reached after consideration that enables an individual to make a choice of a particular candidate or party in an election.

**Influence:** Influence means the impact or effect that a person or thing be it political actors or political messages have on someone's decisions, opinions, or behaviour.

**Politician:** An individual engaged in the activity of politics

## **2.4. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study will enhance discourse on Politicians' use of the media in sending political campaign messages and the influence on their voting decision. It will also add up to the scarce literature on new media and political campaigns in Ghana. Again, research on new media, political messages and political campaigns is significant because political parties and other stakeholders are interested in finding more interactive means to engage the electorates, the appropriate mediums to use and messages that actively involve the electorates. The findings will also be useful to scholars and students especially those who have an interest in politics, political messages, electoral campaigns and new media.

## **2.5. CONCLUSION**

The related works highlighted the various arguments made by scholars and researchers on the voter's choice or decision making and the implications of such electorates voting decisions on the electorates and the development of the constituency. It also revealed the new twist in political campaigns, that is the use of social media and how politicians are using this new medium to get the attention of electorate and influence their voting decisions.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0. INTRODUCTION**

This research method is based on traditional scientific methods, which generates numerical data and usually seeks to establish causal relationships (association) between two or more variables, using statistical methods to test the strength and significance of the relationships (Leedy, 1993). Quantitative research method is good at providing information in breadth, from a large number of units. This research choice of quantitative research method is due to its highly structured and consistent manner during data collection, most likely with the use of questionnaire containing close ended questions. Again, the results of data collected using this method will provide numerical data that can be analysed statistically. MacDonald & Headlam (2008) explain quantitative research method as techniques that are used to gather quantitative data, data that can be sorted, classified, measured.

#### **3.1. RESEARCH DESIGN**

Simple random sampling would be used as the main technique for this study. When using this sampling method, a subset of individuals is chosen from a population. Thus, each element of the sample frame is given an equal probability of selection. The use of simple random sampling method is to reduce the total sample size and cost. Also it minimises bias and simplifies analysis of results.

Convenience sampling will be employed for this study. This sampling method, according to Saunders et al (2009:241) “involves selecting haphazardly those cases that are easiest to obtain for your sample”. In this non – probability sampling, units are sampled according to what is handily, accidentally, or haphazardly available. Also known as availability/haphazard sampling, and a specific type of non-probability sampling method, convenience sampling relies

on data collection from population members who are conveniently available to participate in study.

Research Design according to Bryman, is 'a general orientation to the conduct of social research' (Bryman, 2008:22). Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methods are three main designs used by social researchers to explore and understand a social phenomenon. Research Design involves the planning, organization, collection and analysis of data so as to provide answers to questions. Neopolean Hill suggests that “Plan your work, work your plan” meaning it is the stage in research where the researcher plans his or her work and then work according to the plans. Research Design indicates the various approaches to be used in solving the research problem, sources and information’s related to the problem. The research design helps to perform the chosen task easily and in a systematic way. Basically, it entails the research method which is to be applied to the research understudy. Here, the quantitative research method is applied to this study.

Quantitative research method is the numerical representation and manipulation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the problem that those observations are reflected. It is used in a wide variety of natural and social sciences. Quantitative research method explains a problem by collecting numerical data that are analysed using mathematically based methods particularly statistics (Aliaga and Gunderson, 2000). In this study, the descriptive survey under the quantitative method will be used to gather data relating to the influence of political campaign songs on voting behaviour of electorates. The descriptive survey aims at describing the distribution of questionnaires in a population and thereby establishing the facts (percentages and frequencies).

### **3.2 POPULATION**

Population refers to a specific group relevant for a particular study. Mugenda et al (2003) explain that, a population is a group of individuals or objects that have the same form of characteristics. They are the “totality of cases that conform to certain specification which defines the elements that are included or excluded in the target group”. The target population to be employed in this study will be about one hundred (100) electorates in the Greater Accra region who have participated in previous national elections in Ghana and are 18 years above which is the legal voting age in Ghana. The population used in this study will be Ghanaians living in the La Dade Kotopon Municipal District.

### **3.3 SAMPLE SIZE**

A sample is a smaller number or the portion of a population used to make conclusions regarding the whole population. Its purpose is to estimate unknown characteristics of the population. A sample is a subset of a population selected to participate in the study, it is a fraction of the whole, selected to participate in a study (Blink 1996; Polit & Hungler 1999). In this study, a sample of about one hundred (100) electorates in the Greater Accra region who have participated in previous national elections in Ghana and are 18 years above which is the legal voting age in Ghana will be randomly selected for this research. Due to the large size of the population, this study cannot include every individual in the population hence the sample.

### **3.4 SAMPLING TECHNIQUES**

Sampling is the systematic process of selecting a number of individuals for a study to represent the large group from which they are selected (Gay, 2011).

Sampling technique is simply the process where a researcher uses a set of techniques to select a sub-group from a target population. In research, there two types of sampling techniques. They

are the probability sampling technique and non-probability sampling technique. Probability sampling technique is where the chance of which each member being selected is known. Non-probability sampling technique is where the chance of selecting a member is not known. In this study, the probability sampling technique was used. Probability sampling technique is when every item in the target population has a known chance of being included in the study sample size. The type of probability sampling technique employed in this study is the simple random sampling. Simple Random Sampling is where samples are selected at random.

### **3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHODS**

The research tools to be used include question guide and recorders. In this study, self-administered questionnaires will be used to obtain relevant data to the study's objectives and research questions. Questionnaires will be issued to participants to collect data.

This section discusses the appropriate methodological approach to be used for this study. It provides details on the research design, population, and sample size, sampling technique and methods used to collect data. In sum, this section covers how the researcher will go about gathering data and how the data will be analysed. Data collection involves contacting the members of the population that are sampled in order to collect the required information about the study (Saleemi, 1997). It is defined as the techniques for gathering or collecting information or data for a study (Bryman, 2008).

In this study, self-administered questionnaires will be administered to gather data from the respondents on the field. Questionnaires are series of written questions asked to individuals or group of individuals to obtain statistical useful information about a given topic for a report. Questionnaires require the individual or group of individuals to respond to the same set of questions. Self-administered Questionnaire is designed specially to be completed by the respondents without the intervention of the researcher. This type of questionnaire is made of two forms, and they are; delivery and collection and postal or mail questionnaire, but in this

research the delivery and collection form will used and both close- ended and open- ended questionnaires will be used.

### **3.6 DATA ANALYSIS**

Data analysis simply refers to the description of data collected from the field to make them meaningful. It involves the process of treating data with statistical tool so that the size can be reduced by summarizing, simplifying and compressing.

Data analysis consist of the examining, categorizing, tabulating the evidence or the information gathered from the field to address the initial proposition of the study. In this study, before data obtained from the questionnaires administered will be analysed, codes will be assigned to them. Coding is the process of breaking down, classifying and categorizing the information obtained from the questionnaires. Coding enables the researcher to classify and categorize data so that patterns can be discovered and conclusions can be drawn. There are two types of data analysis and these are the descriptive and inferential data analysis. In this study, the descriptive data analysis will be used to help describe the data without allowing the researcher to generalize the result from the sample to the target population.

### **3.7 LIMITATIONS**

Although a larger sample size would have been more helpful, time and inadequate financial constraints will limit the study to the chosen sample for the study. One other limitation of the study is that, responses may be inaccurate, especially through mis-interpretation of questions in self-completing questionnaires.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **DICUSSIONS AND FINDINGS**

#### **THEORETICAL REFLECTION OF THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN SONGS ON VOTING BEHAVIOUR OF ELECTORATES IN GHANA**

##### **4.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter discusses the findings from previous literature that was used for this study by presenting a theoretical reflection of the influence of political campaign songs on voting behavior of electorates in Ghana

##### **4.1. KEY THEORETICAL FINDINGS AND REFLECTION**

As already indicated in the previous chapters, chapters 1,2 and 3; it is important to note that since 1993, Ghanaians have guarded their multi-party democracy carefully and progressively, and hence many scholars and the international communities of democracy and development have referred to Ghana a beacon of democracy, gate way to Africa and oasis surrounded by desert of democracy. Accordingly, it has paved way and set the stage for the struggle for greater Freedom, Justice and Happiness. It is for such reason that framers of the 1992 Constitution provided for, in its preamble, the need for exercising citizen's natural and inalienable rights. This in turn establishes a framework for government of the day which is achieved through the principle of Universal Adult Suffrage.

Founded on this, Asah (2015: 102) mentions that political communication has become an integral part of democratic elections in the Fourth Republic. He stated that for many years now, political parties have relied heavily on the media to get their messages across to the electorate. He added, "messages in the form of songs, slogans, jingles and gestures, among others, have

featured in the various elections and been communicated using the media. The effect of these messages on voter choices has been worth considering”.

In recent past, the successive Ghanaian governments/public policies have gone hand in hand with campaign songs to get the targeted audience change or modify behaviour. For instance, the changing from old Ghana cedi to the new cedi campaign in 2007 witnessed the use of songs. Again, when the country changed from right hand driving to the left, songs were used as a tool to educate the people. It may be argued that the success of using songs and celebrity endorsements is what has been translated into using political campaign songs. Darko (2016) in his article; “Political campaign songs that made hits” wrote, “since independence, the likes of E.T. Mensah, E.K. Nyame, Kwaa Mensah etc. did political campaign songs that were played at CPP functions back in the day” (Darko, 2016:2).

Scholars such as Tomolo (2016); Veringa (2014); and Agyapong (2016) mention that campaign strategists now hold contests to pick official themes and they use whole playlists of popular songs to get crowds attend rallies. In Ghana, the use of political campaign songs transpired during the 2008 elections, 2012 and 2016 elections as well. For instance, in 2008, popular musician Lucky Mensah composed a political song for the National Democratic Congress titled “Yesesa mu”. And, for the New Patriotic Party was a song by Daddy Lumba titled “We are moving forward”. These songs were composed to communicate to the target of the political parties. Similarly, in elections elsewhere such as the United States, anecdotal accounts indicate that songs upon songs have been released by musicians to support and endorse a political candidate.

As Agyepong (2016) citing (Huntington, 1991, 1993) puts it, in an emerging, or so-called third wave, of democracy, the phenomenon of using songs and artists to garner support and rally votes to them seems to be on the rise.

In recent times, musicians of all genres both old and contemporary have come to brace this idea of composing campaign songs for political parties and candidates during election seasons. The likes of Nat Brew (AKA Amandzeba), Daddy Lumba, Kwabena Kwabena, Lucky Mensah, Shatta Wale, Mzbel, A Plus, Bukum Banku and Diana Asamoah, have all participated in composing songs for candidates of their choice or otherwise, their songs have been used in the process. Many who do not have identifiable tracks/songs have been seen, performing for one political party's or the other on their campaign platforms and the number has been increasing over the period till today.

Undeniably, political science literatures show how strong the tool of symbolism is for political process towards election. Freyermuth (2008) analysing the musical interpretations of Nina Simone songs found that it served a symbolic purpose because it spoke to the hundreds of thousands of African American men and women fighting for their rights during the 1960s. He furthered that politicians often select a popular song to use as a theme song as it gives voters a glimpse into the personality of the candidate, issues he or she feels strongly about and who they hope to connect with.

Tumolo (2015) stresses that, there seems to be the use of campaign music as part of systematic attempts to encourage voters to perceive their candidate as worthy of a vote. He furthered that, rather than focusing on developing substantive positions campaign strategy, music is invoked as a peripheral persuasive tactic to help facilitate diverse strategic objectives associated with political campaigns.

A theory is usually a conceptual representation which offers explanations of what factors bring about some kind of consequence. The hypodermic needle or magic bullet theory by Kartz and Lazzarsfeld infers that mass media has a direct, powerful and immediate effect on its audiences. The theory suggests that the mass media could influence a very large group of

people directly and uniformly by ‘shooting’ or ‘injecting’ them with appropriate messages designed to trigger a desired response. The bullet theory graphically suggests that the message is a bullet, fired from the "media gun" into the viewer's "head". With similarly emotive imagery the hypodermic needle model suggests that media messages are injected straight into a passive audience which is immediately influenced by the message. The pioneers of this theory Katz and Lazarsfeld suggest that the media is a dangerous means of communicating an idea because the receiver or audience is powerless to resist the impact of the message. The consequence is that the people end up thinking what they are told because there is no other source of information. It is by such reason that mass media in the 1940s and 1950s were perceived as a powerful influence on behaviour change (Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955).

Considering the theory’s explanation of how songs can influence the voter, this research argues that just as messages are encoded and broadcasted to the people uniformly using the mass media example television, radio online, political candidate’s message/ideas/ brand can also be packaged into songs and broadcasted to the audience who are expected to receive the message and subsequently react to it. The advantage of this model is that, candidate does not have to go everyone in the society individually to campaign because policy is assumed to have been packaged in the song and directed towards the mass audience far and near. Despite the attractive nature of this theory, critiques of this theory have often argued that conception of this theory was flawed in various ways. They state that the reactions of people differ as some people can be passive whereas some people might not believe in media.

The agenda setting which was used in this study and coined by McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1976 argues that the mass media have an effect on masses indirectly by choosing certain issues and neglecting others. The basic tenet of this theory is that the media takes up an issue and puts

that agenda to public by telling the people how to think about issues instead of telling what to think about. People tend to pay more attention to those issues according to the order of priority set by media. Therefore, it is the media who sets agenda for masses, which helps individuals in bringing cognitive change in individuals i.e. it tells people what to think about. Therefore, agenda setting theory also supports a structural perspective of media literacy.

McCombs, writing on the role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion through agenda setting noted that, the agenda of issues or other objects presented by the news media influence what the pictures in our heads are about. The agenda of attributes presented for each of these issues, public figures, or other objects literally influences the pictures themselves that we hold in mind. Images held by the public of political candidates and other public figures are the most obvious examples of attribute agenda-setting by the news media”.

This research posits that agenda is therefore set for the people by using two tools (framing and priming).

The framing, idea, product concepts are positioned that it attracts the audience’s attention, interest and arouse their desires. Here, the media draws the public attention to certain topics, it decides where people think about, and the journalists select the topics. For instance, in the major newspaper, captioning of the headlines, colour of the headlines, font Size and styles are few of the many framing tools used by the media to capture audience attention and to sway them to think in a particular way. Priming is achieved by the way media lays emphasis on a certain issue, idea, or product.

Assessing how agenda setting affect the audience and linking how this theory applies to the topic this research draws attention to (Iyengar, 1991) when she wrote “agenda-setting proposed by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw is usually applied to media, especially advertisements targeting adolescents”. Since advertising is a pervasive influence on adolescents, if this is

situated in influence of campaign songs on voter behaviour pattern, we can thus argue that just as agenda are set in advertising so is the song used to set agenda for the candidate and political parties by communicating their policies and qualities to the audience in a single message with the intent of persuading them.

According to Key (1964), political campaigns are adopted by political parties to educate and inform people about candidates and their issue positions. Key (1964) likens political campaigns ‘to the appeals of opposing counsel to a jury’. Key assert that, electoral campaigns when looked at in its entirety is a systemic manipulation of the mass mind where political parties and candidates adopt techniques and strategies to profess their love for the people all with the aim of seeking their consent to govern them. Marletti and O'Neill (2001) defines the concept of political campaigns in the context of the mass media’s role as transmitters of political messages. They view political campaigns as a multifaceted process whereby politicians use the mass media to influence the choices of the voters. Marletti and O'Neill (2001) further defined political campaigns as the period of heightened use of propaganda and other forms of electoral communication tools.

Brady, Johnston, and Sides (2006) share in the above definition by Marletti and O'Neill (2001) in one of their two approaches adopted to define political campaigns. Brady et al. (2006) defined campaigns from two angles namely the institutional or quasi- institutional conditions and ‘campaigns as periods of uncommon intensity in the political order’ (Brady et al., 2006). The institutional conditions are those guidelines that governs elections in a country, they include knowing the election date, knowing the identity of the candidates and the rules regarding what can and cannot be done during campaigns, etc. Brady et al (2006) believes that these conditions can be used to define political campaigns because in the case where the

election date for example is constant like it is in Ghana, a speech by a presidential or a parliamentarian hopeful which has undertones of soliciting for support in an election long before the election date can be considered as a form of campaign. Simply, institutional conditions serve as a constant reminder to campaigners to boost their campaign effort as they approach the elections. Thus, Brady et al. (2006) use of institutional conditions to define political campaigns captures the whole process of electoral campaigns although these conditions do not specify the exact period campaigns begin. Barring the institutional conditions, Brady et al. (2006) used the intensity approach to suggest that, electoral campaigns can be defined based on the heightened intensity of the campaign which can be measured by the effort put in by the campaigners in terms of their engagement with the media, involvement in political discussions and the media's focus on campaign issues. This approach basically suggests that, campaigns can be defined within the context of how candidates, the media and voters engage each other and not necessarily by knowing the date of the election (Brady et al., 2006). For instance, an election campaign is ongoing when the media focuses most of its resources to cover and report the activities of candidates whiles at the same time political parties through their activities also aim at attracting voters to become aware of what is going on in the political scene. Through its activities, the media orient the voters' minds toward a particular end in their electoral choice (Brady et al., 2006). As well, effort put in by the political actors also defines political campaigns. These efforts range from increased advertisement to regional and national rallies to increased debates and rebuttals on issue positions (Brady et al., 2006). Given the above, the striking difference between the two approaches is that while the institutional conditions suggest that electoral campaigns build up steadily to a point where the activities consume the parties, the intensity approach is denoted by the increased interaction between political actors, the media and the voters.

According to Enns and Richman (2013), early scholars of political campaigns in their attempt to forecast winners of elections analysed the importance of campaigns. In rating the importance of campaigns, issues raised as part of the campaign agenda were analysed against the fundamental variables voters align to like ideology, race, gender, socio-economic status *inter alia*. As a result, some scholars came up with the campaign enlightenment theory (Enns & Richman, 2013). According to this theory, campaigns educate voters about the fundamental variables and the candidates' position concerning the variables in relation to issues on the ground thus grounding the electorate to make a choice. As well, campaigns trigger hidden predispositions and it reduces uncertainty about candidates which in turn enables the electorate to choose a candidate that best relate with their fundamental variables as mentioned above (Enns & Richman, 2013).

However, scholars on the other side of the debate argue that, campaign information does not reach everyone in the first place (Enns & Richman, 2013). This leaves some of the electorate politically unaware of campaign issues thus leaving such electorate to decide on a leader based on certain fundamental variables they align to which correspond to a candidate (Nadeau et al., 2001). As cited in Enns and Richman (2013), scholars like Downs (1957), Popkin (1991), Shaffner and Streb (2002) consider loyalty to a party as a dominant fundamental variable which voters emphasize in making a choice and thus campaigning for months will serve no purpose for such voters. Similarly, scholars who base their argument on fundamental variables also considered past election results in the light of certain demographic figures and argued that, if the trend of voting by a particular ethnic group, gender or race is consistent over certain period of years then such voters do not need campaigns to decide on whom to vote for (Enns & Richman, 2013). Given the above, the importance of electoral campaigns cannot be glossed over. Above all, the fact that political parties and candidates are investing in new trends of

campaign activities shows the relevance of these new trends to the success of their party in elections.

Chirwa (2001) explored the context-sensitivity of the Malawian political songs and dances; the inter-relationship between dance-and-song use and the political preoccupations of the Malawian people under the dictatorship of Dr. Hastings Banda; and the political culture that emerged from the process. Ibid (2001) posit that when one listened to the songs of the period, under his study, one would not miss phrases such as "we Malawians", "our land", "we are proud of" and many others of that nature. (pg 6) such songs he posits, is use to mobilize citizens of Malawi to unite and rally behind the nation. It must also be noted that other popular art forms aside music were used to mobilize and promote nationalistic sentiments.

Such role played by the song demonstrates how powerful the song-and-dance use is to the construction of the country's political culture. He further pointed out that the phenomenon of using songs for such nationalism and mobilization, even began during the fight for independence from colonial rule and as a result affects the modes of expression to create a nationalist identity, and to mobilize all for same course. Political songs and dances are, instead, used to justify the existence of the ruling and party and its leadership in a particularistic and individualistic fashion, creating a Muluzi - centered populist political culture.

Among his revelations where that, Malawians used modes, such as music and art as an expression to create a nationalist identity, and to mobilize themselves against colonial rule. After independence, new leaders such as Hasting Banda used the art forms to consolidate political power and to campaign against elements of opposition. He projected that creation and entrenchment of the dictatorship also capitalized on the power of political songs, dances and other forms of artistic performances to challenge the dictatorship. He also pointed out that the advocates of multi - partyism equally mobilized their support by the same methods. As such, political songs and dances are, instead, used to justify the existence of the ruling and party and

its leadership in a particularistic and individualistic fashion, creating what he called ‘a Muluzi - cantered populist political culture’.

Olusegun and Omotoyosi (2012) in their study, sought to examine the forms of selected campaign songs of 2011 general elections in Nigeria. They conducted content and context analysis of the songs used in political campaign and in summary, it revealed some findings about the roles of campaign songs for political mobilization. They pointed that in the traditional Yoruba society, songs and music occupied a unique place in the mobilization of war. They cited scholars such as Olutoye and Olapade (1998) and Ilesanmi (1998) to have examined the importance of drums, chants and songs among the Yoruba and aver that more than their entertainment roles, they perform religious, social and military purposes. Olusegun and Omotoyosi (2012)’s study thus reveals that just like the elections during the colonial rule, first, second and third republics; songs have continued to play a key and dominant role in Nigeria Fourth Republic post-election protest songs. They cite an example of a onetime foremost afro beat exponent, Late Fela Anikulapo - Kuti, who used his music to preach against political domination, oppression, economic hardship, unemployment and nepotism. They therefore viewed that music plays a highly important function in creating awareness in the framework of mass-mobilizing the populace towards the next general election.

In a clerical example account in the study is a campaign song for President Goodluck Jonathan which except is written below:

*“Good luck to you..., good luck to me.....good luck to everybody...good luck Nigeria o”*

The song above is part of the campaign song composed and performed for Good luck Jonathan. The song promises good luck to Nigerians, as an individual and as a nation. It promises better living condition of Nigerians, which includes; better education for Nigerian youths, good governance and better economic growth. All these seem to package the candidate’s message

into a single sound track for dissemination. Songs like “*come out and vote it is your right, come out and choose your leaders for the future of your children*” were played by Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) by Sunny Ade was also used to sing *Nigeria yitigbogbowani* (this Nigeria is for all of us) during the 2011 post-election violence in some part of the country. In effect, this study could not identify if the songs analysed had impact in the electorates decision to vote for a particular candidate or not. It only focused on the mobilization might of music which is acknowledged by most scholars.

Tumolo (2016) assessing ‘Popular Music as a Public Relations Resource in Political Campaigns’ addressed how music is used by political campaigns as a strategic rhetorical tactic that he called ‘audible optics’. Aside that this, his other line of inquiry is to better understand how political campaigns use available means of persuasion to influence prospective voters. Audible optics he explained are a variation of political “optics,” which are public relations practices designed to make a client’s cause appear in a positive light without attending to their substantive positions or character; among the various audible optics discovered in the research is using songs for campaign. According to Tumolo (2016), music can and is utilized with other art work to further the course of candidates contesting for positions during election especially in America. Such song/songs were made to fulfill several tactical purposes, including telling the candidate’s story, motivating voters, and less ‘honorable’ purposes such as inciting base prejudices for political gain.

A readily available example used by Tumolo is the Obama/Biden campaigns of 2008 and 2012 which he claimed are of particular interest. This is because, to him, campaigns forged associations with musicians based on shared political beliefs. He contended that unlike in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, musician could compose songs for political candidate they may not share common believes with. However, in recent times, the trend has changed. He argued that the

legitimacy of the campaigns' musical selections is not contradicted by the beliefs and aspirations of the artists who produced the created works. On the other hand, he noted that it is important to identify other artists who may not be affiliated to politicians or political party but may find themselves performing on campaign platforms for different reasons such as 'money', 'fame' or exposure. Having pointed out the alliance of artists and their music's to the political ideology, it is also important to note that the study does acknowledge the fact that during the two federal election cycles (2008 and 2012) the Obama/Biden campaigns had an upper-hand in attempts to connect to audiences through popular music due to creative professionals being drawn to Barack Obama's brand and celebrity power. Tumolo (2016) in his conclusion, posit that there is a historical shift towards campaigns using existing popular songs indicates that music persists as a communicative medium that frames and differentiates politicians and their campaigns. He argued that such shift also created a host of opportunities and problems for politicians and musicians because musicians whose songs are used in campaigns enter into relationships with political campaigns with a broader range of objectives.

Another literature related to the above is Martiniello and Lafleur, (2010), article; "Si se Puede! Music, Musicians and the Latino vote at the 2008 US Presidential election" which questioned what role music and musicians can play in the political participation of citizens from immigrant or ethnic minorities (Latino). Among such questions were if musicians and music can be used to build or strengthen electoral support of the candidates? What attitude do candidates adopt with regard to artists during a campaign? To understand the interest of candidates to use music and musicians, they grounded the work of Kenneth Burke (1969) on the theory of identification which, applied to artists during the presidential US election, shows that if a segment of the population, especially youngsters, identify with an artist, this population will then tend to follow the political preferences of the artist.

Ibid (2010) thus noted that although artists have historically been involved in US electoral campaigns, it is the election of 2008 that seems to have given a new dimension to the presence of artists: be it record financial contributions made by the artists themselves, songs composed in honour of the candidates, or evidence of explicit support in the press or cultural events. Their research analysed the role artists have played in the campaign of Barack Obama by focusing on Latino artists citing *Les Inrockuptibles* (2008). Lafleur and Martiniello (2010) stated that according to the press, no less than thousand songs, known or unknown, were written in support of Barack Obama and it would take about 50 hours to listen to. The result of the analysis indicates that the role of artists in the 2008 US electoral campaign could have significant results to Obama's victory; however, they indicated the importance of two limitations in the use of artists and music in such campaigns. First, that it is difficult to precisely measure the impact of a song or an artist's presence alongside a candidate on the electoral results among the Latinos. This points out to explain that despite musicians and music's ability to mobilise the electorate, it is not possible to determine the importance and role of music and artists to influence their choice. However, they were quick to recognize that the resurgence of the political mobilization of artists and the attention that they have gotten from the candidates confirm the need for further research into the phenomenon.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0. INTRODUCTIONS**

Political communication and campaign has become an integral part of democratic elections around the world. Although a larger sample size would have been more helpful, time and inadequate financial constraints will limit the study to the chosen sample for the study. One other limitation of the study is that, responses may be inaccurate, especially through misinterpretation of questions in self-completing questionnaires.

#### **5.1. SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS**

In Ghana, Agyepong (2016) adopted mixed methods (Qualitative and quantitative content analysis carried out on selected media coverage of celebrity political endorsements of presidential candidates/political parties in the 2008 and 2012 election campaigns). In this study, purposefully sampling was used in understanding the concept of celebrity capital through an empirical study of the role of celebrity political endorsements in the 2008 and 2012 Ghana election campaigns. Her thesis aimed to investigate the role of celebrity endorsement in the political marketing of the 2008 and 2012 general election campaigns, drawing on emerging theories about celebrity capital. The study looked at the perspectives of the Ghanaian media, voters, and election campaign managers from the two main political parties in Ghana, and celebrity political endorsers in the 2008 and 2012 general election campaigns.

The findings indicate that the most successful role played by celebrity endorsers (including musicians) was generating excitement for political parties'/candidates' campaigns, especially in terms of attracting potential voters to rallies. However, their success in influencing voters' choices, even of their fans, is seen as minimal. In relation to celebrity political endorsers from

the entertainment and media fields, it was found that their specific role in the 2008 and 2012 election campaign of the NDC and NPP parties was to entertain and attract people to the campaign. The findings further suggest that the influence of celebrity political endorsements on voting preferences is minimal. She concluded by stating that in a country where the difference between winning and losing a general election is as small as less than one percent of total votes cast, such influence by celebrities cannot be ignored, and for this reason, celebrity political endorsers will continue to feature in Ghana election campaigns.

Similarly, Veringa (2014)'s study on Political campaign and music sought to analyse the effect of music during election. In his article "Where Words Fail, Music Speaks: The Use of Music during Election Campaigns" Veringa conducted a musical analysis of the used campaign music during the Dutch Parliamentary elections of 2006, 2010 and 2012. In conducting such analysis, he chose to use focus groups as the basis for this study and also selected six political parties in analysis of the study. The selected parties he claims are the largest parties or biggest winners or losers at some point in the analysed time period.

In achieving his aims, Veringa (2014) analyzed Dutch campaign music, which he said include two different uses/application of music. The first application he put forward, is the music played during campaign meetings, activities and the entrance of the party leader during the election night. The second type of music is the music used in political television spots and ads. The study shows differences in the use of music between different kinds of parties in the Dutch political spectrum. It claims that the use of music does not depend on whether a party was part of the governing coalition before the election campaign, but it does depend on the party's principles, the party's base. In his findings, he conceived that Music can play a part in influencing and convincing 'volatile' voters, not only with celebrities writing songs for

politicians or political parties, but also by the feelings music evokes (Veringa, 2014). It also revealed that music used by leftish parties (opposition) is found to be more positive, than music used by parties on the right(ruling) of the political spectrum.

Over the years, political parties have relied extensively on the media to get their messages across to the electorate. Messages in the form of songs, slogans, jingles and gestures, among others, have featured in the various elections and been communicated using the media. The effect of these messages on voter choices is worth considering. Finding of this study revealed that there is a relationship between political campaign songs and the effects on electorates in Ghana. It concludes that political campaign songs influences the way voters vote during elections Ghana.

Again, it concludes that this study corroborated Veringa (2014)'s point when he wrote; Hans Christian Andersen once said: 'Where words fail, music speaks.' He advanced that nowadays, in politics it is difficult to hold on to voters, the electorate is volatile and voter turnout is decreasing. "Politics is not all about content and party identification any more, presentation and appearance in the media is as important in these times of popularisation. Music can play a part in influencing and convincing these volatile voters, not only with celebrities writing songs for politicians or political parties, but also by the feelings music evokes" (Veringa, 2014:24).

It recommends that that political campaign songs should be regarded as a very good tool for mobilization of electorates as voters have good perception on the use of campaign songs and do relate with candidate through it.

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