IKENNA EMMANUEL ONWUEGBUNA

TRENDS IN AFRICAN POPULAR MUSIC

Socio-Cultural Interactions and the Reggae Genre in Nigeria

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Ikenna Emmanuel Onwuegbuna

Cover image: *Fine-tuned* (Oil on canvas), by Dennis Ani

ISBN: Softcover 978-1-5035-8791-5
eBook 978-1-5035-8790-8

Rev. date: 08/10/2015

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DEDICATION

To my late sister, **Floxxy,**
who was my very first **back-up singer** in the **pop music performance**

FOREWORD

by Dr. Michael Bitz

It is often said that music is the "universal language." We can see many examples of this around the world, especially with popular music. The American folk musician Rodriguez became a smash hit in South Africa. The Beatles became an enormous influence in Russia. And Bob Marley and the Wailers, with their songs of freedom and social justice, inspire countless musicians all over the world. I learned this first hand at a conference of the Reading Association of Nigeria, held in Nsukka in 2013. Before the conference began, Bob Marley's songs played through the speakers—a practice I think every conference around the world should adopt. I realized right then that no matter our backgrounds or where we come from, music is something that we share from the soul. Those rhythms, bass lines, and melodies bring us together and help us understand who we are as people.

Along with the reggae music, an incredible group of college musicians played Nigerian popular music just before the conference began. The band was under the direction of the author of this book, Dr. Ikenna Onwuegbuna, a Professor of Music at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. Professor Onwuegbuna is a leading scholar on popular music in Nigeria. We became friends and colleagues at the conference because of our mutual interest in music and its power to inspire and educate people. I learned about Professor Onwuegbuna's explorations of popular music from a number of perspectives. His work is clearly influencing the next generation of musicians and music scholars in Nigeria, as made

evident by the young musicians on stage at that event and, of course, this book.

Professor Onwuegbuna's work is especially important because he combines a musician's understanding of music with a musicologist's perspective on how music impacts society and vice versa. This combination is rare, and this book demonstrates the depth of his knowledge and the scope of his research. Professor Onwuegbuna focuses on popular music, since this represents the voice of the people. Traditional songs may be important for cultural heritage, and classical music can be very powerful in terms of sonority and compositional sophistry. But it is popular music that most people turn to as a representation of self-identity. Professor Onwuegbuna's unique investigation into Nigerian popular music helps us understand the role of these songs in Nigerian culture including its origins, developments, and future trends. Because this book includes both textual analysis and musical transcriptions, it provides us with a fresh perspective on the importance of music in life and society.

I hope you enjoy this book as much as I do. I am impressed by Professor Onwuegbuna's scholarship and dedication to understanding music and the world around us. We need more books like this to help us realize that music truly is the universal language. Professor Onwuegbuna's book brings that language to life in new and exciting ways. With this book we grasp the true power of music, as well as the inspirational voice of its author.

Dr. Michael Bitz
Professor of Teacher Education, Ramapo College, USA
Founder and Director of the Comic Book Project

PREFACE

Music, the conscious and, at times, fortuitous combination of individual notes that appear successively (melody) or simultaneously (harmony), or even both, is arguably a global practice. From studies in Western music scholarship, labels such as Classical/Art, Folk, Popular, and World Music have emerged. All these involve different processes of conception, organization, production, presentation, and even appreciation. However, African popular music—an acculturative product of the African folk music—can be scrutinized along the lines of musical and social processes as inseparable pair in developing the various genres of this eclectic musical form. In Nigeria, it is the congruent collaboration of creativity and politico-socio-economic activities of the mid-1940s (the period following the World War II) that have evolved the various genres of popular music of the land—a process that is still in being! The social processes that span through the diverse fields of economics, politics, linguistics, sociology, philosophy, and religion make up a manifold agency of acculturation, commercialization, urbanization, and class stratifications. Similarly, the musical processes emanating from the folk musical practices of conception, composition, and classification of genres; recruitment of group members and administrative personnel; training, packaging, costuming, and aesthetics; and then the performance proper, are carried over into a parallel development of a neo-folk form that became popular. The popularity of this new form is due to a socio-musical interchange that is both structural and functional. The peculiar nature of the product of this new musical expression—pop—therefore presents four possible angles for definition. The definitions could be stylistic,

sociological, process- or theory-based. The genres developed include Highlife, Afrobeat, Rock, Calypso, Disco, Hip Hop, Rhythm 'N' Blues, Funk, and Reggae. However, the star feature of this investigation is the Afro-reggae genre of Nigeria. The primary research process of survey was backed-up by historical and descriptive methods to unearth the leaning on the rhythm of social life by popular music artistes to develop the African reggae genre—especially in Nigeria.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wholeheartedly thank my academic father, Rev. (Professor) Sir A. Kanu Achinivu, JP, for so many reasons: (i) opening the doors of his very large library of music books to me and even letting me inherit some of those books, as a child of his retirement from teaching, (ii) taking the pains to read every word and every musical note I sent to him, and making corrections and very useful contributions, even in the middle of a very painful bereavement, (iv) engaging me in dialogues and extensive telephone conversations regarding my work, and (v) encouraging me to search for materials, even though they may be far-fetched. I equally thank Professor John E. Collins of the University of Ghana, for his support and most-valued electronic mails regarding my sustained interest in studies in African popular music; Dr. 'Ranti Adeogun, for linking me up with sources of very useful materials; and Dr. M. C. Anya-Njoku, for her words of encouragement. I am deeply indebted to Professor A.O. Ifionu, who has prompted me to pursue this goal right from the turn of the millennium; Professor Richard C. Okafor, whose publications and classroom lectures have fired the flame; Professor Onyee N. Nwankpa of Nupac Music Therapy and Rehabilitation Services, Calgary, Canada, who informed that my approach to interpretative and pedagogic possibilities in African popular music are worthy of global consumption; Dr. Michael Bitz, the Executive Director, Center for Educational Pathways, New York, USA, for volunteering to write the Foreword to this book; and Dr. Ndubuisi Nnamani, for his hardcore-criticism.

Some matriarchs in my academic and social life cannot go without mention. They include Dr. Julia E. Agwu, whose contributions,

sacrifices, and support are immense and profound; Mrs. Rose A. Okoro, who has been a mother, through and through; Mrs. Nma E. Nwosu, whose timely calls have saved situations; Mrs. Dora Ijomah, whose supports are both spiritual and material; and Mrs. Ngozy Ndirika, who could not live to see the result of her loving supports. Others include Dr. Ngozi Udengwu, Mrs. Pat Chigbo, Mrs. Rose Onwusogbulu, Mrs. Oby Mark Bash, Mrs. Ada Ukamba Adione-Dibie, Mrs. Ure Ude, and Mrs. Sandra Onwuegbuna.

The men in my life are equally part of the success of this book. They include Mr. Chuka Onwuegbuna, Mr. Dubem Igwe, Mr. Gary Nwobu, Mr. N.B. Eton, Mr. Sam Nwobi, Mr. Mark Bash Haruna, Engr. Steve Uzoechina, Chief Obinna Ayogu, Dr. Orji Uvere, Dr. Johnson Akpakpan, Rev Fr. Ben N. Agbo, Mr. Ifeanyi Isiguzo, Mr. Emeka Agbayi, Mr. Timi Bomodi, Chief Michael Onwuegbuna, Dr. Obi Udengwu, and late Mr. Ajumobi Ozumba.

INTRODUCTION

Opening this discourse with the striking statement of Ewens (1991), we recognize that: "The idea of Africa without music is unthinkable. However modern the interpretation, African pop is rooted in a musical continuum that accompanies every formal and informal moment of life . . ." (p. 8).

Often, when African popular music is discussed, attention is riveted on those styles with overt elements borrowed from the Euro-American practices; such elements as triadic harmonic principles, diatonic and chromatic scales, as well as foreign musical instruments like the guitar, brass and reed families, keyboard, and trap drums. But it remains a fact that African popular music has existed ages before the 15th century, when the Portuguese seamen forayed into Africa for the prospects of commerce. The known popular music of Africa at the time existed (as it still does) as ethnic entertainment forms, combining songs, dances, drama, visual arts, and oral literature in folk languages and expressions. They include *ifo, ere-ege,* and *rokon fada* of Nigeria; *ngoso, bantowbol,* and *mangambe* of Cameroon; *omutibo, nyatiti,* and *tarabu* of Kenya; *mbube, marabi,* and *maskanda* of South Africa; and *thakt, fiquah,* and *saiyidi* of Egypt.

Culture contacts among different ethnic groups in Africa started with migrations, inter-ethnic trades, and inter-communal wars; and consolidated by urbanization through the agency of Western colonization. Through these processes, the interethnic popular styles emerged. They are fusions of divergent elements from various ethnic practices. Some

forms of this style include *fuji* of Nigeria, *kpanlogo* of Ghana, *taarab* of Tanzania, *sembe* of Angola, and *shaabi* of Algeria. However, those African popular styles with overt Western influences need little or no introduction; due to their global presence and acceptance, they have been classified as international pop styles of Africa. They include *highlife, soukous, makossa, Zulu jive,* and *rai.*

It is indeed more factual than farcical that wherever there is musical sound, there is the African. Music accompanies the African from the womb to the tomb. Herodotus, the world acclaimed *Father of History* (485-425 BC), credited Libyan women singers with the gift of the ability to utter great sweet cries. Yet, European historians ignored an in-depth study of Africa and her rich musical culture until the discovery of the Rosetta stone in Egypt, in 1799, by Champollion. Much of what is known today as the history of ancient Africa is provided by archaeologists and Portuguese voyagers (Buah, 1969). Sadie (1990) reports that the use of the bow as a musical instrument has been the practice in Africa for some 15,000 years; and that the thumb-piano has existed in Southern Africa, in its fully developed form, in 1586. According to him, the 16th and 17th century Nigerian bronze castings depict instruments and musicians playing several bells and rattles made of bronze and ivory.

Exploration of Africa began sporadically in the mediaeval ages, while the virile scramble for and desecration of the land came with the incursions of the Portuguese seamen in the 15th century. Formal and systematized music education has been in existence in its traditional formats in Africa long before the Western system of education was introduced via colonization. The earliest history of contact with the European explorers is recorded in the Southern region of Africa in the 15th century, and Western educational system came later in the 16th century. The inclusion of African music studies in the Western educational curricula that operated in Africa was delayed until the 19th century. And today, in the 21st century, it is still debated, surprisingly, amongst African scholars, whether African popular music is worthy of study in our institutions; notwithstanding that the Nigerian *juju* popular music exponent, I. K. Dairo, was invested with the prestigious MBE (Member of the British Empire) in 1963, by the Queen of England, in recognition of his musical ingenuity (Waterman, 2012a).

CHAPTER 1

PRELUDE

The rhythm and pace of any era is dictated by the vibratory frequency of that time. The gravitational forces tend to congregate homogeneous species whose visions and zeal tend to ignite a spirit of competition. Whether this competition is healthy or unhealthy depends largely on the dominant factor of either of the two characteristic make-ups of the competitors—their skills or their shortcomings. In the case of African popular music, it was the competitive, but healthy, interchange between musical and social interactions (which are still in being) that gave birth to the continent's eclectic popular musical styles.

Our Aspiration

The systematic rationalization for a research in popular music implies that the researcher must have certain qualifications to be able to turn in a relevant, valid, and efficacious report on the issue. Wicke and Mayer (1982) argue, among other things, that the researcher must be a direct participant in the progressive social events that evolved popular music, and that the extent of such a researcher's experience in the social progressivism is a very important consideration. They further argue that the researcher's ideological position in popular musical practices, his/her level of involvement in the antagonistic world of today, and his/her

belief in social emancipation and progressivism must not be ignored. As a professional pop musician who has operated from both sides of non-literate and literate musical performance for over three decades, the author aims at presenting a book that will provide insights into the musical, socio-cultural, ideological, and historical aspects of popular musical development. The coverage includes such knowledge of popular musical cultures that would enable interested devotees to function as popular music practitioners, composer-arrangers, researchers, analysts, artiste and repertoire managers, producers, promoters, and/or teachers.

Problematizing the Issues

> At the risk of over-repeating myself I should suggest the courses in popular (pop) and light music be introduced and rigorously pursued in all music education in the country. It will open more avenues for practical musicianship, and give tonic to the national economy through a vibrant recording industry, theatre and cinema industry, and electronic media advertising. All we need to begin is for the general snobbish attitude of the music academia to soften and change (Okafor 2005, p.204).

The defence by the academia of this "snobbish attitude" towards scholarship in popular music has always been the scarcity of books and other materials for teaching and research in the genre. Straarup (1982) claims "for the moment, there is a scandalous lack of relevant teaching material both at the universities and at lower levels in the educational system, as well as in postgraduate studies" (p.247). And two decades after, Onyeji (2002) corroborates that literature treating popular music practices are scarce, while Onwuegbuna (2012) concurs that such literature exist in scratches and parchments scattered in periodicals; and that even at that, the materials are seasoned with sectional sentiments.

To solve this problem of scarcity of literature on popular music studies, Onyeji (2002) recommends that literary studies of popular music and musicians be awakened through professional musical

documentations of developments in popular music. But in the opinion of Okafor (2005):

> Another area of vital need is the availability of necessary books, preferably written with the African environment and orientation in mind. They should be scholarly books written from a wide range of Nigerian (and African) perspectives, products of fieldwork and research. The production of these books should be seen as an essential service. It is recommended that in areas where there is shortage of information, researchers, scholars, and people with deep, practical knowledge should be commissioned or encouraged to write (p. 218).

Evidently, the problem here is the multiplicity in the scarcity of study materials—especially literature—for pedagogic practices in popular music.

Justifying the Rationale

The rationale behind the study of musical and social processes as trends in the development of African popular music is to provide a pedestal from which other researchers may take off, in order to procure the hitherto scarce research materials in the field. Even though Ajirire and Alabi's (1992) *Three Decades of Nigerian Music* has attempted to chronicle the popular musical practices in Nigeria within the first three decades after Independence, and that Okafor's (2005) *Music in Nigerian Society* has concentrated a section on Nigerian pop music, there are still other scholars like Okoro (1993), in his *The Highlife Music of Chris Augunus Ezewuiro Obinna*, Collins (1996)—*Highlife Time*, Onuma (1998)—*Highlife Music in Nigeria*, and Onwuegbuna (2003)—*Origin, Development and Modern Trends in Highlife Music in Nigeria* who have concentrated their investigations on the *highlife* popular genre.

In all of these scholarly exposé, the musical and social processes, which offspring is the popular music, have received only a cursory attention in the hands of the scholars. The *reggae* genre is the least

favoured amongst the various forms that have interested the researchers on Nigerian popular music. A smattering patronage is given to Nigerian popular music by some electronic encyclopaedia, here and there. They cover a narrow section of the Nigerian *reggae* history—starting from the 1980s—and enlist a hand-full of the Nigerian musicians involved in its performance—at home and in the diaspora. Yet, it is evident that some Africans, including Nigerians, have been actively involved, as professionals, in the development and practice of the *reggae* genre in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. The efforts of these pioneers remain undocumented for any serious musical scholarship.

The Implication

The 11th of May, 2006 marked the 25th anniversary of the death of Hon. Robert Nesta Marley, OM, also known as Bob Marley, who popularized *reggae* music globally. All over Nigeria, the youth in different academic institutions adorned the green-gold-red colours of the Ethiopian flag that has come to be considered a symbol of loyalty to *reggae* music and its philosophy. They also staged concerts, parties and carnivals, as they have done annually, in honour of the reggae legend and his type of music. Yet, most of these loyalists know little or nothing about the history of this music that has affected them so much, as many of them were born after the death of Bob Marley.

At the international scene, there are more than 25 different reggae festivals ritually re-enacted annually in different parts of the Americas, Europe, Australia, Asia, and Africa. Each festival attracts tourists, music critics, entrepreneurs, artistes, and huge foreign exchange earnings. In the global industry of contemporary music, music producers keep churning out remix and cover versions of the works of Bob Marley and other *reggae* musicians of international repute. These works are packaged in MP3s, CDs, and tapes, and marketed on the modern super-highway of the Internet. The musical and economic values of these innovations are most significant.

Unfortunately, today, many fine Nigerian *reggae* musicians are based overseas where they enrich their resident nations with their valid

musicality and its economic viability. In a revealing spirit, Kirkegaard (2002) writes:

> The idea that African music can become a global asset is, oddly enough, also continued by a more unexpected ally, i.e. the World Bank. Apart from minerals the music industry is the only area in which Africa, as a continent seems to have an opportunity to make money at present. Because of this the World Bank has launched a programme on commercial music development as it realized that the music, so vibrant and alive in spite of the downfall and economic depression of most African nations, formed a market in which Africa had a potential for making money (p. 8).

All of the above make this study significant, especially in its timeliness, judging by the topical nature of the issues addressed.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIO-CULTURAL INTERACTIONS

Musical and social processes within a culture—homogeneous or heterogeneous—are not pre-emptively nor consciously planned by the society to develop music genres; especially, those that are innovative in style and contents like popular music. However, this development is, naturally, a resultant effect of human activities which rhythm could be actively measured and studied. The extent of functionality of the accompanying music featured in socio-cultural events in Africa can be ascertained from such events as periodic festivals, marriages, funerals, royal coronations, and house projects. Those with political undertones include electioneering campaigns, government-sponsored public awareness programmes, and government propaganda jingles; while those with religious bent include religious crusades, public worship services, and thanksgivings. In the area of commerce are public auction sales, mobile entertaining-hawkers' displays, and jingles for advertising campaigns.

The facts of traditional rites and rituals, inter-ethnic trades, ethnic hegemony, slave trade, military oligarchy, colonial imperialism, and foreign religious domination are parts of the social processes and events recorded in history books. Other historic events like culture contacts are inter-communal, inter-ethnic, inter-sectional, inter-racial, and international. Interpretations of trends, attitudes, and facts of these social

events and their interrelationships with popular music development are evident in the resultant popular music genres.

Socio-musical Events

A number of revolutions followed on the heels of the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th century Europe. One such notable revolution was the emergence of world popular culture that precipitated a diversification of musical styles and practices in the late 19th century. The dramatic transformations—especially through urbanization and industrialization—brought about changes that disrupted traditional attitudes, lifestyles, and forms of artistic expression and patronage, while creating new urban social classes with new musical tastes (Porter, 2012). Collins (1992, 1996) and Onwuegbuna (2012) are in agreement that modern African popular music is certainly a resultant effect of the politico-socio-economic environment of the late 18th to early 19th centuries. It was this socio-musical environment that gave birth to the syncretic urban neo-folk dance music of the early 1930s, which later stabilized into a unique genre in the mid-1940s—after the Second World War.

At the end of 1945, Africa witnessed an influx of three levels of 'returnees'. The first level consisted of the descendants of former African slaves who had toiled and endured human indignity to develop the economy of North America. Western-educated African scholars were the second returnees; while African soldiers, who were drafted into the Allied Forces to fight in Burma during the Second World War were the third. This period, according to Buah (1981), marked a major turning point in the over-all psyche of black Africans. The influx, with its socio-political and economic undertones, also sparked off musical processes that were deeply African, but with remarkable foreign elements.

The emancipation of black slaves was more eventful than a remorseful show of benevolence from the white slave-masters. The event of the Industrial Revolution introduced mechanized equipment that replaced human hands in the mines and farms more efficiently. This invention reduced dependence on the blacks for the supply of labour, thereby

making the slaves less relevant in the mines and plantations. The effect, according to Hercules (1978), was that newly-found freedom and newly-acquired status presented new challenges and greater responsibilities. In order to cope with these strains and in response to various campaigns for repatriation, America shipped some of these freed slaves back to Africa. The majority of these returnees were resettled in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and Lagos, Nigeria (Buah, 1981; Euba, 1988).

With the recognition of African culture as the root upon which the musical culture of the Afro-American (former slaves) is founded, Nketia (1973) recommends an integration of the study of both cultures in musical ideologies and musicological procedures. Contributing on this issue, Ekwueme (2004) writes:

> The perseverance of African culture among the black peoples of Latin America, South America, the Caribbean Islands, and the United States is a historical reality. The fact that this cultural inheritance spreads through the areas of religion, art, music, dance, drama, literature (oral and written), languages, and social morality has been established. What still may not be fully exposed, however, and perhaps may never be satisfactorily explained, is the detail of the extent to which these carry-overs or African retentions are present, even if in slightly changed conditions (p. 265).

The retentions are evident in the musical practices of the blacks to whom music is a functional art. Such types of music include work songs, calls, shouts, street cries, dance songs, field hollers, games songs, worship/cult songs, and others that are reminiscent of varieties of functional music still in practice in Africa.

Euba (1988) reports that some of these freed slave returnees, who came from Brazil to settle in Lagos, founded what came to be known as Brazilian community in Lagos. Part of their social activities included musicals that revealed a novel brand of African music composed of both Western and African elements in the areas of vocal delivery, instrumentation, and formal structure. In the words of Euba (1988):

> While living in Brazil, members of the community were exposed to Latin American influences, and their cultural life in Lagos inevitably became a marriage of Latin American and indigenous Lagosian elements. The Lagos Brazilians were most likely the first to have used Western instruments in the performance of popular music in Nigeria (p. 119).

The response of Africans to this novel brand of popular music is worthy of note. They responded favourably because of the undercurrents of the musical contents and styles that were purely African, and in that response, the African musicians became participatory in creating African versions of the new popular music.

The second level of returnees was made up of a new class of Western-educated Africans who graduated from higher institutions in Europe and the Americas. This élitist class, with their new level of awareness and patriotism, soon formed socio-political associations that were to become the basis of Pan-African movements. Buah (1981) reports that these élites were denied employments in the colonial governments that dominated their nations at the time. They were equally discriminated against to the point that they were not allowed to contribute their opinions to how the affairs of their states were run by the white administrators. To them, the most disconcerting was that some of these white administrators had inadequate qualifications for the positions they held, while the better-qualified Africans were denied those positions merely because of the colour of their skin.

At the height of these disenchantments, the nationalists founded newspapers as their mouthpiece for attacking the obnoxious colonial regime; and for mass mobilization, they formed societies and associations with deep political intents. These associations were able to reach the masses through the use of chants and slogans made out of simple musical tunes sung in local languages. Later, these tunes assumed national and sub-regional popularity. It was these tunes that professional musicians developed into popular music of the continent.

The musical proceeds of the ex-service men who made up the majority of the third level of returnees were quite enormous. According to Onwuegbuna (2001),

> The multi award-winning genius, Victor Uwaifo, was born to a musical family in Benin City, Nigeria, in 1941. Through the friendship of a 2nd World War ex-soldier, called We-We, young Victor learnt how to play the guitar before proceeding to Saint Gregory's College in Lagos, where he had his secondary education (p. 30).

Such were the musical influences resulting from the third level of returnees who were ex-servicemen of African extraction that fought in the Second World War (1939-1945). Collins and Richards (1982) opine that the influence was strengthened by the presence—in considerable numbers—of the British and American troops who lived with West Africans as a result of the war.

Culture contact is the central theme emanating from the activities of these three levels of returnees to Africa in the late 1940s. The contact between African and Western cultures introduced into Africa some foreign musical practices, instruments, equipment, habits, and tastes. Such foreign musical practices included European March and Wind bands, Sea Shanties of seamen along the Gulf of Guinea and the Bight of Biafra, piano-accompanied hymns and cantata of the white Christian worships, phonographs and recorded discs. Hotels, bars, restaurants, and nightclubs, where music became integral part of daily and nightly proceedings, also came out of this contact. Banjo, accordion, harmonica, guitar, and gramophone are some of the instruments and equipment that came with this culture contact (Collins, 1992, 1996; Euba, 1988; Onwuegbuna, 2012).

Prior to the events of World War II, culture contact between African and European nations across the Mediterranean had been effected through the Trans-Sahara trades transacted between the Africans and Portuguese and Arab merchants, as far back as the late 19th century. In Emeka's (2003) report:

> Nigerian experience of culture contact with the non-African world pre-dates her colonial experience . . . Kano, for example, was for over a thousand years the terminus of the Trans-Saharan trade caravan, which reached the Mediterranean through North Africa . . . The Trans-Saharan route also facilitated trade and culture contact with the Sahelian Regions and the Middle East (p. 37).

However, the musical proceeds of these contacts, especially of the contact with the Islamic Arabs, started manifesting in the musical practices of the Yoruba converts from the late 1920s. These Islamic influences later matured in the late '40s; and by the 1960s up to the '80s, four popular musical styles and their variants had unfolded.

Akin Euba (1988) states that *sakara* was a call-and-response song performed by amateur Moslem youth to rouse adherents from sleep so as to take part in the breakfast, during the fasting period preceding Ramadan. Later, the Yoruba musicians, who belonged to the family of professionals, countered this amateurish bastardization by creating a new style with additional instruments like *dundun,* the hourglass tension drum. This new style later became popular under the name, *apala.* The development of *waka* and *fuji* are also tied-in to the socio-religious activities involving the Yoruba Moslems of South-western Nigeria. Euba (1988) states:

> *Waka* was originally a kind of socio-religious song used by Moslems at child-naming, marriage, funeral, and such ceremonies, and also for welcoming pilgrims returning from Mecca . . . Inevitably, professional musicians adopted *waka,* added drums to the ensemble and turned *waka* into music for entertainment . . . *Fuji* also developed from Islamic sources and has stylistic relationships with *sakara*, *apala* and *waka* (pp. 127-128).

The enterprising Igbo merchants of South-eastern Nigeria were known worldwide for their commerce and industry. Their ingenious transactions with Portuguese and British trade partners led to the presence of international mercantile firms like the U.A.C., John Holt,

P.Z., Miller Brothers, and CFAO in Nigeria today. It is also to their credit that international markets in Onitsha, Aba, Nnewi, and Port Harcourt and many road-networks, rail-lines, airports, and seaports were constructed to favour access to commercial and industrial areas of Nigeria (Ozigbo, 1999).

Exotic in taste, lovers of innovation, and explorers of opportunity, Igbo merchants brought home fascinating items and practices of the various foreign cultures they had had contact with. Such items and practices included dress, language, music, religion, and manipulated ethnicity (Collins & Richards, 1982). The foundation for development of the Nigerian first popular genre with national appeal was laid by the ubiquitous Igbo minstrels who combined elements of their entertainment music of *igede, ifo, nkwa, egwu-une, egwu-amala*, etc. to form the initial neo-folk, native blues styles of *dodokido* and *akuko n'egwu*—the precursors of Nigerian Highlife (Nwosu-Lo Bamijoko [as cited in Okoro, 1993]; Okafor, 2005; Onwuegbuna, 2003). In his contribution, Graham (1994) writes:

> While *juju* and *fuji* have ruled among the Yoruba, high-quality *highlife* was the norm in the East for well over forty years. *Highlife* arrived in Nigeria . . . and it easily took root in Igboland. The Igbo have a traditional familiarity with stringed instruments; early "Igbo Blues" is redolent of later guitar-band idioms . . . *Highlife*, with its Western and Christian musical likes, slotted well into the Igbo cultural framework—non-muslim, individualist, outward-looking (p. 305).

The Trans-Saharan trade that introduced Islamic-Arabian cultures to the area heavily influenced socio-musical events of the Hausa of Northern Nigeria. Among the social events that are celebrated with music in the North are birth, marriage, circumcision, and other important occasional events like coronations and calendar festivals. *Rokon fada* ceremonial music, *asauwara* young females' dance, and *boorii* cult spirit-possession dance are among a few that gave birth to the Hausa popular styles.

In terms of popularity, however, the professional Hausa court musicians, patronized by the wealthy and powerful Emirs, are more important than the ceremonial musicians. Though they are resident in the Emirs' palaces, where they are regarded as part of the royal paraphernalia, the echoes of their musical skills resound in both urban and rural settlements (Graham, 1994). Some of the musical instruments used by these praise-singers have been incorporated into national popular music genres. The instruments include *kafa* (animal horn), *ganga* (small snare drum) *goje* (fiddles), and *jauje* and *kotso* (talking drums).

The near-absence of social concert parties in the core North, as against the case in Southern metropolis, can be attributed to the influence of Islamic conservatism. Nevertheless, the *Kwang Hir* puppet theatre of the Tiv tribe of Benue-Plateau featured the *swange* dance. This dance later transformed into a neo-folk style called *bonsue* (Ifionu, 2000). It is noteworthy that some ethnic and interethnic popular music styles have assumed the names of the socio-cultural events out of which they sprouted.

Functional Popular Music

The utilitarian position occupied by popular music in the religious, social, economic, and political life of Africa defines the level of functionality of African popular music. The music is functional to the point that it is a vital, inseparable part of the whole, without which the purpose of the activity may never be successfully achieved. The various genres and sub-genres of popular music, like *gospel, highlife, reggae, disco, calypso, hip hop, rock,* and *Afrobeat,* all have religious, social, economic, and political activities where they are concomitant participators.

In the Christian religious domain, the periodic fêtes like Christmas, Easter, and Harvest/Thanksgiving, and in worship services—especially the offertory segment—the *gospel* sub-genre, composed in various rhythms of *highlife, reggae, rock,* and *calypso,* is featured almost exclusively (Ajirire & Alabi, 1992; Onwuegbuna, 2012). *Gospel* music is also the mainstream in Christian religious crusades and other public evangelical campaigns all over Africa.

The first, and still the dominating, African popular music genre of international appeal, *highlife*, bestrides the entire sphere of the continent's politico-socio-economic arenas. In the social milieu, *highlife* is an integral part of dance hall, naming ceremony, marriage, title-taking, funeral, thanksgiving, house project, periodic festival, and their likes. Economically, *highlife* music functions as the major medium of attraction of customers to nightclubs, hotels, bars, restaurants, and sports clubs. Book launch, fund-raising launch, auction sales, and sales promotions will always feature *highlife* music and its variants, like *juju*, *apala, fuji,* and *makossa*, as a gainful ally. Editorial policy on the music of many electronic media organizations in Africa leans heavily on *highlife* and its variants. Some television programmes, like ***Ezodumo*** on South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and ***Goge Africa*** on Africa Independent Television (AIT), Nigeria, feature only *highlife* and its popular and ethnic/interethnic variants. And these programmes attract so much revenue that "the commercial staff cannot cope with the demands from sponsors to purchase advertising time on the show" (Coplan 2002, p.107). Politically, various African governments engage the *highlife* for their business of governance. Its role in the independence struggle of all the nations of Africa is only a historic testimony. In Nigeria, it became accepted as the national music of the country without going through the rigours of legislative deliberations (Ajirire & Alabi, 1992; Graham, 1994; Idonije, 2000; Okafor, 2005; Onwuegbuna, 2003; Waterman, 2002).

A stratified social order in contemporary Africa is easily discernible in the choices of musical listenership. The youth and students, who are thrilled not only by the novel elements of the music, but also the social image of the musicians whom they readily identify with as role models, predominantly consume African popular music. For this reason, all the complex and simple popular music genres like *reggae, rock, hip hop, disco, calypso,* and other sub-genres like *fuji, makossa, ragga* and *rap* are functional in all activities organized by the youth. The activities include social gigs, student associations, birthday, matriculation, graduation, send-off, and award-winning parties, and the likes (Akindes, 2002; Benga, 2002; Collins, 2002; Okafor, 2005; Onyeji, 2002).

Generally, the Nigerian music scene is dominated by the popular genres which are heard everywhere on radio, television, private and public places. According to Nzewi (1992),

> In terms of the amount of musical sound heard in the country, including live and recorded, as well as music for private and public consumption, popular music appears to have gained an edge over the traditional. Literary (classical/art) music remains an underdog in the struggle for recognition and audience (p. 124).

Nigerian Reggae Music

An entry in the electronic version of Encyclopaedia Britannica by Gillett (2014) informs that in the early stages of Western influence on African popular music, musicians from different parts of the continent, other than the South, were more often drawn to music from the Caribbean. Nigerian *reggae*, which is one of the various African versions of the Jamaican popular genre of the Caribbean Island, has a strong influence on different classes of the nation's music-lovers. Yet, extant literature on its origin and development in Nigeria are so few, and so sparse.

Historically, *highlife* is credited with providing the foundation for the development of several popular styles that were unique to Nigeria. Skillfully, Nigerian musicians created their own styles of Jamaican *reggae* out of their conscious manipulation of the structural format of *highlife*. Tracing the roots of the Jamaican *reggae* encroachments on the Nigerian scene, in the 1960s, Ajirire and Alabi (1992) write:

> *Reggae* reared its musical head in Nigeria in the late sixties when *reggae* ambassadors like Jimmy Cliff, Toots and the Maytals, Mighty Diamonds, Desmond Dekker, Delroy Wilson, and a few others bombarded the country with their kinds of *reggae* music . . . Nigeria, in the seventies, experienced a *reggae* deluge. Militants like Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, I-Roy, U-Roy, Bunny Wailer, Dillinger, and Big Youth

> invaded the country with hardcore *reggae* music, winning converts in droves (pp. 54-55).

Arguably, Nigeria's foremost recording *reggae* artiste was Sonny Okosuns. Euba (1988) recalls that even though no known Nigerian band concentrated on *reggae* at the time, Bongos Ikwue, Sonny Okosuns, and a few other bands included *reggae* in their repertoire. The *reggae* 'vibes' in Sonny Okosuns' track, *Help* helped to announce the singer's next step in stylistic experimentation in the 1970s. With the album *Fire in Soweto*, Sonny Okosuns lured so many other musicians into the commercial viability of African *reggae*.

After Bob Marley's visit to Zimbabwe in 1980, and his sudden death in 1981, Nigeria and the rest of Africa witnessed a turning point in *reggae* followership. The Nigerian *reggae* musicians who emerged in that period include Tera Kota, Sweat, and Boye Gbenro. However, it was the Mandators' *Crisis* that shot Nigerian *reggae* music into the international limelight in the late 1980s. The trail blazed by the Mandators was immediately followed by Majek Fashek, Ras Kimono, Andy Shurman, Orits Wiliki, Evi-Edna Ogholi, Best Agoha, and a host of others.

CHAPTER 3

DEFINING POPULAR MUSIC

Popular (pop for short) music, as distinct from folk or classical/art music, is the totality of those musics with diverse styles that have developed from artistic manipulations and fusions of musical activities of distant cultures, times and practices. Popular music borrows from folk, classical/art and even musical interpretations of non-musical events like politics, humanities, and science. While the classical is the art of the composer, popular music, on the other hand, remains the art of the performer. This characteristic difference defines the extent of eclecticism of the popular music sounds.

Often treated as an enterprise, the commercial value of popular music is ensured at the point of production where decisions about ideology, structure, aesthetics, packaging, and presentation are guided by the marketability of the finished product. It is "not driven by any significant ambition except profit and commercial reward . . ." and it is "provided from on high (by record companies, radio programmers, and concert promoters) rather than being made from below . . .. Pop is not a do-it-yourself music but is professionally produced and packaged" (Frith 2001, pp.95-96). Some of the artistic forms under the name, popular music include *highlife, juju, soukuos, Afrobeat, funk, reggae, rock, hip hop, rhythm and blues, disco, calypso, soul, gospel, native blues, makossa,* and various forms of minstrelsy.

The consumption of popular music depends very little on language, knowledge, education, or sophistication; it draws its consumers from the youth and the progressives who share the common grounds of habit, taste, lifestyle, ideology, and similar experiences that cut across cultural locales.

Definitions According to Specifics

Besides the foregoing general definition of popular music, scholarship in the musical phenomenon allows for sectional approaches in defining pop music. This compartmentalization is necessary for the delimitation of interests in the study areas so as to allow the scholar to carry out intensive research in the specific aspect of popular music studies of his/her choice. Four possible specific approaches to defining pop music may be identified as follows: Stylistic definition, Sociological definition, Process-based definition, and Theory-based definition.

Stylistic Definition

In defining popular music along the lines of its peculiar styles, scholars concern themselves with the distinctive natures of each genre and sub-genre rather than the general structural features of pop as a class of musical phenomenon and practice. In this approach, each popular musical genre or sub-genre is regarded as a style in itself. The consideration of such artistic forms as *highlife, reggae, rock, blues, disco, calypso, jazz, funk, soul, gospel, juju, makossa, morna, soukous, taarab, benga, jiti, rumba, mbaqanga,* etc. as pop music styles follows this line of stylistic definition of popular music.

Pen (1992) explores this approach when he writes that "styles such as *ragtime, blues, jazz, rock, and country* were neither African nor European, but a fusion of the two" (p.272). It followers, therefore, that the styles of popular music include many *rock, hip-hop, rhythm and blues, country, dance,* and *operatic pop*. In the same vein, Waterman (2012b) lists styles of popular music in the early Western Europe as *jazz, film music, musicals, country-and-western music, soul,* and *rock*. Agawu

(2003) also recognizes the Nigerian *juju, fuji,* and *Afrobeat,* the Zairean *soukous* or *rumba,* the Cameroonian *makossa,* and the South African *mbube* as styles of recorded African popular music. While Ekwueme (2004) adds *ikwokirikwo* or *native blues* as a style of interethnic pop, Okafor (2005) lists *apala, sakara, akuko n'egwu,* and *dadakuada* as some of the traditional derivatives of contemporary Nigerian styles of popular music. Other styles of African popular music include *bikutsi* of Cameroon, *akpombo* of Côte d'Ivoire, *matshidiso* of Lesotho, *sega* of Mauritius, *chimurenga* of Zimbabwe, *rai* of Algeria, *Zulu jive* of South Africa, *mbalax* of Senegal, and *yetu* of Tanzania.

Sociological Definition

Economics, politics, religion, mass communication, human relations, linguistics, philosophy, and other branches of the social life of man are scientifically studied to appreciate the nature and development of society and social behaviour. Musicologists and other scholars, who tilt toward this approach in their studies of popular music, often come out with a sociological definition of the musical phenomenon.

Asserting his authority in popular music studies, Frith (1982) states, "It is music made in order to have certain social effects, whether those effects are commercial, physical or sociological" (p.144). Manuel (2006), in his book, *Popular Music of the Non-Western World,* defines popular music as music created with the mass media in mind, and reproduced on a large-scale basis as a salable commodity for wide public consumption. Wicke and Mayer (1982) define pop as "the real music—real collective activities—in which the economic, political, ideological, and aesthetic contradictions of our time are more strikingly reflected and held in motion" (p.224). Pen (1992) considers American popular music as a creation of the confrontation and compromise arising from the clash of European and African cultures. Waterman (2012b) defines popular music as the modern commercial music aimed at the general public and the youth market in particular. He states further that the music is shaped by social, economic, and technological forces and linked to the social identity of its performers and audiences. Waterman does not leave out other complex patterns of social identity such as age, race,

and class in this sociological definition. Okafor's (2005) definition of popular music is:

> . . . music that deals with familiar themes and issues of the moment. It is understood and accepted by a lot of people . . . as a topical reflection of their sentiments and current world view . . .[It] is a very strong economic force—it has created industries, makes millionaires, circulates money, and, aided by the power of the media and electronic industry, reaches and affects millions round the world (pp. 327-328).

The *Afro-rap, hip hop,* and their various derivatives like the South African *kwaito* and *kwai-hop,* Ghanaian *hip-life,* Ivorien *zouglou,* and Algerian *rai* have been analyzed and interpreted as protest outlets of the powerless African youth who use these genres of their choice to lament the deteriorating economic and social conditions of their time. The music of these youths then becomes a global pool of sounds, expressing and dramatizing their interpretation of meaning, identities, and values of their society (Akindes, 2002 Collins, 2002; Kirkegaard, 2002).

Process-based Definition

The procedural steps, parameters, and personnel involved in producing popular music provide the basis for the process-based approach to defining pop. The processes of ideation, organization, production, presentation, and appreciation are constant in the creation of pop tunes and songs. Such parameters as computer music software, electronic equipment, musical instruments, and all kinds of sound effects are also sequentially applied in producing popular music. Studio music producers, composer-arrangers, songwriters, artiste and repertoire managers, audio engineers, studio sessions-men, vocalists, and their likes are the personnel that manipulate the processes of producing pop.

Scholars like Keith Negus, Barry Salt, and Simon Frith have applied the process-based approach to pop music definition. Further entries of similar definitions are made in the electronic form of Encyclopaedia Britannica and Encarta Encyclopedia. In the area of pop music

production (organization of the recording industry, composition of sounds, and consumption of the music), Negus (1992) expresses the process thus:

> Technologies for producing and reproducing sounds and images have decisively influenced the way in which popular music has been composed, communicated, and consumed throughout the twentieth century, and have been central to the development of a global entertainment industry (p. 20).

This technological sophistication has brought about a radical change in music compositional techniques. The application of computer digital synthesis tools for creative purposes in the process of popular music production has helped in defining pop music as those genres that are created, produced, and performed with the aid of modern technological tools like the synthesizer, the computer, the amplifier, the mixer, etc.

In his process-based approach to defining pop music, Salt (2012), reviewing the impact of the new technology, writes:

> The 1960s brought about another surge of development, beginning with FM stereo broadcasts in 1960. The development of three- and four-track tape recorders and one-inch recording tape began in the early 1960s. These new technologies spurred artistic growth in popular music, and emphasized the recording and processing of music as much as the music itself.

In Encyclopaedia Britannica (2014), the entry on popular music definition reads:

> Unlike traditional folk music, popular music is written by known individuals, usually professionals, and does not evolve through the process of oral transmission . . . New techniques have made possible high-fidelity production of sound and its widespread and rapid dissemination through radio, phonograph, tape recorder, and television. In addition, some of the instruments used in popular music

> have incorporated electronic amplification as well as sound production.

In a similar vein, Encarta (2012) reports:

> Important technological changes, including the rapid spread of radio and sound cinema, also occurred . . .. The development of more affordable and better-quality gramophone discs made recordings more popular than sheet music . . .. Amplification and electric recording . . . allowed much quieter music to be recorded . . . [The] introduction of the electric guitar was particularly influential. These changes set the stage for the hard-edged Chicago *blues* of Muddy Waters; the *honky-tonk,* or "*hard country*" style of Hank Williams; and . . . the rise of *rock-and-roll* music.

To Simon Frith (1982), the meaning of *rock* as a pop genre would be revealed if the scholar embarks on a proper analysis of the processes of its production and consumption. It is "provided from on high (by record companies, radio programmers and concert promoters) rather than being made from below . . . Pop is not a do-it-yourself music but is professionally produced and packaged" (Frith 2001, pp. 95-96).

Theory-based Definition

Theory is a scientific supposition explaining a phenomenon based on principles that are independent of the phenomenon. It covers the entire sphere of speculative thought; a systematic analysis and generation of universal principles regarding a phenomenon. Theory, therefore, is a collection of results designed to illustrate the principles of a subject. In defining popular music along the lines of the Theory of Music, scholars are looking at those elements of musical sound and/or song that are universal, which are revealed in, and are peculiar to the pop phenomenon. Such elements as scale, mode, tempo, tonality, intervals, melody, rhythm, metre, texture, form, timbre, intensity, etc. are analyzed to ascertain their peculiar usage in pop musical expression.

Based on this, different scholars have come up with various definitions of popular music that are theory-based.

Wicke and Mayer (1982) reveal that the sound event of popular music generates its fascination from the sonic, musical, and visual packaging of the finished musical product. In the treatment of the sonic elements, rhythm is designed to excite motoric stimulation for bodily responses, reveal the formal structure of the piece, simulate the passage of time, and betray the changes in emotional feelings of the performers. Melody is structured for psychical compensation of stress, presentation of emotional conflicts, and revelation of the socio-cultural tilt of the piece. Chordal arrangements are used to direct and control the attention of the audience, and further consolidate the formal structure. In the production proper, sonic synthesis is employed to guarantee the use-value of the piece. It is also used to express the personal artistry of the producer, for simulation of human/animal/plastic emotions, and for expression of aesthetics.

Regarding repetition as an element of theory, Middleton (1990) argues that "while repetition is a feature of all music of any sort, a high level of repetition may be a specific mark of 'the popular', enabling an inclusive rather than exclusive audience" (p.139). Attempting a comparative analysis between classical and popular music however, Fred Lerdahl (1992) reveals that pop can be identified by its lack of structural complexity and depth. Negus (1992) implies that pop music, generally, maintain a basic song structure, instrumentation, lyrics, and vocal performance. Some, however, would reveal very specific musical changes, chord patterns, melodic modifications, bass lines, and lyrical changes. The basic song structure is often the **ABABCB** form. Agawu (2003) discloses that popular music is based on distinctive and danceable beat, singable and easily remembered melodies, simple languages, and relevant themes.

Describing the South African *Zulu maskanda* ethnic pop style, Coplan (2002) writes about the penta- and hexatonic scales, staggered linear melodic polyphonies, thumping rhythms, stamping dances, antiphonal singing, back-up choruses, and other stylistic features, to betray the theory-based approach to defining the *maskanda* genre. Pop songs, generally, have a standard format. They are simple, memorable,

and emotionally appealing to large audiences. The elements found in popular music include smooth, romantic vocal styles, strong grooves, backbeats, call-and-response texture, emotional intensity, and poetic themes.

From the aforementioned therefore, a theory-based definition of popular music can be said to be: Those musical compositions that combine words, tunes, and, often, dance rhythms; and performed basically for entertainment—though laced with socio-cultural contents. They are mostly composed of short melodic phrases that, through repetition, extemporization, and improvisation, are expanded into lyrical, motivic, sinuous, and/or tuneful melodies. The verses explore poetic themes, while the rhythm is often complex due to the use of syncopations and notes of short durational values. Pop music reveals the employment of modal, diatonic, and chromatic scales, while the basic structural form is simple ternary. With the ensemble techniques combining folk and modern technology-spawned musical instruments, pop music is also characterized by polyphonic and contrapuntal texture.

African Popular Music

African music, generally, has been referred to as the music of the core Africans of the black race, who dwell in the southern part of the Sahara. This area is made up of the Eastern, Western, Central, and Southern sub-regions. These people are said to share a near-homogeneous culture; and their music, which includes the Incidental, the Occasional, and the Recreational categories, is characterized by polyphonic (and often contrapuntal) texture, complex rhythms, syncopations, and percussive treatment of both voice and other non-percussion instruments, amongst others.

African musical performances reveal the employment of dramatic effects, an essential expression of life, and other extra-musical properties. The melodies are organized in short phrases, and are language-based. They are at times ornamented, and words could be used to paint images—like in idioms, dicta, aphorisms, and proverbs. The texture of African music could be heterophonic or polyphonic. The simultaneous

combination of linear melodies results in intervals that are parallel due to the logogenic nature of the melodies. Even when an ostinato melody (vocal or instrumental) is used, the tonal inflections of the language-speech are mostly considered. Since African music is largely functional, the purposes for each performance vary. It could be to communicate, entertain, worship, praise, heal, supplicate, mourn, mock, invoke, or even curse.

The deliberate exclusion of the North from serious pedagogic deliberations in the expression and celebration of African musicality is due, largely, to the dominance of the North by Arabian and Nubian cultural practices. But today, such exclusion has to be re-negotiated—judging by the overwhelming influence of the Arabian sinuous melodies on the pop music of the contemporary times. Today, the study areas of African music, as far as it concerns *pop* and *world music*, extend beyond the continent to accommodate the Diaspora.

African pop music maintains the general characteristics of African music, and even more. In its current development, the language of African pop music extends beyond native to include foreign languages like English, French, Arabic, Creole, and Pidgin English. Because of this generosity in language usage, the melodies of pop tunes—whether vocal or instrumental—can be crafted in tuneful, motivic, lyrical, and/or sinuous structures.

However, African popular music of today refers to the corpus of sounds, songs, and dance music crafted by African professional musicians, at home and in the Diaspora, in response to the political, economic, spiritual, and social needs of the burgeoning modernity of the twentieth century. A basic characteristic of these 'new' sounds is that they keep adopting musical elements, properties, and instruments from any part of the globe that the musicians consider worthy of enhancing their creativity. This flexibility has given birth to today's *World Music* (also known as *World Beat* or *Ethno-pop*). Sometimes abbreviated to Afropop, African popular music exists in three sub-categories. They are the Ethnic pop, the Interethnic pop, and the International pop (Agawu, 2003).

Ethnic Pop

The majority of the musical styles belonging to the recreational category of African traditional music have become popular. To this category belong those songs and dances that are neither culturally nor spiritually bound. They could be performed at any occasion and time for the entertainment of their audience; and they could also be hired or commissioned to perform in settings that are considered foreign to their home communities. They include children's games songs, age-grade music and dances, songs of satire, and folkloric songs. However, some songs belonging to the incidental category have equally emerged in the society to assume popularity. Incidental African music, generally, are not premeditated by their performers, but are performed on the incident of some traditional duties and activities. Work songs, performed either by a group of workers or individuals on domestic or occupational jobs, drive out fatigue and boredom from their tasks, using music made by themselves as they work. Some of these songs have found their way into the social arena, thereby becoming popular. The occasional category is not left out completely from contributing to ethnic pop. Calendar activities feature, among other things, praise songs performed by minstrels and griots at coronation and outing ceremonies; funeral songs; marriage songs; and songs for rites of passage from one human developmental stage to another. Some of these songs have taken the centre stage in the public domain, and the community allows them because there are no rigid strictures for them.

In West Africa, the Igbo of Nigeria are known for such ethnic pop styles as *igede, ifo, nkpokiti, atilogwu, nkwa-nwite, nkwa-umuagbogho,* and *egwu amala.* The Hausa perform *rokon fada, boorii,* and *asauwara*, while the Yoruba have numerous styles including *waka, sakara,* and *ere-ege*. In Ghana, ethnic pop styles include *atikatika, agbadza, takai, borborbor, asaadua,* and *gahu.* Neighbouring Burkina Faso is the home of *djembe* and *djeli* ethnic pop styles; while the Sahel region houses a reasonable variety such as the early forms of *tassou* and *mbalax,* as well as *bakou* of Senegal and *bajourou* and *wassoulou* of Mali, amongst others. *Funana* and *batuco* are among the ethnic pop styles of Cape Verde. The so-called voodoo domain of West Africa, Benin Republic, has *gaghahoun, zilin,* and *tchinkoume* ethnic pop styles.

Bestriding West and Central Africa, Cameroon, regarded as one of the more musically and linguistically diverse countries in Africa, boasts of such ethnic pop styles as *ngoso, bantowbol, mangambe,* and *ambassabe.* The ubiquitous music of the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire) features the following ethnic pop styles: *bangoma, nkumba, bobongo,* and *bambonda.* Sao Tome's *tchiloli,* Gabonese *agogo,* and Swahili older women's wedding dance—*yugo* are a few other forms of Central Africa's ethnic pop styles.

East Africa is yet another fascinating region in African pop music studies. The variety of ethnic styles and their transformations via culture contacts create all the fascination that one encounters in the music of most countries of East Africa. Kenya, regarded as the musical secret of East Africa, is home to *omutibo, nyatiti* (also the name of a folk lyre), *tarabu, chakacha, vugo, gungu, kinanda,* and *esukuti* ethnic pop styles; while Tanzania, another East African country with an elbow protruding into the Central, houses *mipasho, mtindo, tassou,* and *ngoma.* Ethiopia and Eritrea, sharing an ancient and interrelated but unique musical heritage, express their ethnic pop styles in *achinoy, azmari,* and *ikista* dance forms. *Kayanda* and *baakisimba* of Uganda are other important ethnic pop styles of East Africa. Sudan, with Egypt as her northern neighbour, has her Muslim-influenced *haqibah* and *madeeh.*

Cultural miscegenation—a major feature in the region of Southern Africa—is responsible for the complex musical practices that emanate from the region. The San-Bushmen, the Khoi, the Bantu, the Boer, the Swahili, the Shona, and the Asiatic Malagasian are some of the contrasting cultures that combined to construct the social fabric of Southern Africa. The ethnic pop styles in this region are as diverse as the cultural make-up of the region. They include *rebita* and *semba* of Angola; *marabeta* and *ngodo* of Mozambique; *matshidiso* of Lesotho; *pastondo* of Malawi; *mapira* of Zimbabwe; *salegy* and *valiha* of Madagascar; the early form of *sega* of Mauritius; and the early forms of South Africa's *mbube, marabi, isicathamiya,* and *maskanda.*

The once from serious African musical studies alienated North Africa has bounced back with her dominant influence on contemporary *World Music* class. Some remarkable ethnic pop features found in Egypt

are *thakt, fiquah, saiyidi,* and *sawahili.* While *sama* is unique with Morocco, nearly all the countries of North Africa, including Libya, Algeria, Tunisia, and Mauritania, share common forms of *gnawa, malhun, chaabi* (or *saabi*), and *al-andalus* ethnic pop styles (Agawu, 2003; Amazon, 2006; Britannica, 2014; Broughton, 1994; Collins, 1996; Encarta, 2012; National Geographic, 2006; Nketia, 1982).

Interethnic Pop

Urbanization and industrialization, the offshoots of 19th century global modernization, and territorial expansion for commercialization of the excess products of some rich and powerful European nations, are responsible for the disruption of traditional attitudes and lifestyles of most African nations. Different ethnic groups migrated to the urban centers to form a stratified society based on socio-economic status. This new social order differed widely from the former homogeneous ethnic settings. In expressing their musical artistry, these urban dwellers, drawn from different ethnic backgrounds, created a syncretic urban neo-folk music that are regarded as Interethnic pop styles. However, most of these styles are modifications and transformations of earlier ethnic styles that were taken to the urban centres.

Some of the West African interethnic styles include Nigeria's *juju, fuji, akuko n'egwu, ikwokirikwo, kalangu,* and *dadakuada.* In Ghana the urban dwellers perform *simpa, kpanlogo, gome, ashiko, osibisaba,* and *dagomba*; while in Côte d'Ivoire, the styles are *zouglou,* and *akpombo.* Other forms of West African interethnic pop styles include *mbalax,* which is performed in the entire region of the Sahel (Senegal, Mali, Guinea, The Gambia), and *palm wine* music of Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Nigeria.

The Central African interethnic pop styles can be heard in *sundana, mutuashi,* and *ndombolo* of the Congo; *bikutsi, tchamassi, assiko,* and *makassi* of the Cameroon; and *ngombele* of the Central African Republic.

The dominating East African interethnic style, *taarab,* has since gone international. It started out as Tanzania's urban music of Zanzibar

city, sounding much like Indian film music, but later spread to Nairobi, Kenya. Other interethnic pop styles of this region include *muziki wa dansi, yetu, gurague, benga, oud,* and *cavacha* (most of which have gone international).

The avalanche of interethnic pop styles in Southern Africa should not be surprising; the cultural miscegenation of the region is the explanation. The styles include *matshidiso* of Lesotho, *sega* of Mauritius, *jiti* of Zimbabwe, *shapela* of Zambia, *sembe* and *quilapanga* of Angola, and *hiragasy* of Madagascar. From South Africa alone, many sub-genres that started off as urban styles have found their way into other nations, thereby becoming international. They include *kwela, mbaqanga, Zulu jive, marabi,* and *isicathamiya.*

In North Africa, the prominent interethnic pop styles include *hawzi, bedoui, shaabi,* and *al-jil* (Afropop, 2006; Agawu, 2003; Amazon, 2006; Britannica, 2014; Broughton, 1994; Collins, 1996; Ekwueme, 2004; Encarta, 2012; Ewens, 1991; National Geographic, 2006; Nketia, 1982; Okafor, 2005; Palmberg & Kirkegaard, 2002).

International Pop

Trade in black slaves across the Atlantic, which started as far back as the 15th century, is responsible for the relocation of Africans who exported the rich cultures of Africa to America and the rest of the world. Religious songs, work songs, dance songs, street cries, ballads, and sorrow songs of these slaves found new expressions when these African slaves performed them on Western musical instruments. The new form of music developed out of this practice then became a hybrid of African and Western musical elements. In this hybrid are all forms of what came to be known as Afro-American pop music. They include *jazz, blues, gospel, soul, disco, funk, rock, reggae, calypso, rhythm 'n' blues, rap,* etc.

Through the agency of radio, gramophone, cinema, and other technology-backed media, these pop genres found their way into Africa. The response of the African audience and musicians to these "new" forms was positive. The positive response was informed by the

under-currents of the musical contents that are clearly African; and in this response, the African musicians started creating African versions of the new pop music. Not only did they re-interpret these pop styles in their own African sense of musical performance—thereby creating a cross-current, they went further to develop their own urban neo-folk styles, using available Western musical instruments at their disposal. In this practice, International Afropop styles emerged.

A number of the Afro-American invented styles that have received some African touches are today found in the international music markets, often with the prefix—Afro. They include *Afro-funk, Afro-reggae, Afro-jazz, Afro-hip hop, Afro-rock, Afro-calypso, Afro-disco, Afro-soul,* etc. However, those professionally crafted by African musicians still carry their original names, even though they are globally consumed. They include *highlife, Afrobeat, juju, fuji, Yo-pop, soukous, makossa, mapouka, zouk, kwaito, kwai-hip, kwasa-kwasa, hip-life, rai, morna, benga,* and *taarab.* Others are *jiti, mbaqanga, jive, mbalax, sega, yetu, bongo-flava,* and *chimurenga* (Africa Sounds, 2006; Afropop, 2006; Agawu, 2003; Amazon, 2006; Britannica, 2014; Broughton, 1994; Collins, 1996; Ekwueme, 2004; Encarta, 2012; Ewens, 1991; National Geographic, 2006; Nketia, 1982; Okafor, 2005; Palmberg & Kirkegaard, 2002).

CHAPTER 4

THE REGGAE GENRE

Reggae, the distinctive popular musical style that leans heavily on off-beat rhythms, repetitive, but pulsating drum patterns, and a driving melodic bass line, is arguably one of Africa's most pervading musical gifts to the world. Besides the music, reggae has inspired an enduring culture that is socially and spiritually vibrant. A journey down the history lane would reveal the reasons for the venerable position of this global culture.

History and Etymology of Reggae

A history of reggae that starts anywhere after the late 19th century is, *ab initio*, incomplete and therefore inconsequent. The story of reggae cannot be told without first, explaining how black Africans came to become citizens of Jamaica, in the Caribbean islands of the West Indies, North America. Jamaica became a sovereign State only in 1962, after gaining independence from the colonial domination of Britain (Encarta, 2012).

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade of the 15th to the late 19th centuries was responsible for forcefully shipping a great population of African people of the West Coast to Jamaica, amongst other locations in North

America. These slaves had toiled for their captors to contribute to the development of the then New World. These Africans of diverse but related cultures and their descendants later formed the black community of Jamaica. Today, that community is represented by the Bongo Nation of Jamaica, sometimes referred to as the Burrus—a distinctive group of Jamaican descendants of the indentured slaves—who have remained conservative and proud of their Africanness. *Burru* also became a generic term for referring to the type of a three-set drums and their performance style by the people of the Bongo Nation (Amazon, 2006; National Geographic, 2006; Reggae, 2006).

The development of reggae started with early forms of Jamaican folk music, mainly of the ethnic and interethnic pop styles. The earliest was *kumina.* It was a musical performance that prevailed in the religious practices of the Bongo Nation. Its major feature was a distinctive style of drumming named *burru. Burru* consists of three open-ended hand drums—namely, the *bass,* the *funde,* and the *repeater*—varying in sizes and pitches. They are played in an ensemble of a group of singers accompanied by three drummers, each playing a different but complimentary rhythm. Later, *kumina* transformed into interethnic form when the Pocomania and Revival Zion Churches mixed it up with their worship music that drew on African and Christian traditions (Davis, 1985; National Geographic, 2006; Swagga, 2006).

The Rasta community of Jamaica was formed and consolidated in 1930 after the coronation of Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia as the 'Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah'. Rastafarianism is a politico-religious black movement founded on Marcus Garvey's 1927 prophecy, "Look to Africa, where a black king shall be crowned. For the day of deliverance is here" (Davis1985, p.18). Garvey (1912-1940), a black preacher, an activist, and a ship magnet from Jamaica, backed-up his prophecy by quoting from the Bible; Revelation 5: "Weep not; behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof." So when, in 1930, an Ethiopian soldier, named Ras Tafari Makonnen, was crowned emperor, he took the new name and ancient titles of: 'Haile Selassie I, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, and Conquering Lion of the Tribe of Judah.' To the Jamaicans (especially, the Garveyites), this became a fulfillment

of prophecy. Haile Selassie, meaning 'Power of the Trinity' and Ras Tafari, meaning 'Head Creator' then became the bases for the Rasta movement; and the adherents became known as Rastafarians (Davis, 1985). As Davis reports:

> For the Rastas, the notion of any kind of Jamaican nationalism was a cruel joke. Home was Ethiopia in its original sense, as the Greek word for Africa. More important, Haile Selassie was a black redeemer, the almighty ever-living God on earth (p. 91).

The Rastafarians, in the celebration of their spiritual festival known as *Grounations*, then developed their *Nyabinghi* drum music, still using the *burru* drums after the tradition of the *kumina.* This Rasta movement and their *Nyabinghi* music were later to form the bases of reggae music in the late 1960s.

Meanwhile, the Jamaican Jankanoo fife and drum bands entertained in public places with their music that combined the interethnic *kumina*, recreational ethnic styles, and European quadrille dance tunes to enrich their repertoire. At the beginning of the 20th century, a synthesis of all these earlier forms gave birth to a new Jamaican pop music. The new style became known as Mento (Swagga, 2006).

By 1957, two Jamaican pop songs—*Banana Boat Song* and *Jamaican Farewell*—became international hits under the *calypso* class. Meanwhile, the songs were of the *mento* genre in their native Jamaica. This goes to show the close similarities, in style between the Jamaican *mento* and the Trinidadian *calypso.* Jamaican early exponents of the *mento* genre include Lord Fly, Count Lasher, Lord LaRue, George Moxey, Lord Flea, and Lord Composer. However, *mento* failed to hold the centre-stage for up to a decade (Amazon, 2006; National Geographic, 2006).

As the diversity in the music listenership of the Jamaican audience intensified, the demand for new music became a major threat to *mento.* In response to this demand, some Jamaican music business entrepreneurs resorted to what was known in Jamaica as Sound Systems. *Sound systems* consisted in a type of public musical entertainment in which sets of

high wattage loud-speakers, with heavy amplification, were mounted on open-bodied vans and trucks as they blared out recorded music to the streets of Kingston city. Their choice songs were dominated by *soul* and *rhythm 'n' blues* records imported from the US. Soon, the big three *sound systems* operators, namely, Sir Coxsone Dodd, Duke Reid, and Prince Buster, went ahead to establish cheap recording studios where they could produce and record local acts to spice up the imported ones. They thus became Jamaica's pioneer independent record label owners. The first artistes of Jamaica that came out of this effort include Higgs & Wilson, the Vikings, and Alto & Eddie. Most of what they recorded was tailored to the reigning American hits acceptable to the Jamaican urban audience. *Sound systems,* therefore, nailed the casket of *mento* (National Geographic, 2006; Reggae, 2006).

From the smouldering ashes of *mento* sprouted that in quick tempo moving instrumental dance music of the early 1960s called Ska. *Ska,* which emphasized a brass ensemble, was crafted by combining *mento* with the American *rhythm 'n' blues* and *soul* with prominent African and Latin American elements. It was essentially a fast, shuffling, hopping dance with accents on the second and fourth beats of a quadruple metre. The name, *ska*, is onomatopoeic; it derives from the chopping sound of the rhythm guitar, which races along with the hopping rhythm. Some Jamaican locals called it 'Upside-down *rhythm 'n' blues*' while a few others called it the 'Blue Beat'. The commercial success of *ska* was recorded by Chris Blackwell who, in 1964, sold six million copies of Millie Small's ***My Boy Lollipop.*** That same year, the bland *ska* group, Byron Lee & the Dragonaires, represented Jamaica in World's Fair in New York—featuring Jimmy Cliff, Millie Small, and Prince Buster. The *ska* group, Skatalites, however, loomed larger than life throughout this era. It was also in this period that the sextet, Wailin' Wailers (made up of Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Bunny Wailer, Junior Braithwaite, Beverly Kelso, and Cherry Green), lent their voices to their 1963 *ska* hit, ***Simmer Down,*** under the production of Coxsone Dodd. Other early exponents include Alton & the Flames, The Heptones, and Ken Boothe (Amazon, 2006; Reggae, 2006).

With the musical environment on ground, the city of Kingston soon became a laboratory where musicians experimented on new approaches to *ska*, and Sir Coxsone Dodd's Studio One the apparatus for such experiments. As many singers and singing groups desired to lend their vocals to the trotting rhythm of *ska*, the tempo was soon forced to slow down for better vocal expression. During this period, too, the *rock* music of the Rolling Stones, the Beatles, and Elvis Presley was making in-roads from England into Jamaica. Fusions of Jamaican music with American *rhythm 'n' blues* and English *rock* further forced down the quick tempo of *ska*, and depleted its big band personnel to a more sizable number. These changes then gave birth to a new Jamaican form called Rock Steady—a more subdued and more sentient style. Alton Ellis, a pioneer exponent of the new style has been quoted as saying: "I could feel the rock, and it was steadier, so I wrote a song called ***Get Ready to Rock Steady***" (Davis1985, p.96). In *rock steady,* younger generations of Jamaican musicians found a medium for the expression of their feelings and opinions. The ghetto-dwelling Rastafarians and Rude Boys especially could then express their intimate feelings of love, protest, and dissent of oppressive policies. Representative groups of the Rude Boys are Desmond Dekker & the Aces, Derrick Morgan, and the Clarendonians (National Geographic, 2006).

In April, 1966, His Imperial Majesty, Emperor Haile Selassie I, paid a brief State visit to Jamaica and presented a staff of office to Michael Manley. Manley became the Prime Minister of Jamaica thereafter; winning the 1972 general elections under the PNP (Encarta, 2012). This singular event opened the floodgate of Rasta musicians who took the countryside *Nyabinghi* to town, thereby redefining *rock steady* in the more graceful rhythm that became known as Reggae. As the emphasis shifted from the 'horns' to the drum and bass lines, the new style soon assumed the rhythm of a walking pace. The vast participation in *reggae* movement by Rastafarians helped in developing the reggae culture—a culture that derived its spiritual strength from a scriptural-based African cultic movement called Rastafari. Their slogan was and remained 'Back to Africa', and the Rastafarians maintained long-matted hair called 'dreadlocks', used 'ganja' as a sacrament, observed a vegetarian diet, and were dedicated to overthrowing white and black oppression in all places (Collins, 1996). An entry in Reggae.com (2006) reads:

> Reggae . . . and its retrieval of Africanness in Afro-Caribbean music went hand in hand with the rise of Rastafari. The Burrus, who'd lived communally in Jamaica since slavery and held fast to their African roots shared housing in the low-rent Kingston district of Dungle with the Rastafarians, who believed that a black king would be crowned in Africa and lead the lost tribes out of Babylon. The music, the beliefs, and the dress of the Rastas influenced the sound, the spiritual agenda, and the look of Reggae.

The main artistes identified with early *reggae* works include Toots & the Maytals, Desmond Dekker, Ken Lazarus, Jimmy Cliff, Delroy Wilson, and Bob Marley and the Wailin' Wailers. While the Melodians and Beverly's All-Stars remain the hottest studio bands of the early reggae era, Chinese-born Leslie Kong and the maverick, Lee 'Scratch' Perry are early *reggae's* most important producers (Davis, 1985; Farley, 2009; Moskowitz, 2007).

Going by the argument that *reggae* originated from Africa, it is important to note that the South African trumpeter, Hugh Masekela, collaborated with Bob Marley and the Wailers in Sweden in 1968. Under the production of Danny Sims, the trumpeter and the group recorded for Cayman Music during the period of development of the early *reggae* (Davis, 1985).

Etymologically, the word reggae has been attributed to several 'mysterious' allusions. Toots Hibbert, leader of the Maytals, the first Jamaican group that used the word in the title of their dance song, ***Do the Reggay,*** claimed that the word was derived from the English word 'regular'. This, according to him, derived from the more steady and regular rhythm of the new dance form. Another Jamaican opinion came from Joe Higgs, the man who conducted free, open-air singing classes and workshops to help in training the teaming crowd of Jamaican budding artists in the early 1960s—a venture that benefited and helped in grooming the Wailin' Wailers. According to Higgs, the word reggae was derived from 'streggae', which is a ghetto patois term for rudeness. 'Ragged', 'rugged', and 'rough' are among other opinions held by the Jamaican people as sources of the word reggae (Davis, 1985).

Back in West Africa (the traditional root of the black Jamaicans), the Yoruba ethnic region has an entertainment music style called *ere-ege.* Gboyega Femi (a.k.a. Tera Kota), who is one of Nigeria's early exponents of the *reggae* style, has claimed that reggae is a corruption of the Yoruba term, *ere-ege.* This may not be far from the truth, as a similar case has been established in the Trinidadian *calypso.* Trinidad is a sister nation to Jamaica, both of the Caribbean region. Borde (1973) reports that the term calypso was coined from an Igbo word *kaisco,* heard from the lips of slaves of that ethnicity who came from Nigeria. Borde, who claims that the Igbo word meant "Say it again", is of the firm belief that the term calypso is an English coinage of *kaisco.* Upon investigation, this researcher, who is also of Igbo ethnicity, discovered that the word *kaisco* is actually a corruption of the Igbo phrase *Kpaisa uka,* which conveys the same meaning as proffered by Borde. *Kpaisa uka* is a phrase for "Tell me something" or "Tell me more" as spoken by the Igbo of Ohafia/Abriba area of Eastern Nigeria. And historically, this area was a lucrative slave port during the era of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. In the same vein, it is possible that the etymology of reggae could be traced back to *ere-ege* of the Yoruba ethnic group of Nigeria, West Africa. Little wonder, Bob Marley opened his 1975 album with the track *Lively Up Yourself,* which he introduced with a chant "Wooh!" But later, Marley (as cited in Davis, 1985) revealed that the chant is a Yoruba "look-out" call which he used consciously to inject the African feeling in an album titled ***Natty Dread.*** Later, the chant became a regular feature in Bob's live performances.

Growth and Spread of the Genre

The 1970s saw the consolidation of *reggae* in Jamaica, as well as its extensions beyond the borders of the island. Early in the decade, many Rastafarians and former Rude Boys embraced the reggae culture. This development was facilitated by the explosion of recording studios and increased number of *reggae* music producers in Jamaica. Equally, nightclubs and other pub places in Jamaica maintained *reggae* house-bands. Some government-owned radio stations also started airing some carefully selected local records. Competition became intense among the DJs at the *Sound Systems,* who struggled to ensure that they were the first

to air selections of the latest *reggae* releases. *Reggae* gradually became the Jamaican State music.

The first conscious efforts at taking Jamaican music abroad were by Bob Marley, through a musical collaboration with Houston-based black American crooner, Johnny Nash, in 1970. Bob had travelled to Sweden in the company of Nash and Danny Sims, and there helped in the production and recording of Johnny's new album, ***I Can See Clearly Now.*** The album contained four songs written by Bob Marley. The songs, which include *Stir It Up* and *Guava Jelly,* along with the album title track, *I Can See Clearly Now,* became instant hits in Europe. It was also at this trip that Bob gladly collaborated with the Ghanaian hand drummer, Remi 'Rebop" Kwaku Baah (Davis, 1985; Moskowitz, 2007).

In the next year, Bob Marley, living up to his title of 'Reggae Ambassador', took the Wailers to CBS studios in London, where they recorded ***Reggae On Broadway.*** This first recording of a *reggae* song outside Jamaica was made possible by Bob's relationship with two American pop musicians—Danny Sims and Johnny Nash. The Nash-Marley collaboration became a hit in London and later topped the world chart. To further promote this new music, Sims organized a successful 18-day tour of England between November and December of 1971, which introduced Bob and *reggae* to the English audience.

Upon return to Jamaica from his European experiments, Bob established his Tuff Gong studio in Jamaica. These successes attracted the interest of the Jamaican government to the person of Bob Marley in particular, and to *reggae* music in general. Thus started the politicization of *reggae* music (Davis, 1985; Farley, 2009; Moskowitz, 2007).

By 1972, the Anglo-Jamaican owner of Island Records, London, Chris Blackwell, had clearly become the sole exporter and promoter of Jamaican music globally; he was responsible for the success story of Millie Small and her song, ***My Boy Lollipop,*** in the early 1960s. When, in 1972, Blackwell bought over the Wailers from Cayman Music, Bob was certain that *reggae* was in good hands. Up until then, all *reggae* songs were recorded as singles, but Chris Blackwell put his knowledge

of the music business to use when he produced the first *reggae* album of Bob Marley and the Wailers. This album, ***Catch A Fire,*** sold globally, thereby launching the Jamaican *reggae* music into the world community.

The release in 1973 of the film, ***The Harder They Come,*** came as a timely support to Blackwell's efforts at selling the Jamaican musical culture to the world. The sound tracks of that film, carefully selected from Jamaica's classics by Chris Blackwell, featured Desmond Dekker, the Maytals, the Melodians, and Jimmy Cliff (Davis, 1985; Farley, 2009).

In 1974, the Wailers became the first Jamaican band to tour North America. For a span of three months, starting from July, The Wailers performed in many cities of the US, collaborating with Bruce Springsteen and Sly & the Family Stone. After the US tour, they flew off to Canada where they participated in the Ethiopian Famine Relief Fund show, staged in Edmonton in October. By these tours, Bob Marley and the Wailers took not just the music but also the image, the stagecraft, and the culture of Jamaican reggae to the world (Davis, 1985; Moskowitz, 2007).

The proceeds of the efforts of the Wailers became the popularity of the *reggae* genre that, naturally, benefited other *reggae* artistes like Marcia Griffiths, who later became a member of the Wailers' back-up singers, the I-Threes. Griffiths' hit single, ***Young, Gifted and Black,*** produced by her musician husband, Bob Andy, sold throughout America and Europe. It was this success that earned her a commissioned concert in Germany in 1974 (Davis, 1985; Farley, 2009).

As the year 1974 was grinding to an end, many American and European famous artistes struggled to become part of the success story of the new world pop. Al Anderson, a black American and London-based guitarist, who played for Shakatu, an *Afro-funk* band led by the Nigerian hand drummer, Remi Kabaka, defected to the Wailers. Other artistes did cover versions of the Wailers' hits: Taj Mahal covered *Slave Driver,* while Barbara Streisand covered *Guava Jelly.* But it was Eric Clapton's cover version of *I Shot the Sheriff* that succinctly told the story

of the success of *reggae*. That song rose to number one on the world chart soon after release (Davis, 1985).

By 1975, *reggae* had conquered the world. The Wailers had had countless stage collaborations with various musicians of different styles and from different parts of the world. Some of the musicians include the Rolling Stones of Britain, Marvin Gaye of America, Stevie Wonder of America, and Paul Simon, also of America. By the end of this decade, *reggae* had become very popular all over the world. Mick Jagger, who collaborated with Peter Tosh in the ***Bush Doctor*** album, had his wedding party covered by *reggae* musicians; Stevie Wonder, who also collaborated with the Third World in their ***You've Got the Power*** album, wrote *Boogie On Reggae Woman*; and Aretha Franklin recorded *Rocksteady.* The Shakers, a white American *reggae* band, secured a major label deal and, along with the Chicago-based Blue Riddim Band, became the pioneers of all-white American *reggae* groups. Yet, the success story and the spread of reggae could not have been possible without the interest and commitment of the personnel of the electronic and print media of the world press (Davis, 1985; Moskowitz, 2007; Reggae, 2006).

The spread of reggae to Africa started equally in the 1970s. Through the distribution of the commercial recordings of *reggae* music cut on vinyl, many cities in Africa came to be part of this latest rave. In addition, the press, through the multimedia of radio, television, cinema, newspapers, and magazines kept Africans abreast of what was happening in other parts of the world. But more than anything else, the Afrocentric rhythms, the Pan-African sentiments, and the spiritual philosophy contained in Bob Marley's music helped in making reggae readily acceptable to the African audience who found in the new music something akin to their own culture. Sonny Okosuns & the Ozzidi and Keni-St-George & the Ozo (both Nigerians) became a few of the pioneer African professional bands to embrace *reggae* music as composers and performers. While Ozzidi entered the *reggae* family with *Help,* the Ozo's *Listen to the Buddha* and *Anambra River* shot straight into the international market.

The 1980s became the most lucrative period for reggae in Africa. Within the decade, Bob Marley performed in Zimbabwe (in 1980) and

died a year after. The sentiments garnered by these events erupted into African *reggae* acts. Some of the stars that emerged from this period include Tera Kota, the Mandators, Majek Fashek, and Ras Kimono—all from Nigeria. From Zimbabwe came John Chibadura; and Senegal produced Adioa. Others are Askia Modibo of Mali, Alpha Blondy and Tiken Jah Fakoly (both from Cote d'Ivoire); while Lucky Dube dominates the South African end. One other important voice in African *reggae* is Kwadwo Antwi from Ghana.

Development of Various Sub-Genres

Roots Reggae became the first sub-genre of *reggae* music in Jamaica. The Rastafarians, who instantly adopted *reggae* as their sacred music, saw a need to differentiate the spiritual reggae from the mundane. The result became an almost patented Rastafarian brand called *roots reggae* or simply, *Roots.* The music remained almost the same but the lyrical content is dedicated towards the praise of Jah (God), and enlightenment on other Rastafari practices. Jamaican patois became the official language of *roots reggae,* and such phrases and words as 'I and I', 'I-man', 'Ye 'ave fe gwan', 'Chant don Babylon', 'Irie Ites', 'I-tal', 'I-tinual', 'Dready', 'Likkle', and 'Sufferation' became characteristic of *roots reggae.* Almost every *reggae* musician who flies his dreadlocks plays the *roots,* while some cross over to other sub-genres as well. They include Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Bunny Wailer, Johnny Clarke, Horace Andy, Lincoln Thompson, Burning Spear, and Barrington Levy.

Dub is another new style of expressing *reggae* that came out of the *sound system* parties. Studio producers like King Tubby and Lee Perry would record vocal versions of hit-singles on one side of vinyl, and fill the flip side with instrumental versions of the same song. It is this flip version that the *sound systems* DJs called *dub.* Soon, the DJs learnt to make certain comments via the microphones, while they played the *dub* music. The DJs' commentaries would explore themes bordering on humor, jabs, and even insults on their rival groups. This practice became known as ***Dub Poetry,*** but Jamaicans living in the UK christened it ***Toasting.*** Prominent performers of this style include Linton Kwesi Johnson and Augustus Pablo.

Raggamuffin (***Ragga*** for short) or ***Rub-A-Dub*** is another remarkable sub-genre that developed from the *dub* style. In this style, instead of stripping the entire vocals of a recorded song, the producers select a few portions of the music and mute the vocals to allow professional MCs to chant their poetic lyrics. This is where the style got the name, *rub-a-dub*, from. The MCs rub their chants over the *dub* created for them by the producers—a kind of "rub it in" command. The final product would sound like a duet between the original singer of the song and the MC. In the final mix, the studio engineer will emphasize the drums and the bass line, while he drops in the other instruments occasionally, but artistically. In later developments this sub-genre assumed more sophistication through the application of studio effects of electronic music. Early exponents include Big Youth, Dillinger, U-Roy, and I-Roy; while more recently Yellowman, Shabba Ranks, Patra, Buju Banton, and Chaka Demus & Pliers have become popular.

The Jamaican communities of reggae musicians in the UK are often credited with the creation of ***Lover's Rock.*** When Bob Marley recorded *Punky Reggae Party* in a London studio, backed by the London-based Jamaican group, Aswad, it was in response to the demands of the *punk-rock* euphoria in London at the time. Bob further introduced a psychedelic *rock* guitarist, Junior Marvin, to his band, with whom he recorded *Root Rock Reggae. Lover's rock* is a *rock*-influenced romantic, ballad-oriented *reggae* performed mainly by the UK *reggae* musicians. It is sometimes called ***sentimental reggae*** or ***London reggae.*** *Lover's rock* is today performed by artistes like Aswad, Leroy Sibbles, Maxi Priest, Freddie McGreggor, and UB40; but it was the music of Ginger Williams and Sonya Spence that started the trend.

Rockers Reggae is a sub-genre created by Sly Dunbar and Robbie Shakespeare to inject some funky vibes into the Jamaican *reggae.* It is a style consciously crafted to emphasize lyrical melody and regular groove supplied by a tight drum and bass combination. It is an infectious rocking rhythm. Exponents include The Mighty Diamonds, Black Uhuru, Dennis Brown, and Third World.

During the 1980s, a new and widely flexible sub-genre of *reggae* called ***Dancehall,*** emerged in the UK. A speechifying and dance floor-oriented style, *dancehall* combines *reggae, calypso,* and *disco* grooves, but de-emphasizes the chopping sound of the rhythm guitar. The lyrical content favours issues about human relations and other situational themes arising from social interactions; but political and spiritual matters are rarely a concern to the *dancehall* artistes. Musical accompaniment of *dancehall* sounds are deftly sequenced on computerized studio equipment and carefully mixed to achieve the desired effect. Artistes like Cocoa Tea, Shaggy, Sean Paul, Kevin Little, Beenie Man, and Nigeria's own African China today dominate *dancehall reggae* sub-genre.

The re-interpretation of *reggae* music by American musicians in the mid-1980s gave birth to the sub-genre called ***Funk Reggae.*** *Funk reggae* dropped the 'one drop' drum pattern of *roots reggae* and replaced it with the *funk* groove that is more acceptable to the American audience. However, it was Jimmy Cliff who introduced the innovation in an attempt to capture the American market. His success must have encouraged other Jamaican artistes like Peter Tosh who, in a duet with Gwen Guthrie, recorded the funkyfied *Nothing But Love*; followed by Ziggy Marley, who won the Grammy with *Conscious Party.* Other examples of *funk reggae* recorded by American musicians include Lionel Richie's *Selah,* Billie Ocean's *Mind Games,* and *Englishman in New York* by Sting, who is actually an Englishman based in New York.

Disco Reggae, just like *funk reggae,* is another sub-genre that is America-friendly interpretation of *reggae* music. *Disco reggae,* just like its *funk reggae* counterpart, simply replaced the *reggae* groove with that of *disco.* Examples of *disco reggae* include Marcia Griffiths' *Electic Boogie,* Kool & the Gang's *Let's Go Dancing,* and Donna Summer's *Unconditional Love*—a track that featured the short-lived Birmingham youth *reggae* band, the Musical Youth. Bonny M's cover version of Bob Marley's *No Woman No Cry* is one of the early attempts at *disco reggae.* (Britannica, 2014; Encarta, 2012; National Geographic, 2006; Reggae, 2006)

Modern Trends in Reggae Music

The 1980s represent a phase of serious global revolution in the consumption of popular music. This revolution gave rise to fusions and artistic manipulations for a new definition of popular music. This revolution was inadvertently initiated by *reggae* music and its global popularity. Bob Marley, through his successful collaborations with some American and European pop musicians, exacerbated the lesion on identity which had caused the African-American artistes to seek a proper definition of their historical link with Africa—especially in the area of music. In reaction to the Afrocentric sentiments expressed in *reggae* music, many musicians (black and white) started applying themselves to the musical heritage of Africa, through collaboration with non-Western musicians. *World Music* then became not only a vogue but also a class in categorizing music-making that presents a fusion of non-Western urban styles that are current and acceptable to the Euro-American consumers of the musical products. It became a conscious effort at producing new sounds that are fresh, authentic, and yet not really asymmetrical with the familiar and popular sounds of the Euro-American target audience. So today, a significant trend in the popular music that promotes the pop, ethnic, and traditional music of the third world especially, and other non-Western regions; and collaborations between the Western and non-Western musicians is called *World Music, World Beat,* or *Ethno-Pop.* The music itself is a structural integration of diverse musical elements (including *reggae* and its sub-genres) from different parts of the globe (Machlis & Forney, 1995).

From records of awards and choice selections aired by radio presenters and deejays from different parts of the world today, Caribbean and African popular music form the core of *world music.* The presence of King Sunny Ade, the Nigerian *juju* artiste, in the 1982 edition of the Montego Bay Reggae Sunsplash has resulted in fusions of *juju* elements into *reggae*. For instance, Third World featured the *juju* talking-drum in their song *Lagos Jump*, in which they also explored the *highlife* rhythm. On the same hand, Majek Fashek has made the talking-drum a permanent feature in his *reggae* performances; while Lucky Dube has experimented on a fusion of *reggae* and *makossa* rhythms. In ***Graceland***, the collaborative album between Paul Simon and some

South African group of musicians, including Stimela, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Hugh Masekela, and Miriam Makeba; the bass guitarist, Baghiti Kumalo, fused the bass-melody style of *reggae* with *funk*, *mbaqanga*, and *isicathamiya* vocal-bass styles of South Africa. Two songs recorded by South African Doctor Victor, titled *Shambala* and *Bayangena Bayaphuma* equally reveal modern trends in *reggae* music, just as the work of his fellow countrymen, Bayete and Jabu Khanyile, titled *Mmalo-We*. Asiatic influences can be felt in two remarkable works: One is *Bhangra,* a recording of British-born South Asians who fused Punjabi folk rhythms and melodies with *disco* and *reggae* elements; and the second work is *Enter the Wu Tang Clan* by the Wu-Tang Clan, from New York City's Staten Island, whose combination of street credibility, neo-Islamic mysticism, Thai *kung fu* lore, and *reggae* elements made them one of the most complex groups in the history of *rap* music (Britannica, 2014).

Another remarkable trend in the expression of contemporary *reggae*, which was equally initiated by an emigrant Jamaican teenager, DJ Kool Herc, is noticed in *rap* and *hip hop* music. DJ Kool Herc (Clive Campbell) had introduced the deejay practices of native Jamaica's *Sound Systems* into the suburbs of America, where he performed at social parties. Other generations of immigrants in New York re-interpreted the Jamaican *toasting* into the American *rap* music. Today, countless numbers of *Gangsta rappers* and *hip hop* performers use seductive rhyming chants derived from reggae's *dub-poetry*—of part singing and part talking—to express the music of the 1990s and 2000s. It should be noted that this multimodal style employed by African-American musicians owes its origin to West Africa where the performance modes are patterns of declamations and chanted salutations. Other pioneering deejays of this style include Grand Wizard Theodore, Afrika Bambaata, and Grandmaster Flash. By sliding the vinyl back and forth underneath the stylus, as it is played on a turntable, these deejays succeeded in creating rhythmic effects called 'scratching'. The resultant manipulated sounds then supply the musical accompaniments to the *raps*. More recent *hip hop* artistes with heavy influence on *reggae* include Queen Latifah, Wyclef Jean, Lauryn Hill, and Nigeria's 2-Face Idibia (Britannica, 2014; Encarta, 2012; Pan-African All Stars, 2006).

Nature and Features of Reggae

Michael Manley, one time Prime Minister of Jamaica (1972-1979), during whose regime *reggae* emerged as the official state music of Jamaica, is respected by Rastafarians for receiving the 'Rod of Correction' from the Rasta-deified Haile Selassie I. In his answer to a question on the philosophy of reggae, Manley (as cited in Davis, 1985) said, ". . . the lyrics of protest music, which were the driving motivation of reggae . . ." (p. 134) was the main philosophy. Yet, the philosophy of reggae covers other themes, including mysticism, defiance, socio-economic redress, unity, liberation, idealism, love, equal rights, and justice. To Bob Marley (2002), "This music is like a house . . . a placard . . . a weapon . . . one of the vehicles to free the people from the chains of bondage and oppression."

The musical elements that help to define the distinctive features of reggae are as follows:

Rhythm: The rhythm section of reggae is assigned to the basic instruments that supply the groove. The instruments are the rhythm guitar, the bass guitar, the set of trap drums, and the set of percussions (hand-drums, scrappers, claves, bells, etc.). The foundation of the entire rhythm is a simple quadruple metric division of the entire measure, expressed differently by each instrument of the rhythm section. While the hi-hat subdivides the $\frac{4}{4}$ metre into a $\frac{12}{8}$, the snare and the bass drums simultaneously hit the second and the fourth weak accents of the $\frac{4}{4}$ in an offbeat style. It is this style of emphasizing the off-beats that reggae musicians describe as the 'one drop' pattern.

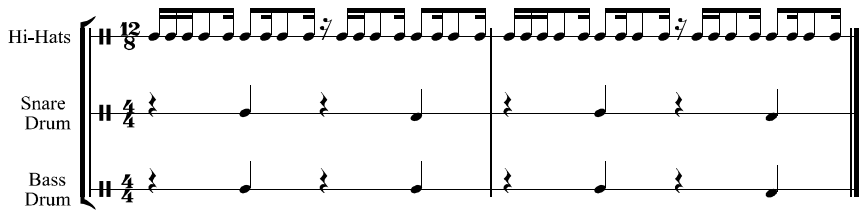


Fig. 1: A basic reggae rhythm—emphasizing the 'one drop' pattern

The rest of the percussion instruments are expressed at the liberty of their players—filling out spaces created by the trap drums. Next is the rhythm guitar. Much of the rhythmic stress is taken by the rhythm guitar, which remains busy almost throughout the duration of the piece. The chords of the rhythm guitar are strummed, and the resonance dampened to produce a chopping sound that is heard on the second beat of each quarter note of the $\frac{4}{4}$ metre. Finally, the flowing bass lines of the bass guitar raps up the rhythm section. The bassist approaches the $\frac{4}{4}$ metre in a sub-division of quarter notes, and flows through the notes as if he is singing a vocal bass melody. According to Lee Perry (2002), the drumbeats come from the heart, while the bass melodies come from the brain. A combination of the two must cause the 'skankers' (dancers of the reggae rhythm) to move their waists.

Vocal Techniques: A unique style of producing sound with the human voice is peculiar to the singing of reggae. Due to the spiritual import of the reggae message, the words are chanted rather than sung. Made up of short phrases, the melody is chanted in half-strained, half-relaxed vocal production. An exaggerated form of this style is noticed in the practices of *ragga* 'toasters', whose chanting produce strident vocal sounds. This is another feature of reggae that is reminiscent of its African roots; a tradition of singing that is totally the opposite of the European classical *bel canto.* In the back-up chorus, the vocalists, singing in two- to three-part vocal harmonies, do more of wailing than mere singing. This is done in support of the spiritual ambience created by the voice of the lead singer. These two styles are carry-overs from the songs of invocation practised in African spiritual sacraments.

Tonality: *Reggae,* like most modern pop styles, derives its tonal center from the key-sense of the Western diatonic major and minor scales. In some adventuresome experiments, like Bob Marley's *Sun Is Shining* and Steel Pulse's *Handsworth Revolution,* modal scales and chromatic harmonies are employed. Otherwise, the popular scales favoured by reggae musicians are major diatonic scale, minor diatonic scale, and dominant seventh scale (similar to the mixolydian mode in intervallic spaces), exemplified in Sonny Okosuns' *Holy Wars*.

Form: The structural organization of *reggae* songs is not different from other modern pop genres. Three standard sections of **A**=verse, **B**=chorus, and **C**=bridge are basic. Even when an instrument is allowed a solo expression, the solo is based on one or more of these standard sections. Sometimes, all of these sections are not used in a composition; and the composer determines the format of usage in his structural erection. The form could be ABABC, ABABCB, ABABAB, AABCBB, BABAB, etc.

Tempo: *Reggae* tempo naturally grinds at a motion between 70 and 150 crotchets per minute. Since reggae is a skank (a style of dancing) rhythm, the composers consciously craft the relaxed walking pace—not too fast, not too slow. The moderate rhythm is to allow an easily rhythmic flow of swinging of the hips and alternate lifting of the heels in sequence, by the skankers on the dance floor.

Intensity: In a *reggae* performance, the sound engineer usually balances the sound level, through amplification. Through the means of audio-mix, the engineer creates a soundscape comprising a background, a foreground, and a center-spread of sounds to suit the image and identity of the band. Other dynamics in the process of performance are applied as contained in the composition, and as directed by the bandleader. The composer employs the method of terraced dynamics, whereby some instruments (like the horns, the percussions, and the lead guitar) observe rests at certain points; whereas the bandleader uses cues to prompt certain instrumentalists to increase or decrease the volumes on their instruments.

Texture: By all considerations, the texture of reggae is dense. The accompanying instruments combine to create a musical fabric that is compact with harmonic combinations of instrumental tones and timbre. The vocal lines, composed of simple melodies, are arranged in polyphonic tunes in call-and-response style.

Language: Most singers of *reggae* from all corners of the globe have sung in reggae's initial language of the Jamaican patois. Patois, a regional variant of Pidgin English, has therefore become the linguistic signature of reggae. In addition to patois, English, French, German,

Latin, Swahili, and so many other languages and dialects of reggae performers of African and Asiatic origins can be heard in *reggae* songs of today.

Instruments/Instrumentation: Basically, the instruments of the rhythm section—a set of trap drums, bass guitar, rhythm guitar, and a set of percussion—can comfortably accompany any reggae outfit; yet the 'horns' section, made up of a saxophone, a trombone, and a trumpet (sometimes, plus a flute and/or an harmonica) help in defining the image of a band—like that of Zapp Pow and Burning Spear. Other solo instruments like the lead guitar and the keyboard have proved their strength in creating a richer sound accompaniment to the reggae outfit. The power of the human voice is never omitted. The lead vocalist and all manners of back-up vocalists sing the well-worded lyrics as well as the vocables and scat phrases known as 'vibes' in reggae parlance.

Costume: The heavy influence of Rastafarianism on reggae has made certain properties of the culture to be synonymous with *reggae* music and musicians. Hand-knitted woolen wristbands and neck-mufflers, topped up with caps of same material (shaped like a woman's shower cap), all in the colour combination of green-gold-red, can easily be spotted in any reggae band. If the musicians are not flying their dreadlocks (for those who grow them), then the locks are held together in the woolen caps known as 'tam'.

Since rigidity and creativity are incompatible, one should not expect all *reggae* compositions and outfits to adhere strictly to the above elements and properties. Variations abound; resulting in the variants that define the sub-genres. Otherwise, the foregoing are the basic features.

CHAPTER 5

THE NIGERIAN REGGAE SCENE

Why is it that *Afro-reggae's* biggest exponents come from West Africa? What is/are there in reggae that it quickly found a point of anchorage in Africa? Is it possible that there are similarities between the two Caribbean Island's *calypso* and *reggae* styles and the predominant popular style of West Africa, the *highlife*?

It has been reported that the early stages of Western influence on the popular music of West, East, and Central Africa came from the Caribbean. While *calypso, reggae* and *rumba* represent the Caribbean influential styles; *highlife, soukous,* and *makossa* remain the most enduring of the styles performed in these sub-regions of Africa (Collins, 1992). Borde (1973) has affirmed that the *calypso* is an Afro-American re-interpretation of a folk practice that was introduced into the Caribbean community by former slaves imported from the Igbo ethnic group of Eastern Nigeria. The *calypso* is the antecedent of *highlife. Ere-ege*, a style of entertainment music performed by the Yoruba ethnic group of Western Nigeria, is the root of *reggae*. Cuban *rumba,* the precursor of *soukous,* has been reported in National Geographic (2006) to exist in Congo and Kenya as an ethnic pop style, called *rumba.* After all is said and done, a closer scrutiny of *highlife, soukous,* and *makossa* would reveal that the latter two styles are actually variants of the *highlife* genre. Now, where is the tie-in?

The streets of New York are the least of places where one would expect to find the connection between the Jamaican *reggae* and the West African *highlife.* Yet it happened! In 1974, Sonny Okosuns, Africa's first known exponent of *Afro-reggae,* met with Jimmy Cliff, the first recognized international star of the *reggae* style, in a studio in New York. In this chance meeting, Cliff admitted to Okosuns that the *reggae* music was actually a modified beat of the Nigerian *highlife* music (Collins, 1996). It should be remembered that *reggae*'s first journey of modifications started with *mento*; and that *mento* was Jamaica's first version of the Trinidadian *calypso.* In another development, Bob Marley's first tour of Africa was to Gabon where, in January 1980, he thrilled a select audience in a birthday party organized in honour of the Gabonese President, Omar Bongo. While in Gabon, Bob listened to snatches of recorded *highlife* tunes imported from neighbouring Nigeria, and became convinced that at last, he found the root of his *reggae* music. In reaction, he drilled his *rock*-oriented lead guitarist, Junior Marvin, to play the Nigerian *highlife* rhythm guitar style of plucking the strings while picking the notes. This became the rhythmic style in his song *Could You Be Loved,* which appeared in his ***Uprising*** album released in May of that year (Davis, 1985; Farley, 2009).

It is, therefore, no longer a mystery that *reggae* found instant acceptance in West Africa, especially Nigeria; for, 'as the prodigal returned home, it was met with merriment.' But before the Jamaican *reggae* travelled to Nigeria in the late '60s, the popular culture that exploded in the country in 1945, after the Second World War, helped in upgrading the reigning interethnic pop style, *native blues,* into the more national *highlife* genre. Soon, *highlife* and its major variant, *juju,* became international pop styles.

The Period between 1960 and 1980

Nigeria and many other West African countries gained independence from colonial rule in 1960. The euphoria of that experience was captured in musical expressions of existing musical groups of the time, and many other groups and individuals that joined the list of musicians in the country. *Highlife* was the reigning music, and was accepted and

performed throughout the region. In 1961, E.C. Arinze recorded his fusion of Nigerian *highlife* and Caribbean style in a song he called *Lumumba Calypso*; thus celebrating the success of Patrice Lumumba in leading Congo to independence. By 1963, the excitement heightened as Nigeria stabilized as a republic. The excitement was again expressed in the popular music of the nation. Orlando Owoh and his African Kenneries Band, who started his brand of *juju-highlife* music in 1959, recorded what could be called Nigeria's first *reggae* song, *Logba Logba,* but nobody called it *reggae* because Jamaican *reggae* was still in the embryonic stage then. The off-beat phrasing style of the rhythm guitar in Orlando's song is clearly a distinctive *reggae* peculiarity.

The Civil War in Nigeria, fought between 1967 and 1970, was another significant event that impacted on the mode of pop music practices in the country. Lawrence Emeka (2006), an ethnomusicologist, recalls:

> The Civil War in Nigeria (Nigeria/Biafra War) generated many simple but powerful songs that stirred the people to commit themselves, body and soul, on (*sic*) whichever side they were. At the end of the Civil War, some security officials interrogated several well-known musicians in their bid to discover the root of the inspired songs. Perhaps you could liken that quest to the answer given by the great Nigerian baritone singer, Joe Nez, to his superior officer who asked him why he was singing while on sentry duty. The young soldier replied, "Sir, the music sings itself" (p. 8).

After that war, Joe Nez recorded his hit, a *calypso-highlife* song titled *Business Trip.* In the song, the guitarist consistently played the off-the-beat chopping rhythm of the Jamaican *reggae* style. Again, Jamaican *reggae* had not captured Nigeria at the time. One interesting thing about these three (Arinze, Owoh, and Nez) early exponents is that they all come from the parts of the country where *calypso* and *reggae* have their roots. While Arinze and Nez come from the Igbo region—the *kpaisa uka* people; Owoh is of the Yoruba side, where *ere-ege* is practised.

The major breakthrough for *Afro-reggae* came in 1973. In that year, Sonny Okosuns, effortlessly and fortuitously, crafted a *reggae* tune as a filler in his seven-track album recorded for EMI. That song, *Help*, which Okosuns said is a traditional Bini song translated into English, became the first ever *Afro-reggae* piece recorded (Collins, 1996). *Help* became the hit-track and was accepted internationally, since EMI also issued its hit-single version. Though Okosuns consolidated his *reggae* exploits in his subsequent albums, there were other artistes who included one or more tracks of the *reggae* genre in their albums within the decade. *Listen to the Buddha* and *Anambra River* by Keni-St-George and the Ozo are by all standards pure *reggae* songs that were hits in the UK. But rarely are they found in historical records of *Afro-reggae.* This neglect may be due to the fact that the band was based in London and consisted of multiracial personnel (one of whom was Dr. Joy Nwosu-Lo Bamijoko). However, the band-leader, Keni-St-George Ozoloke, is an Igbo born to Chief and Mrs. George Ozoloke of Ihiala, Anambra State of Eastern Nigeria. Another fine *reggae* song that came from a UK-based Nigerian artiste at the time was Harry Mosco's *Country Boy.* Back in the country, Bongos Ikwue and the Groovies debuted with ***Still Searching***; an album that featured three beautiful *reggae* tracks—*Still Searching, Amen,* and *What's Gonna Be's Gonna Be.* The Cliff David-led Cloud 7 appeared on the scene with ***Keep On Trying***, The Doves recorded *Rhythm Bullet,* while Felix Lebarty contributed *Uchenna* in 1979. The Ekassa King, Sir Victor Uwaifo, was not to be left out of the *Afro-reggae* experiments; he released *When the Sun Shines* and *Five Days A Week Love.* Other contributors in the '70s include Bisi Nweke—*I Need You,* Semi Colon—*Chi Chi Loving,* and Tony Grey and the Ozimba.

Throughout this decade, all the *reggae* exponents were cross-over artistes who performed various genres and sub-genres of the popular class. None of them eventually remained loyal to the *reggae* style in the course of their musical careers. However, Sonny Okosuns did not quit without making an indelible, loud and clear statement with the genre, such that his musical impact is felt locally and internationally in his *Afro-reggae* exploits (Collins, 1992). His other *reggae* albums include ***Papa's Land, Fire in Soweto, Holy Wars, Give Peace A Chance,*** and ***Happy Days.***

The Period between 1980 and 2000

The most important era in the history of *Afro-reggae* in Nigeria and indeed Africa is the decade from 1980 to 1990. The *Afro-reggae* revolution even spilled over to the late 1990s. At the end of the 1970s, critics were almost certain that the fires of reggae had extinguished, especially when its chief combatant, Sonny Okosuns, released his 1979 ***No More Wars***—an *Afro-disco* album which had no space for even one *reggae* tune. A major setback witnessed by *reggae* at this time was the war of extermination waged against it by some religious fanatics of the Pentecostal Christian churches, who claimed that reggae had the powers to induce evil spirit-possession of the people who listen to it or perform it. It was so bad that in 1980 even Eddy Grant's assistance in Sonny's ***Give Peace A Chance*** album could not do much to make the religious fanatics budge. When, in 1981, Okosuns released the four-tracker, ***3rd World,*** it was the only *Afro-disco* track, *Tire Ni Oluwa*, which became the hit of the album; and by 1982, his ***Mother and Child*** kissed a goodbye to *reggae.* Record reviewers concluded that *Afro-reggae* was only a fad that had faded with the novelty animation that brought it. Tera Kota proved them wrong. In 1984, under the ingenious hand of producer Lemmy Jackson, Tera Kota emerged from the studios with ***Lamentation for Sodom.*** The song captured the spirit of the nation at the time: a national psyche ravaged by the harsh conditions of economic mismanagement, under the experimental policies of the nation's second republic. The other unique thing was that in the same album, Tera Kota urged the 'Sodomites' to resort to divine intervention in *Know Your God* and *Help Me for God's Sake.* With this album, Tera Kota became the first Nigeria's truly committed *reggae* artiste, as his subsequent albums remained *reggae* tunes until he became silent. Two years after Tera Kota's debut, Sweat—a quartet made up of Yemi Benson on the guitar, Bee Jay on the drums, Francis Goldman on the bass guitar, and Gesso Dread on the keyboard—came out with a *reggae* version of Bobby Benson's ***Taxi Driver***. In addition, they sang in convincing Jamaican patois, chanting *roots,* toasting *dub,* and even flying dreadlocks. This defiance was followed up by another youth wearing dreadlocks, named Bob Livingstar. He sang about the Fokker-28 air disaster of December 1983, and other destructive events witnessed by the nation at the time. Boye Gbenro also came out the same '86 with ***Africa Unexplored.***

At this point, the youth had become more aggressive in their desires to talk about their disillusionments and disbelief in the system. More voices and attitudes of defiance exploded in *reggae* music. In 1987, the Mandators came out in their dreadlocks, singing about ***Crisis*** in the nation. In the same year, Nigeria's first female *reggae* artiste emerged. Named Evi-Edna Ogholi, this smiling songstress, produced by the skillful Emma Ogosi, debuted with ***My Kind of Music.*** Her subsequent album credited Majek Fashek with bass guitar sessions. Then, in 1988, Majek Fashek hit the market hard with ***Prisoner of Conscience.*** The fine musicianship expressed in this work—a pastiche on Bob Marley, Steel Pulse, Jimi Hendrix, and Victor Uwaifor—became the greatest forte of the album. It sold wildly and widely. 1989 introduced two other heavy weights—Ras Kimono and Orits Wiliki (a.k.a. Koleman Revolutionaire). Kimono came with ***Under Pressure*** while Wiliki wailed about ***Tribulation.***

Within this period, so many exponents who adhered strictly to *reggae* emerged from different parts of the country; even though some of them ended up as one-album stars, they still made their impacts. Some of them include Kene Nweze—*Monday Creation,* Oby Nwankwo—*Loneliness,* Peterside Ottong—*Where Are the Prophets?,* Blackky—*Rosie,* Best Agoha—*Youths Are the Nation,* Andy Shurman—*Kinky Reggae Man,* Freeworld—*Hoodlums,* Dready Samiko—*Illegal Structures,* Alex Zitto—*Tickle Me,* Christian Negus—*Blood and Fire*, Iyke Peters—*Mother Nature,* Ben King—*Thinking About You,* and Endee Ikeji—*Spiritual Revolution.* Others are Maxwell Udoh, Sam Thio, De Roots, Jan Blast, The Planners, MessenJah, Bobbie Ejike, Dan Williams, ABC, Thompson Oranu, and The New Waves—Nigeria's counterpart of the Birmingham-based Musical Youth.

There is still one other peculiar group of *reggae* contributors, cross-over artistes who forayed into *reggae* by contributing one or two tracks. They include Christy Essien-Igbokwe—*Time Waits for No One,* Onyeka Onwenu—*Tide is High* (a cover version of John Holt's song) and *Trina Four* (written and produced by Keni-St-George), Oby Onyioha—*Raid Dem Jah,* Mike Okri—*Let Your Love Show,* Veno Marioghe-Mbanefo—*Thank You Lord,* Pat Finn—*Njedebe,* Jonel Cross—*People,* Tony Makafor—*Never Need,* and Georgie Gold—*Oyibo Pepper.* Others

are Danny Offia, Manix Okonkwo, I.C. Rock, Emma Igwe, Mike Obi, Jeffery Bon, Keni-A-George, and Jambos Express.

By the end of the 20th century, *Afro-reggae* had solidified so much that in an interview with the BBC World Service in 1999, David Hines, the lead singer of Steel Pulse and an authority in reggae, told the world to look to Africa for authenticity in the art; and he went ahead to name Majek Fashek of Nigeria, Alpha Blondy of Côte d'Ivoire (both in West Africa), and Lucky Dube of South Africa as ideal exponents. But around this period, the Nigerian reggae scene was witnessing more *dancehall* faithfuls in the new entrants. Baba Fryo's *Denge Pose* heralded other vibrant Ajegunle (Nigerian ghetto community in Lagos) militants like Daddy Fresh and Daddy Showkey. Even though these stars of AJ City (as Ajegunle is fondly called) released their works in the late '90s, it was later, at the beginning of the 21st century that their reign blossomed.

Nigerian Reggae in the Present Millennium

At the turn of the century, music production had gone digital and electronic generation and manipulation of sound had become the vogue. Live musical instrumentalists were almost entirely eclipsed, while solo singers with broad vocal ranges, fine diction, elastic expression, and dexterous delivery had emerged. Their ability to blend the common phrases and local expressions of the society into macaronic verses of the current popular styles had endeared the artistes to the consumers of their creative compositions. The computer-aided sounds had become cleaner, more flexible, more robust, better articulated in their arrangements and orchestration, but less realistic in timbre—especially of the reed and brass sections. This situation has encouraged disc-jockeying which, in turn, has favoured the *hip hop* culture that rules the popular music scene today. The major disadvantage of this trend is that there are less and less instrumentalists who would simulate the studio magic on a live stage performance. This is quite unlike the case in the 1980s: When this author approached Sonny Okosuns in 1985 with the request of joining the Ozzidi band as a back-up singer, Sonny's condition was that the singer must first learn to play at least one musical instrument before being admitted as a musician.

Under the above-illustrated conditions, the Nigerian *reggae* musicians of the 21st century are mostly cross-over singers who are often at the mercy of their producers regarding creative control of their works. While it is very difficult to count up to ten current artistes who devote their whole time to the *reggae* genre, it is almost impossible to find a *reggae* band today that performs with the full complement of band musical instruments. Rather, you find a band of singers who own the musical instruments but hire players to accompany them on live shows. The whole thing boils down to commercialization, which favours market sales but not live concerts. This is the main reason why contemporary Nigerian *reggae* is *dancehall*-friendly. While Nigerian *dancehall* remains in demand, both locally and internationally, artistes of the *Afro-hip hop* family dominate the scene.

When 2-Face Idibia became the first artiste to win the Best African Act Award at the 2005 MTV Base Music Awards in Lisbon, it was for *African Queen,* the most distinctive *reggae* song in his debut album. He then went ahead to collaborate with the Jamaican international *dancehall* star, Beenie Man, in the song *Nfuna Ibanga;* and yet another collaboration with Wyclef Jean (another Jamaican superstar) in the song *Proud 2 Be African.* The 2006 single, *Forgive and Forget,* is a *funk*-oriented *reggae* tune by 2-Face. *Faze Alone,* another single by 2-Face's contemporary, Faze, is clearly a 21st century Nigerian interpretation of *reggae.* Blackface, another contemporary of 2-Face, reveals his *reggae* orientation in *Hard Life.* And, listening to P-Square in their album ***Get Squared,*** the influence of *reggae* in their vocal style cannot be mistaken—especially in the tracks *Bizzy Body, Oga Police,* and *Temptation.* Similar to P-Square's *reggae*-implicating vocal style is Soul E's *Baba Dey Here.* Eedris Abdulkareem's *Jaga Jaga* is sung in a combination of Jamaican patois and Nigerian Pidgin English, just like Rule Clan's *Wetin I Want.* The list is indeed inexhaustible.

The celebrated *King of Dancehall* in Nigeria today is African China. When China appeared on the scene at the beginning of the millennium, it was uncertain whether he would remain consistent after the commercial success of his debut, ***Crisis***. In that debut, African China chronicled the year 2000 flagrant events of religious/ethnic intolerance between the Muslim North and the Christian South, which

almost surpassed the horrendous 1966/7 Pogrom that led to the Civil War. China's style of *reggae*, the lyrical contents, the language (Pidgin English/Jamaican patois), and his timing were all embraced by the majority of Nigerians—irrespective of class or creed. But would he be able to maintain the standard he had set for himself? His subsequent release, ***No Condition is Permanent***, showed that African China was quite at home with his art. By the time he released ***Mr. President***, China had clearly become the voice of the voiceless, admonishing the rulership of all sectors of the polity to be conscientious in their dealings. In the middle of June 2006, African China embarked on a musical tour of the UK where he spent almost two months expanding his frontiers. In that trip, he gave a live interview on the BBC World Service that was relayed three times in July; but at the time of those relays, African China was arraigned in a London court over a suit of rape filed against him by a white Londoner who claimed that China had sex with her while she was sozzled. This controversy became a boost to China's image as he emerged from the court innocent, triumphant, more popular, and richer. In these accomplishments, African China succeeded in taking the Nigerian *dancehall* to the centrestage of world pop. Other Nigerian artistes who have acquitted themselves creditably in the *dancehall* sub-genre of the current millennium are Mad Melon & Mountain Black—*Danfo Driver,* Prof. Linkin—*Jogodo,* Rayan T—*Nothing De Pa,* Landlord Builder—*Jogodo Reply,* and Stereoman—*Sample Ekwe,* amongst others.

An attempt at a roll-call of other Nigerian artistes and their reggae fusions of the present millennium would run somewhat like this:

Artiste	**Song Title**
Marvelous Benji	Swo
Sound Sultan	Motherland
Henry McJohn	Reggae Skank
Felix Duke	Joanna
Nigga Raw *ft.* Clint Da Drunk	Abundant Love
Righteous Man	No

Bobby & Brighty	1 Man Mopol
Evolushunz	Why
Kunguman	Obim
Uncle P	Shoe Get Size
6 Days	Silent Rage Music
Dubble Type	I No Fit Shout
Spy Da Man	Dance Hall
OJB Jezriel	Cool Running
Rymzo	Green Light
Azadus	Madam
N.B. Eton	Liberation
Faya	Garala
Dare	Young Man
Becky Enyioma	Captain

The first decade of the present millennium has been greeted with a sporadic explosion of Nigerian artistes who have proved their mastery of the art of the *dancehall* sub-genre. Mostly drawn from the cross-over performers, the artistes include Timaya, Terry G, Duncan Mighty, Flavour, Omawunmi, Patorankin, Cynthia Morgan, Tiwa Savage, Iyanya, Davido, Wande Coal, Eldee, Sound Sultan, MC Galaxy, Sele Bobo, and Yemi Alade.

A Brief on Sonny Okosuns—the Pioneer Exponent

Born (the eldest of nine children) on January 1, 1947 to Mr. and Mrs. Okosun of Ibore-Uneah, near Irrua in Ishan area of Edo State, Sonny Oyamende Okosuns' village is about a two-hour drive from Benin City, the administrative capital of Edo State in Midwestern Nigeria. Young Sonny started life in a very humble background whereby his father worked as a low-class civil servant under the federal government, while his mother traded on petty goods and foodstuff.

Right from an infantile stage, Sonny's interest in history and music was initiated by his mother and his grandmother, who proved to be ardent storytellers, and spared no chances at stuffing Sonny with the folkloric tales and songs of the Ishan and the Bini peoples. Sonny was later to build on these experiences as an artiste. As he grew into adolescence, Sonny was further exposed to the music of Western pop stars of his time. The most enduring influences came from the music and films of Elvis Presley, Cliff Richard, and the Beatles. By the early 1950s, Sonny's father had relocated to Enugu by transfer, at the time the reigning African pop musicians were the performers of the *highlife* styles. This exposure saw Sonny growing up in the midst of *folk, rock,* and *highlife* music; but he found *rock* music most alluring.

In Enugu, Sonny Okosuns was enrolled in St. Brigid's School, from where he proceeded to the Government Trade Centre. Overwhelmed by the magic of music, Sonny abandoned school to the disappointment of his parents—especially his father, who had dreams of his son becoming a doctor, a lawyer, or an engineer. Rather, Sonny concentrated on the guitar lessons he was taking from his tutor, Hilary Item. Since 'a woman's tender care could not cease towards the child she bore', Sonny's mother became supportive of her son's passion for music, rather than education. Squatting in a Boys' Quarter apartment at No.47 Ogui Road at the time, Sonny would wash the cars of top television staff of the then Eastern Nigeria Television (ENTV) to get slots in drama and variety programmes on TV. It was here that his dedication and consistency moved Mrs. Miriam Okagbue of ENTV to buy him his very first guitar—a gesture Sonny never forgot in his entire life.

Armed with little experience in acting, Sonny took off to Lagos, where he had a short-lived tutelage in acting at the Freedom School of Drama. He soon returned to Enugu to join a theatre group led by Prof. John Okwerri. According to Okosuns (as cited in Collins, 1996),

> It was called the Eastern Nigerian Theatre and was led by John Okwerri, who started the Mbari Centre in the East. The Mbari Centre was an organization started by a white man to force us to know our roots. It had big offices at

> Ibadan and Enugu, and Nigerian writers like Wole Soyinka and J.P. Clarke were seriously involved (p. 220).

The biggest compensation for Okosuns' commitment to acting came in 1965. That year he became part of a drama cast that represented Nigeria at the Commonwealth Arts Festivals in London. Upon return to the country, Sonny joined Ukonu's Club—a variety show club sponsored by ENTV but produced, packaged, and presented by the multi-talented impresario, Mazi Ukonu. Through his membership of this club, Sonny Okosuns and his box guitar became regular images on the TV screens. But his professional career in music was to start the next year. Postmen, a professional pop band led by the genius, Goddy Oku, admitted Sonny to fill the space of a rhythm guitarist. Sonny played his role comfortably, doubling as a back-up vocalist and guitarist until late 1967, when the emerging Civil War forced the group to disband.

Now relocated in Lagos, Sonny Okosuns joined Victor Uwaifo and his Melody Maestros in 1969, as a rhythm guitarist. While he was with the Melody Maestros, Sonny understudied Victor Uwaifo's style of composition, and there started crafting his own style by trying to fuse African rhythms with the *rock* rhythm of the Beatles. Satisfied that he had learnt enough, he left in 1972 to form his own band, named Paperback Limited. When Paperback Limited and their music failed to jell with the audience, the group disbanded and Sonny ran off to join the Koola Lobito, led by Fela Ransome-Kuti. After a year's stint with Koola Lobitos, Okosuns was ready to regroup under the name Sonny Okosuns and the Ozzidi. The choice of the name Ozzidi, a traditional Ijaw deity, was explained by Sonny thus: "I originally wanted to be a playwright and tell the world about Sango, Chaka Zulu, and deep, deep history of Africa. That's why I named the band Ozzidi" (Collins 1996, p.221). It was the first recording effort with the Ozzidi that produced *Help,* which turned out to be the very first *Afro-reggae* song in the history of the modern world.

In his musical career, Sonny Okosuns had a huge success. He released some 20 albums, including ***Ozzidi Living Music, Ozzidi for Sale, Papa's Land, Fire in Soweto, Holy Wars, No More Wars, Give Peace A Chance, 3rd World, The Gospel According to Ozzidi,***

Which Way Nigeria?, Mother and Child, Happy Days, Revolution II, Togetherness, and ***Man On the Run.*** Sonny's works have sold in hundreds of thousands all-over the world, for which EMI was proud to have him as a major partner in the record company. He toured extensively. Starting from Nigeria, he had played several times in every major city of the country. He performed in nearly every country in Africa, and had a large following in North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Australia, where he had performed on several occasions. He was featured in Black Star Liner, a 1983 anthology of *African reggae*, and more recently, an entry on him appeared on the anti-apartheid Sun City EP, produced by Steve Van Zandt. This anti-apartheid benefit record also features Bob Dylan, Miles Davies, Bruce Springsteen, and Run-DMC. As a music producer, he discovered and successfully produced new acts like Yvonne Maha, the blind Chuks Ejelonu, and Onyeka Onwenu. He collaborated with Eddy Grant and Mac Tontoh in his (Sonny's) *Papa's Land (remix)* and *Fire in Soweto (remix),* with Lindel Lewis in ***Happy Days,*** with Peter Tosh in Peter's ***Mama Africa,*** with Lord Superior of Trinidad, and with Osibisa of Ghana**.** Many members of his band have graduated to pursue their musical careers either as soloists or in groups. Two of such successful groups are Jambos Express who released *Jambos Carnival,* a calypso tune, in 1989; and Africa People—a London-based multiracial group that released an *Afrobeat* album in 1990, titled ***Africa People.***

Sonny Okosuns' contemporaries include Tony Grey, Bongos Ikwue, Larry Ifedioranma, Jake Sollo, Harry Mosco, Berkely Jones, Joni Haastrup, Danny Anyiam (of Wrinkers Experience), and Lijadu Sisters. Once a strong adherent of the Aladura church of The Eternal Order of Cherubim and Seraphim, Sonny had an uncanny way of getting himself into controversial commotions. In 1984, Sonny Okosuns (happily married, and with children) made a public confession of his love for, and a desire to marry Amma Ogan—the belle who ran a column on a national newspaper. Miss Ogan was embarrassed, the press was shouting, concerned critics were boiling, but Sonny stuck to his confession. Before the fire of this controversy could douse, Okosuns challenged Fela Anikulapo-Kuti to a musical contest of 'popularity'. Fela responded by asking him to first fight the military oligarchy, which he, Fela, had confronted several times. The controversy later

settled when the same military government threw Fela into jail for foreign currency-related offence. The next controversy was stirred by Okosuns' *June 12* song about the 1993 Presidential Elections annulled by the military government of Nigeria under the leadership of Gen. I.B. Babangida. Later, as he confessed a born-again Christian, Evangelist Sonny Okosuns was again in the midst of yet another rumpus over the state of his health, in 2006. The press revealed that his state of emaciated physique was due to a terminal illness that he had contracted, but Sonny countered that he was hale and hearty. Only time could tell. On Saturday, May 24, 2008, the musician, dramatist, evangelist, Sonny Okosuns died of colon cancer at a hospital in Washington DC.

At 61, Sonny Okosuns died a fulfilled dramatist, musician, businessman, husband, father, grandfather, evangelist, patriot, and philanthropist. At the time of his death in 2008, Sonny's oldest child was 39, while the youngest was 25 (Ajirire & Alabi, 1992; Collins, 1996; Ewens, 2008; Idonije, 2011; Kareem, 2001; Renner, 2000).

CHAPTER 6

REFLECTIONS

In evaluating the gains of the investigations into the trends in the creation, development, and modifications in African popular music (covering the ethnic, interethnic, and international styles), as well as making a closer survey of the Nigerian *reggae* musical practices, it becomes certain that the contemporary African popular music resulted from the political, social, and economic environment of the late 18th to early 19th centuries, and is consolidated by the dramatic transformations brought about by urbanization in the period after World War II. In such an evaluation, one is looking at the interrelating social forces of communal fêtes and rites, commerce, politics, religion, occupation, civilization, education, tourism, economics, philosophy, mass communication, and in fact the totality of human relations; and the relationships between the effects of these differing proceedings in social life and pop musical practices—vis-à-vis the processes of conception, organization, production, presentation, appreciation, and even modification of various categories of the popular music of Africa.

Categorized under ethnic pop music are those styles that became popular within an ethnic environment where they are performed and appreciated by the folk of that region. They are, in the main, music and

dances designed specifically for folk entertainment; whether they are recreational, occasional, or incidental, as long as there are no inhibitive strictures for them. Interethnic pop are those syncretic neo-folk styles that developed in the emerging urban centres of early 20th century Africa. Through culture contact orchestrated by migrations, trade, and all other factors of urbanization, ethnic pop styles of different peoples and regions fused into indigenous hybrids that are categorized as interethnic pop styles. Regarding international pop music of Africa, the continent's professional musicians developed (as they are still doing) the genres and sub-genres in this category through two main creative processes:

1. by re-Africanizing the once African entertainment styles that became Westernized at the slave camps and black settlements in North and South America—especially the West Indies, and
2. by re-packaging the African interethnic styles, having them imbued with the flavours of commercial and global appeals for export quality.

Reggae, calypso, and *rumba* are clearly the Western pop styles with the deepest influences on the African international pop genres—mainly *highlife, soukous,* and *makossa.* The roots of Western *reggae, calypso,* and *rumba* (all of which are Afro-American creations) have been traced to Africa. While *rumba*, the precursor of *soukous,* originated from East and Central Africa, *reggae* and *calypso* (the major influences on *Afro-reggae, highlife,* and *makossa*) have their roots in West Africa—particularly Nigeria.

African ethnic, interethnic, and international pop styles are still in practice today in all countries of the continent. But all the academic excitement seems to emanate from the international category, where music scholars (historical musicologists, systematic musicologists, and ethnomusicologists) demand their 'pound of flesh' from pop music studies—either in prosecution of its defendants or in counter-litigation of its detractors. The contention hinges on the interpretative possibilities and implications, and the modes and procedures of pop music studies.

Approaches to Pop Music Analysis

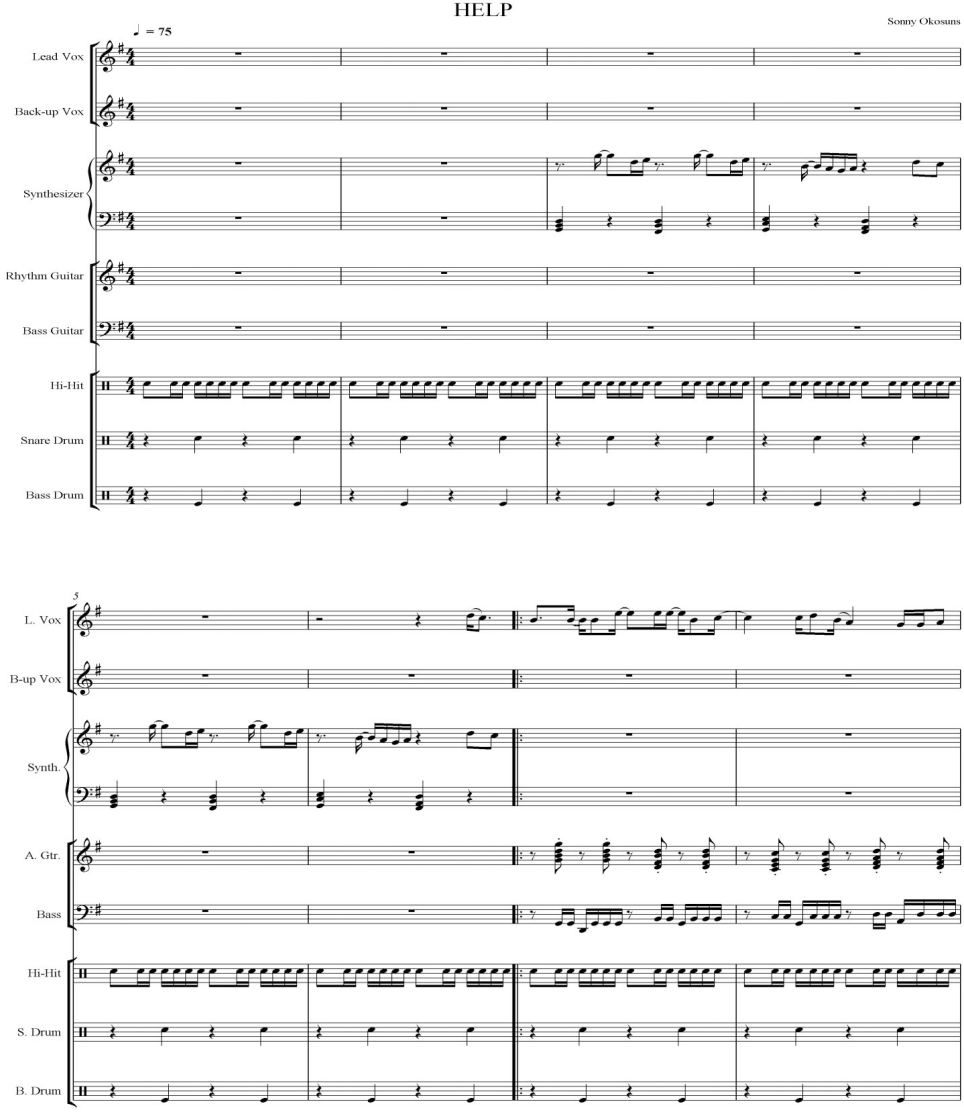
In trying to dissect pop music, to separate the component parts of the whole in order to take a proper examination of the nature, function, connotations, compatibility, complementary, and unitary contributions of these components, the scholar has already embarked on an analytical assignment that would stretch his studies into other disciplines than music. Such studies, whether carried out by an individual or a team, would demand the application of knowledge from at least such academic disciplines as sociology, history, anthropology, semiology, linguistics, economics, and philosophy. Because of these interpretative demands, Gammon (1982) has tried to condense the analytical methods applied by different scholars into four broad categories: **Musical, Socio-Cultural, Ideological,** and **Historical** approaches. A justification of Gammon's approaches to pop music analysis lies in the expressions of other authoritative scholars in pop styles, whose works reveal that they have consciously or subconsciously applied the Gammon's approaches. Such works as Collins and Richards' (1982) *Popular Music in West Africa—Suggestions for an Interpretative Framework*, Manuel's (1988) ***Popular Musics of Non-Western World: An Introductory Review***, Waterman's (2002) *Big Man, Black President, Masked One*, Brusila's (2002) *Modern Traditional Music from Zimbabwe*, Kirkegaard's (2002) *Tanzania—A Cross-Over from Norwegian Techno to Tanzanian Taarab*, Collins' (2002) *The Generational Factor in Ghanaian Music*, Benga's (2002) *The Air of the City Makes Free*, Akindes' (2002) *Playing It Loud and Straight*, Coplan's (2002) *Sounds of the Third Way*, Palmberg's (2002) *Expressing Cape Verde*, and Agawu's (2003) *Popular Music Defended Against Its Devotees* contain analyses that bear out the suitability of Gammon's categorization.

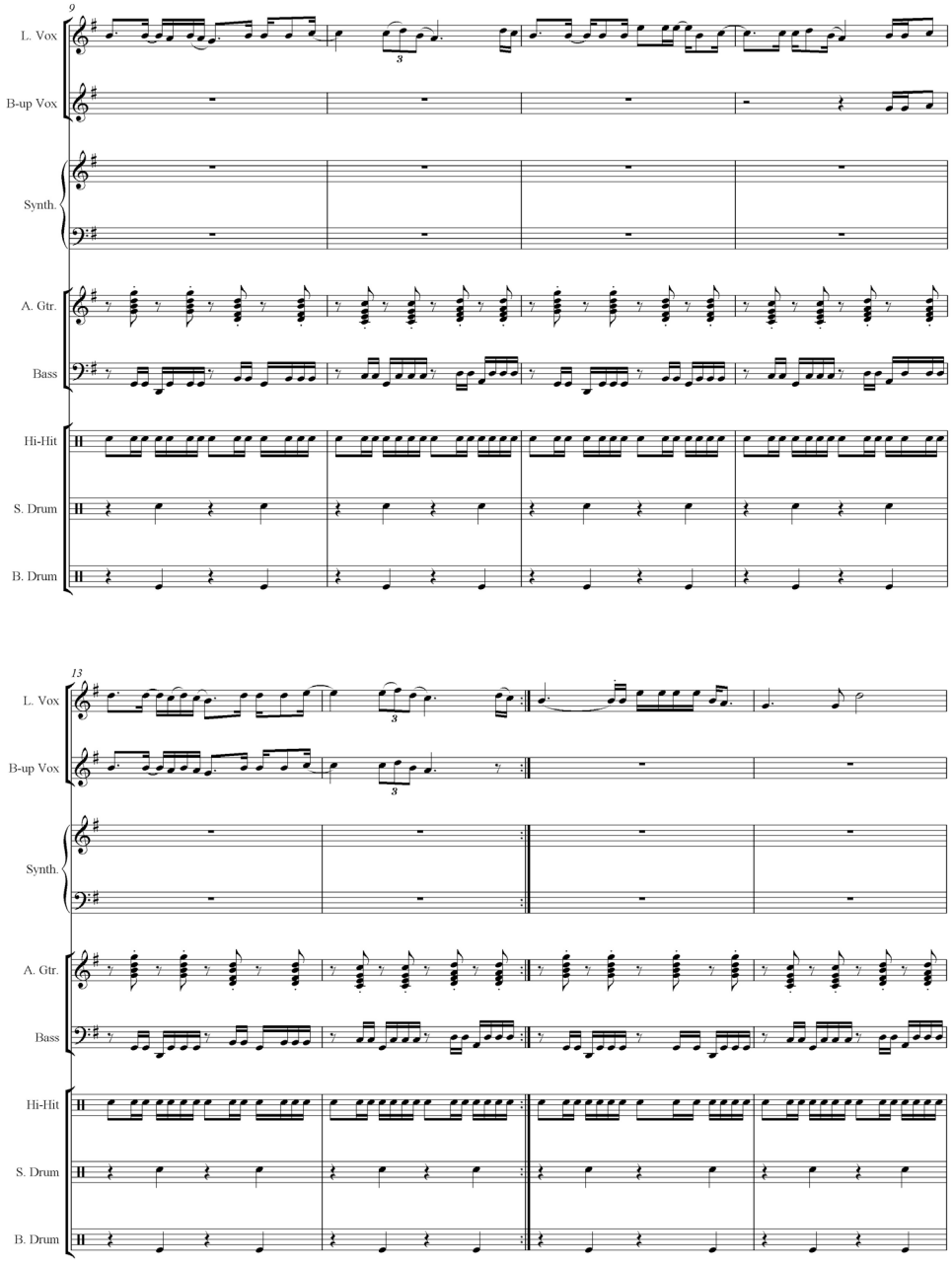
Musical Approach

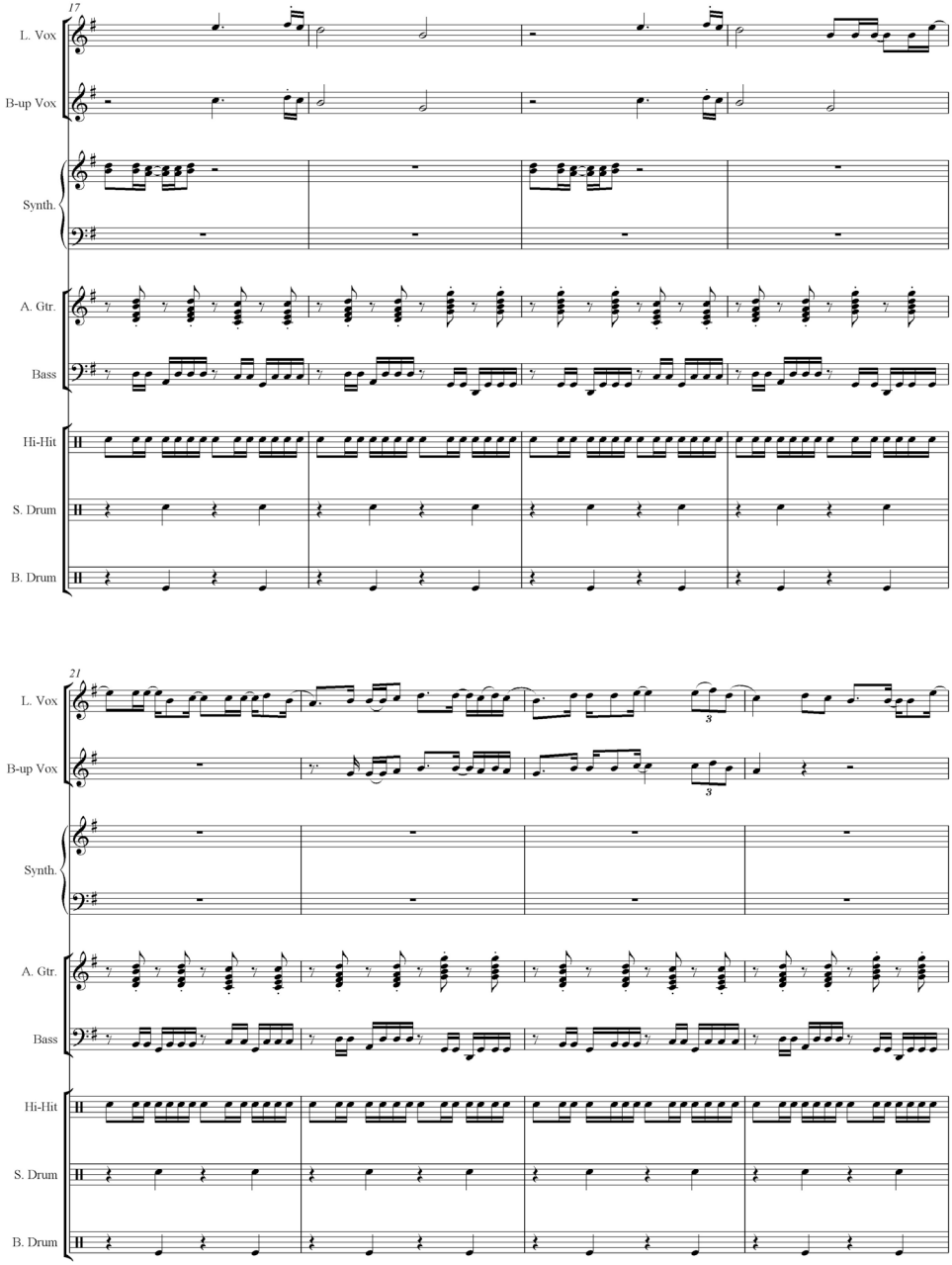
Analysing pop music along the lines of its musicality as a piece of sonic material, exposing the inherent stylistic features, conventions, and idioms is basically in the domain of systematic musicology. This approach tends to describe "the over-all structure of a piece of music, and . . . the interrelationships of its various sections. In most cases, indeed,

it is the fitting of this structure into a preconceived mode" (Nettl 1963, p.131). The musical approach exposes the stylistic features of the piece; the conventions and the exceptions in the application of those features by the composer-arranger and the performers of the piece. In analysing ***The American Popular Ballad of the Golden Era 1924-1950*****,** Allen Forte (1995) has applied the traditional Schenkerian techniques. Since pop music is the art of the performer, the analyst is trying to ascertain the extent of impact between the performers' conscious application of expressive variables in music—like tonality, rhythm, form, tempo, metre, timbre, intensity, texture, vocal/performance techniques, orchestration, etc; and the consumers' subconscious appreciation expressed through the affective variables—like their motoric responses to the rhythm, their emotional tolerance of the sounds, their aesthetic judgement, etc.

Musical analysis of the piece, *Help*, by Sonny Okosuns, *Send Down the Rain,* by Majek Fashek and *One Kilometre,* by Evi-Edna Ogholi are given hereunder. However, it would suffice to mention here that these pieces under review belong to the *reggae* genre; therefore, what has already been said about the nature and features of *reggae* also apply in *Help*, *Send Down the Rain* and *One Kilometre.* The scores of these pieces should not be regarded as all-inclusive. Due to the constraints of time, space, and resources, some musical activities expressed in the songs—especially those that form part of the foreground of the musical compositions, like instrumental interludes, solos, and riffs—are consciously left out, without marring the identity, features, and meaning of the musical phenomenon.


HELP
Sonny Okosuns
♩ = 75
Lead Vox
Back-up Vox
Synthesizer
Rhythm Guitar
Bass Guitar
Hi-Hit
Snare Drum
Bass Drum
5
L. Vox
B-up Vox
Synth.
A. Gtr.
Bass
Hi-Hit
S. Drum
B. Drum


9
L. Vox
B-up Vox
Synth.
A. Gtr.
Bass
Hi-Hit
S. Drum
B. Drum
13
L. Vox
B-up Vox
Synth.
A. Gtr.
Bass
Hi-Hit
S. Drum
B. Drum


17
L. Vox
B-up Vox
Synth.
A. Gtr.
Bass
Hi-Hit
S. Drum
B. Drum
21
L. Vox
B-up Vox
Synth.
A. Gtr.
Bass
Hi-Hit
S. Drum
B. Drum

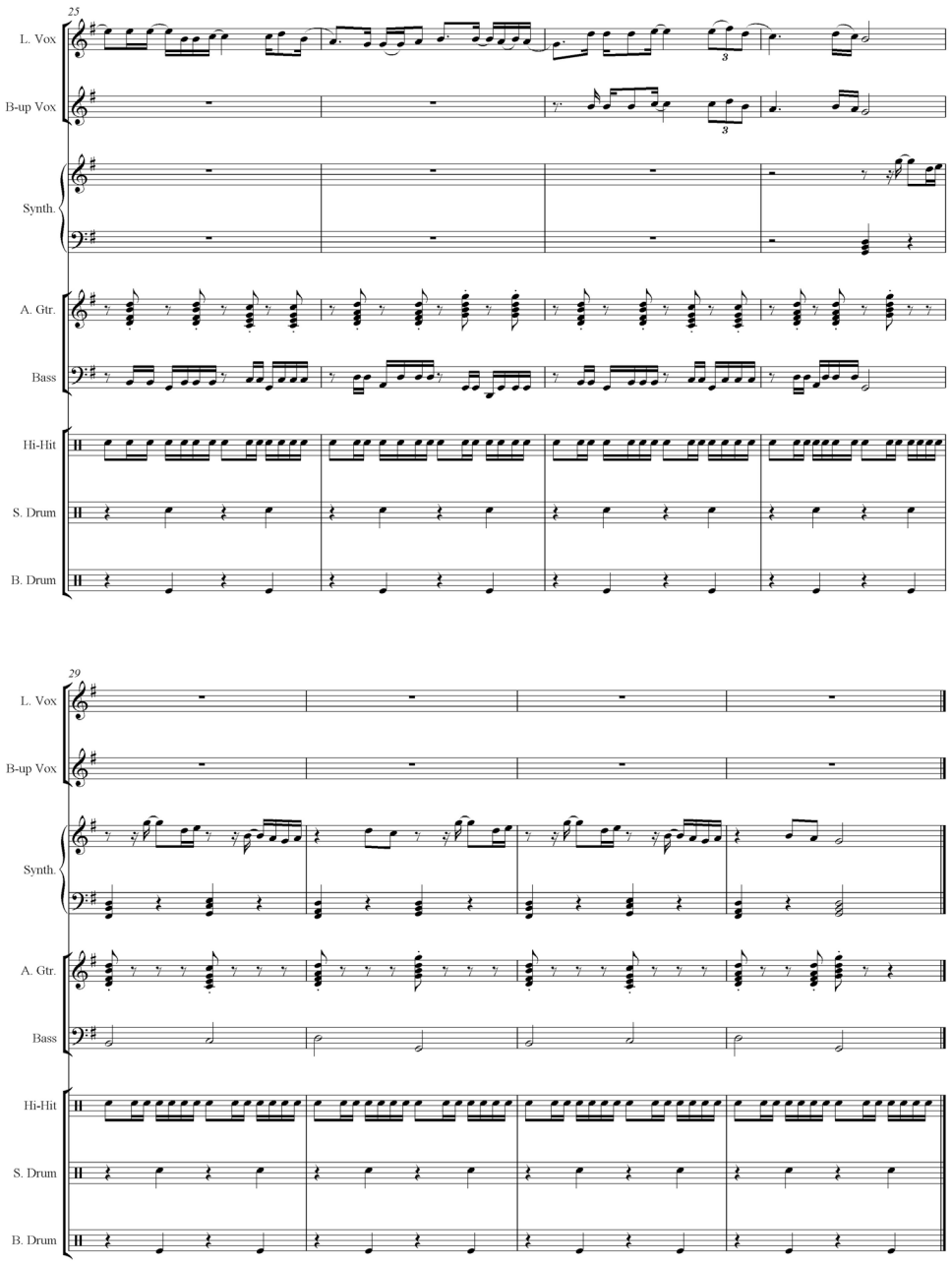


Fig. 2: A representative score of Sonny Okosuns' *HELP*

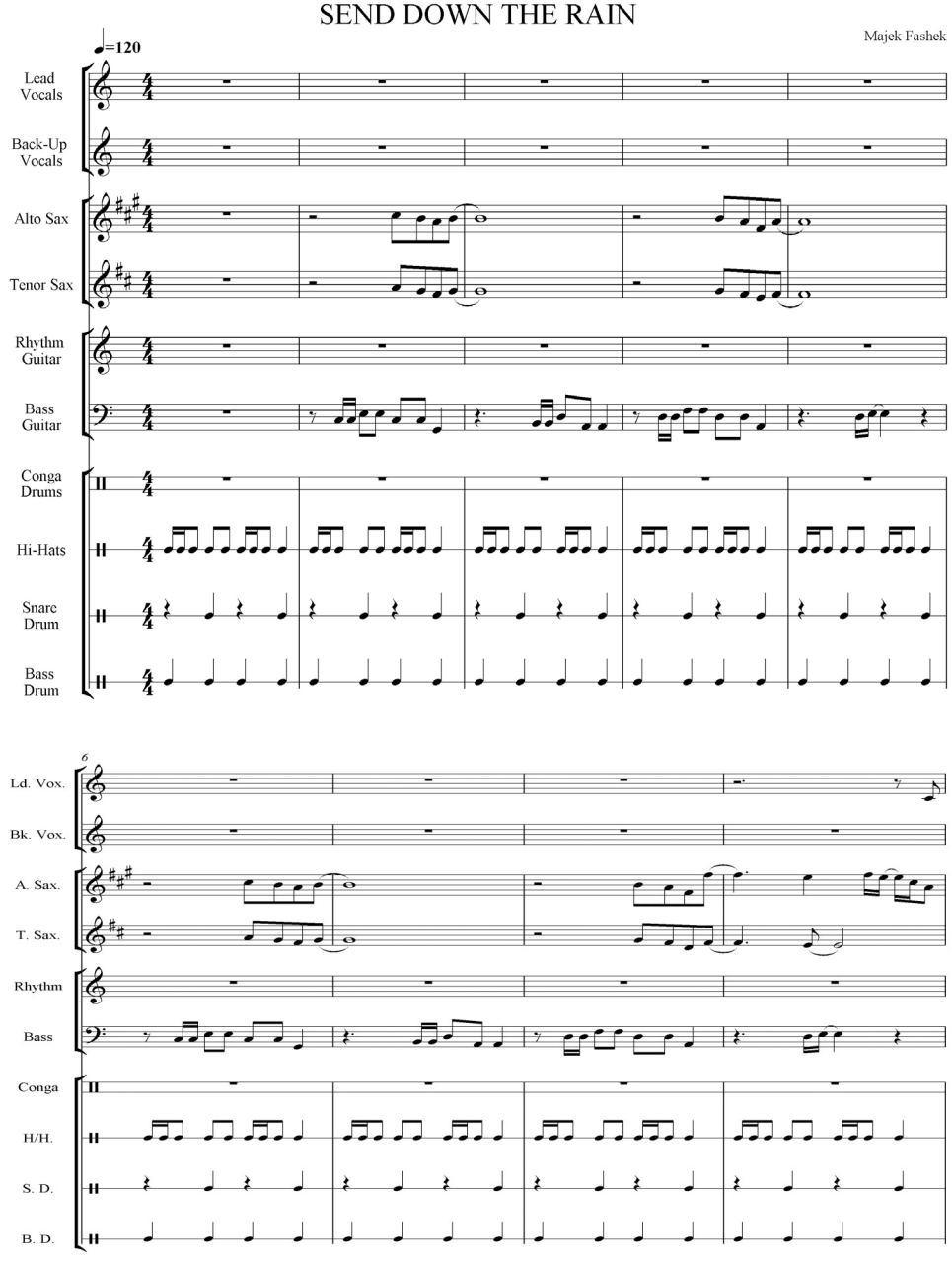
HELP

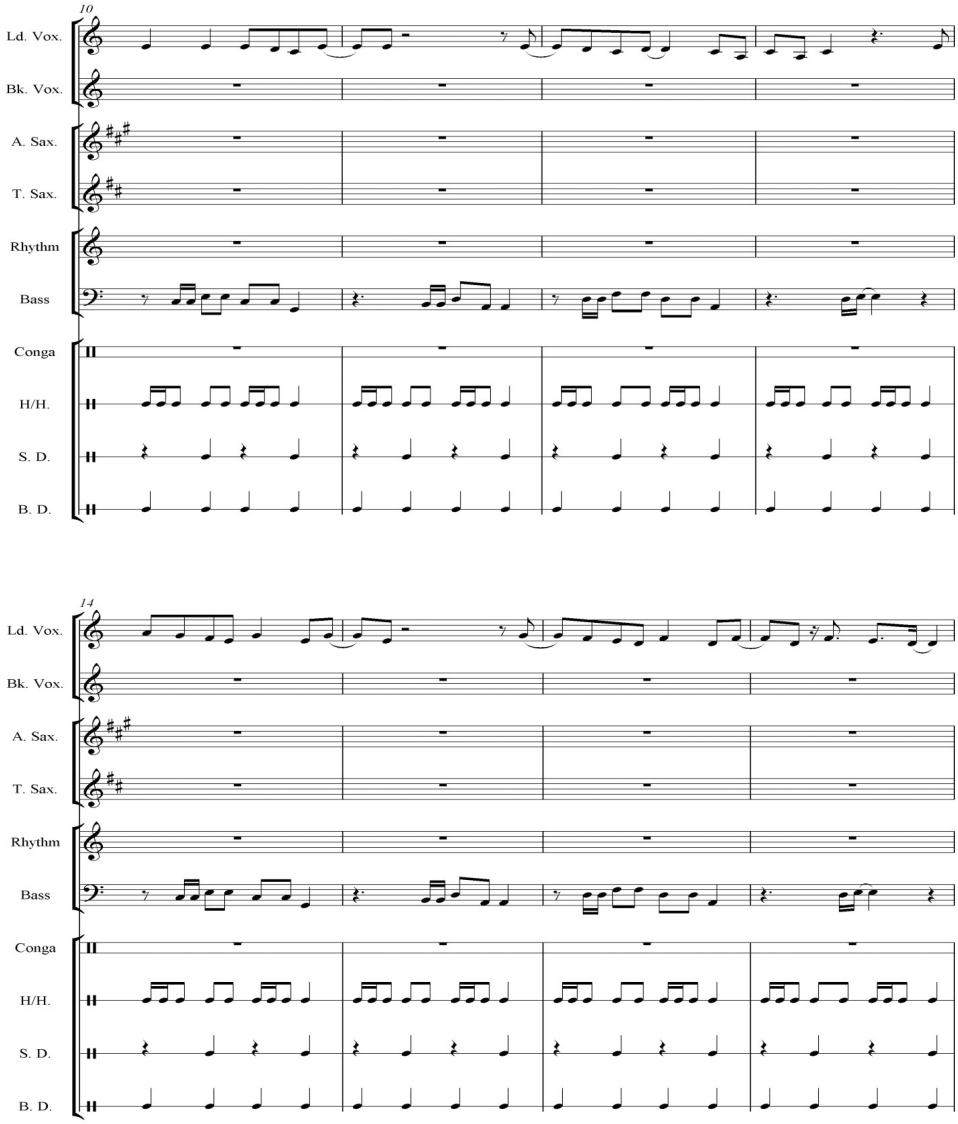
The entire musical content and structural format of *Help* is captured in this representative 32-measure score. The basic form of *Help* is **ACAB; A** being the verse, **B** the chorus, and **C** the bridge. However, the song has an introductory section, which runs from bar 2 to 5, repeats from bar 28 to 32, and played out on the electronic synthesizer.

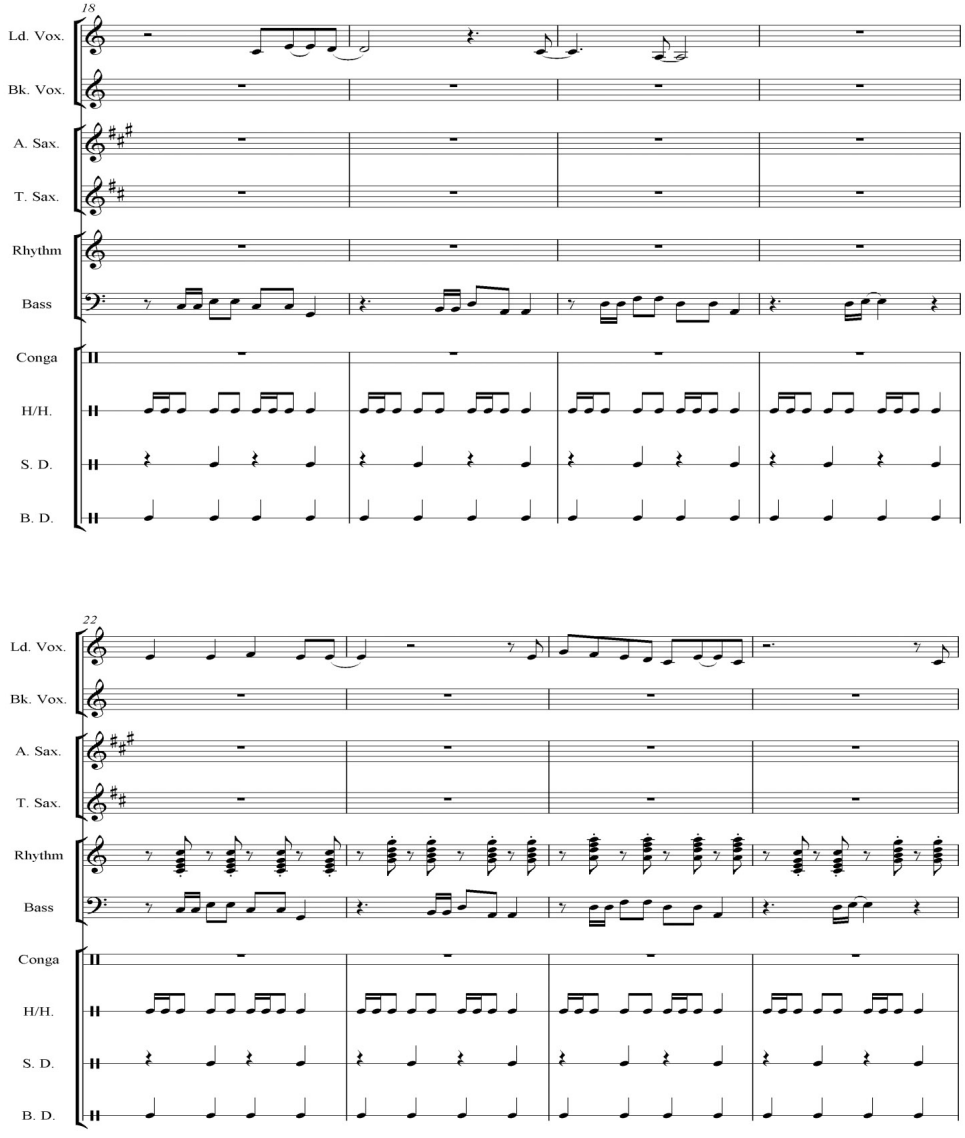
The **Intro** (bars 2-5 and 28-32), Section **A** (bars 5-14 and 19-27), Section **C** (bars 14-15), and Section **B** (bars 16-19) all maintain the tonality of the diatonic major key of **G**. The bridge (Section **C**) is marked by its melodic variance from the tuneful melody of the verses. In this way, the bridge acts as a passageway to the chorus—which is a simple non-lexical monosyllabic sound extending to only four bars (16-19).

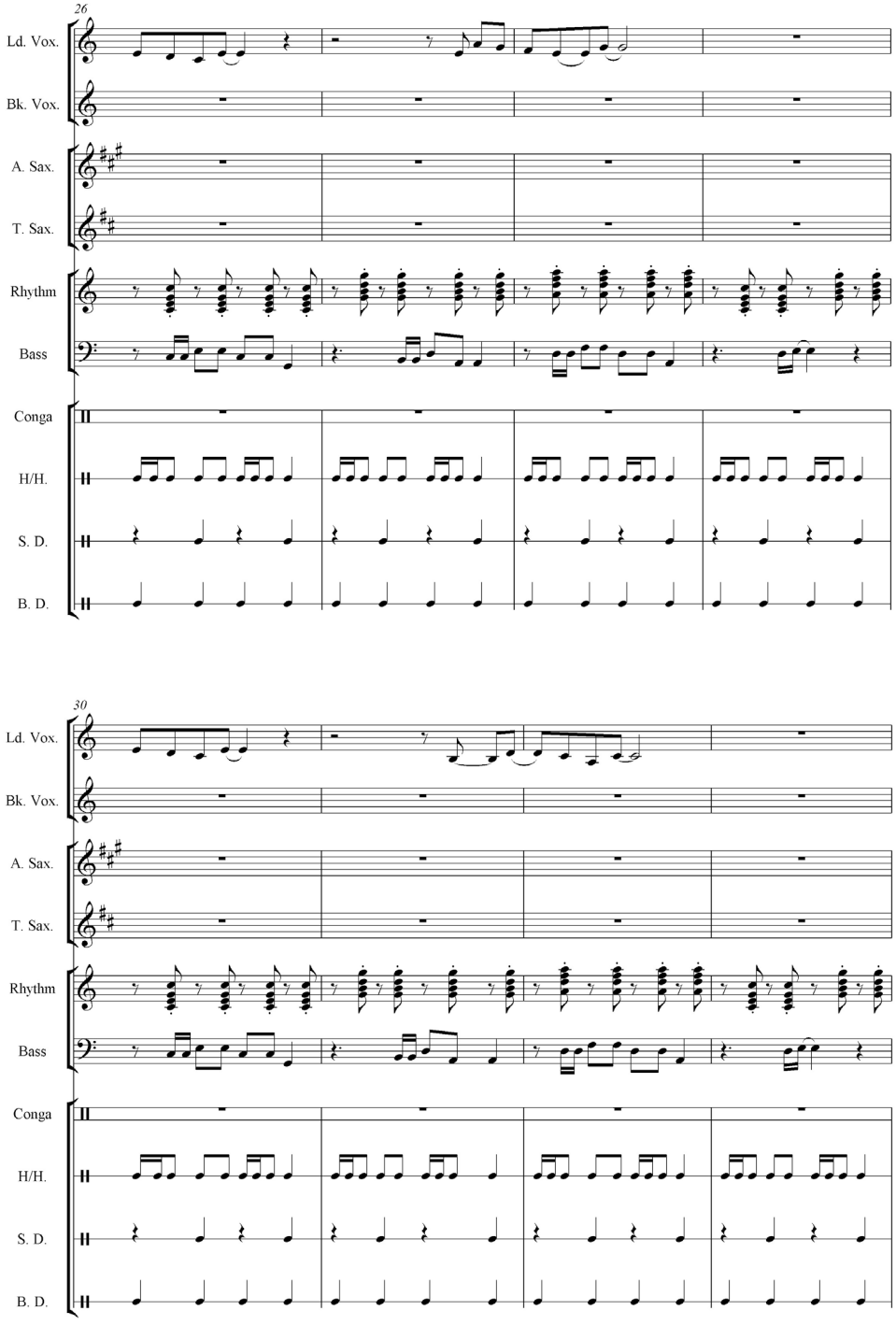
The melodic structure of *Help* is organized tunefully in a hymn-like order, with each verse maintaining the same tune till the end of the song. Each verse, however, re-emphasizes the poetic theme of the song by repeating *Give me your hand and I'll stand / I need your help, your help.* The melodic ambit is a narrow interval of major seventh; the lowest pitch at 1-line **G**, and the highest at 2-line **F#.**

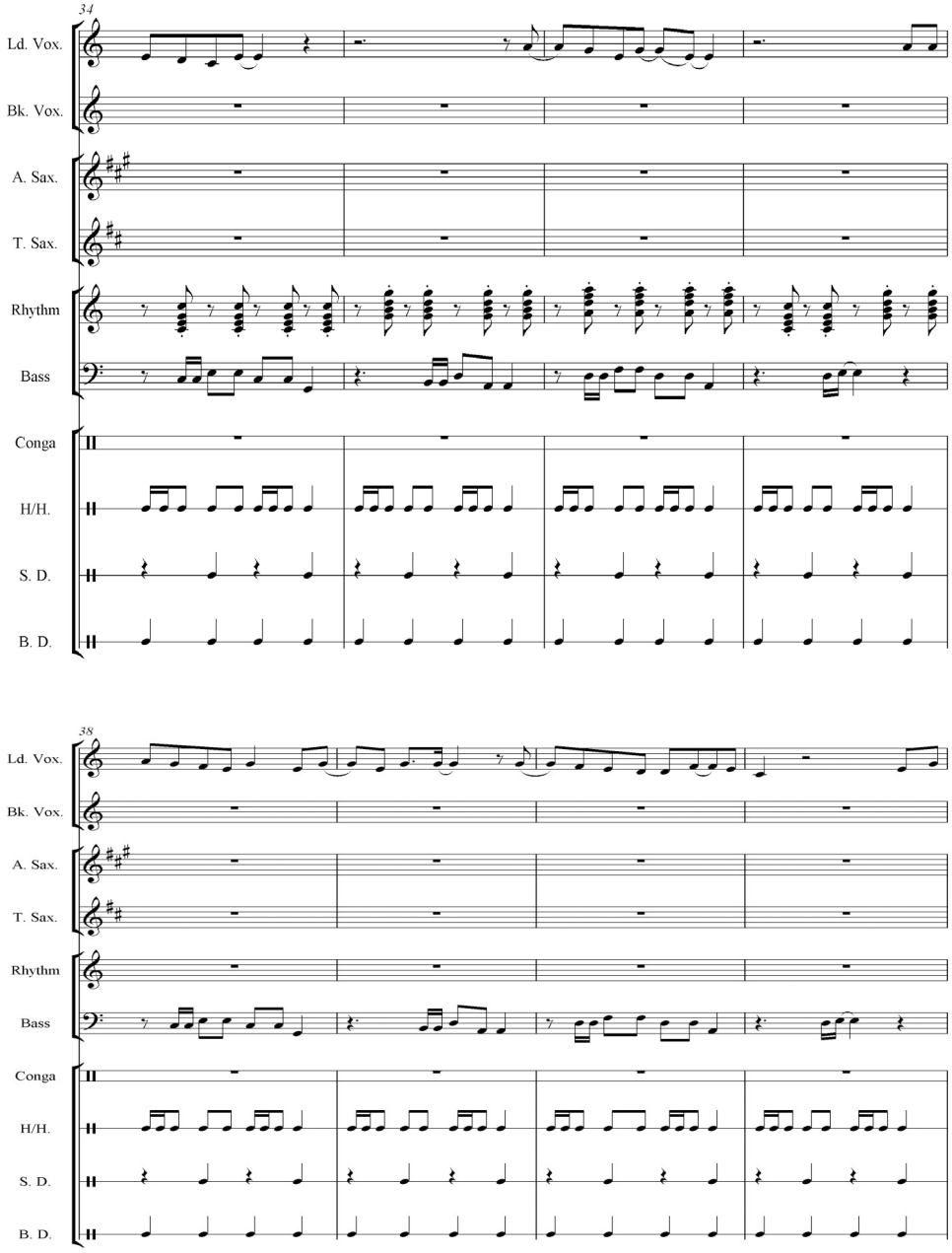
The harmonic structure of the polyphonic instruments is based on triadic arrangements, whereas the vocal harmonies maintain a series of parallel third intervals. This latter practice, as well as the syllabic (rather than melismatic) setting of the word-text, is a peculiarity that is often encountered in African music.

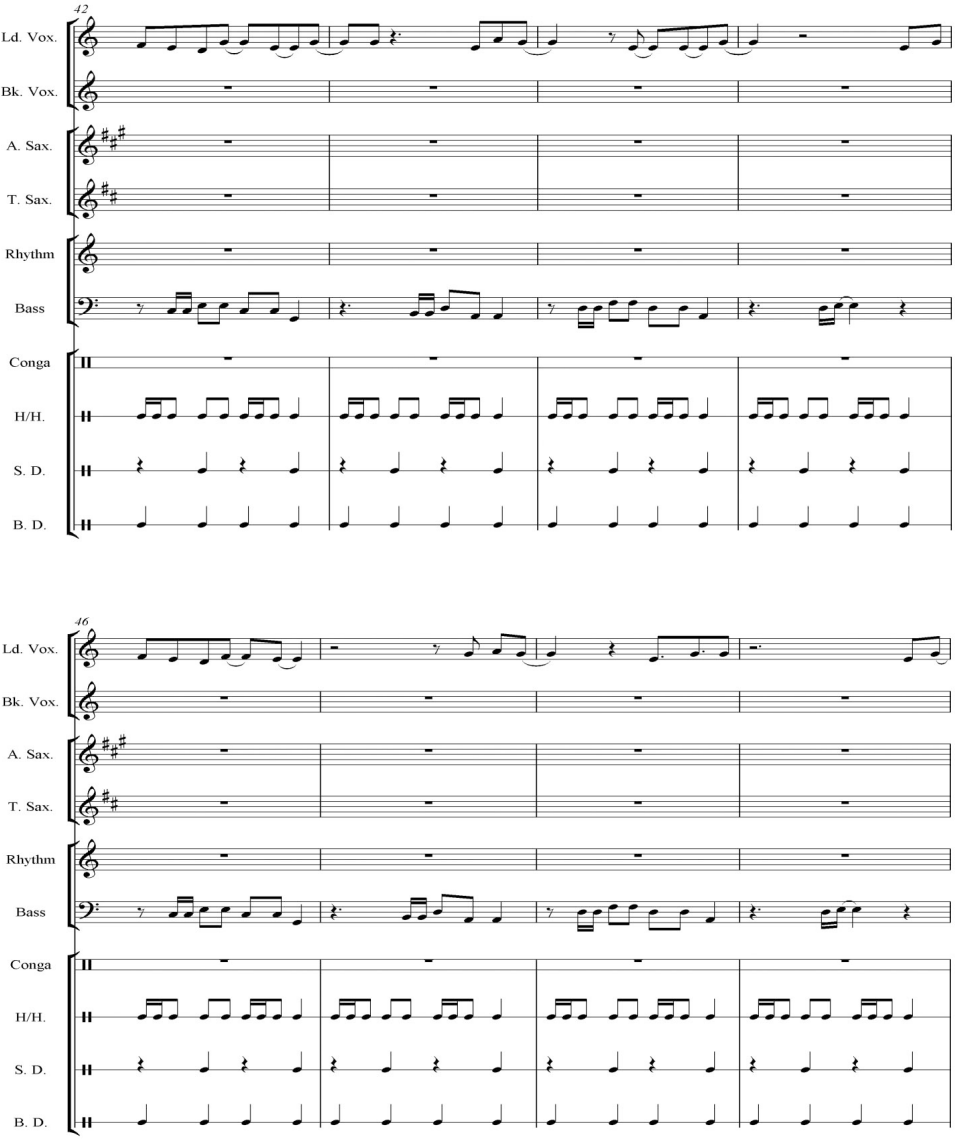

SEND DOWN THE RAIN
Majek Fashek
♩=120
Lead Vocals
Back-Up Vocals
Alto Sax
Tenor Sax
Rhythm Guitar
Bass Guitar
Conga Drums
Hi-Hats
Snare Drum
Bass Drum
6
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

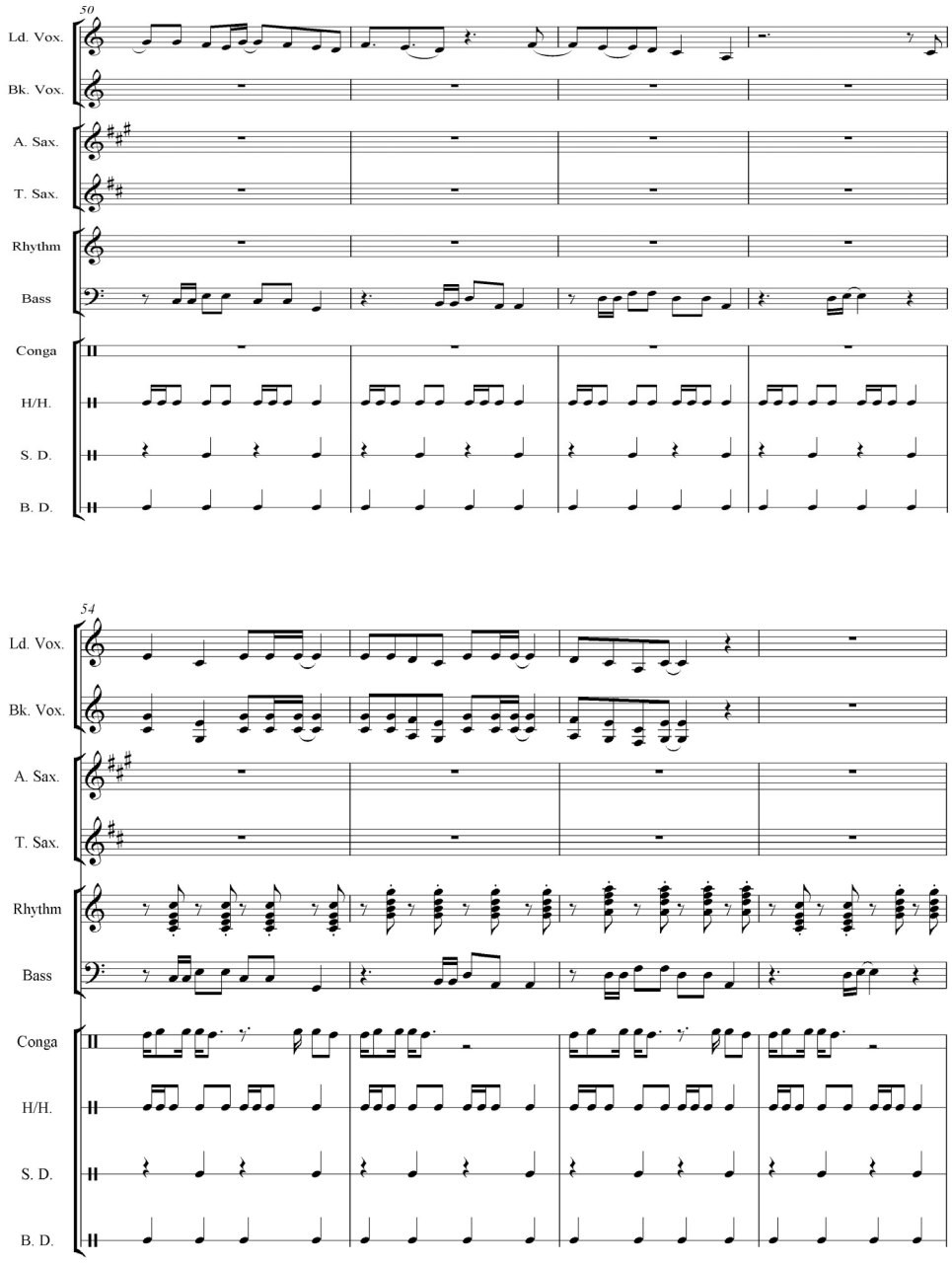

10
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
14
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

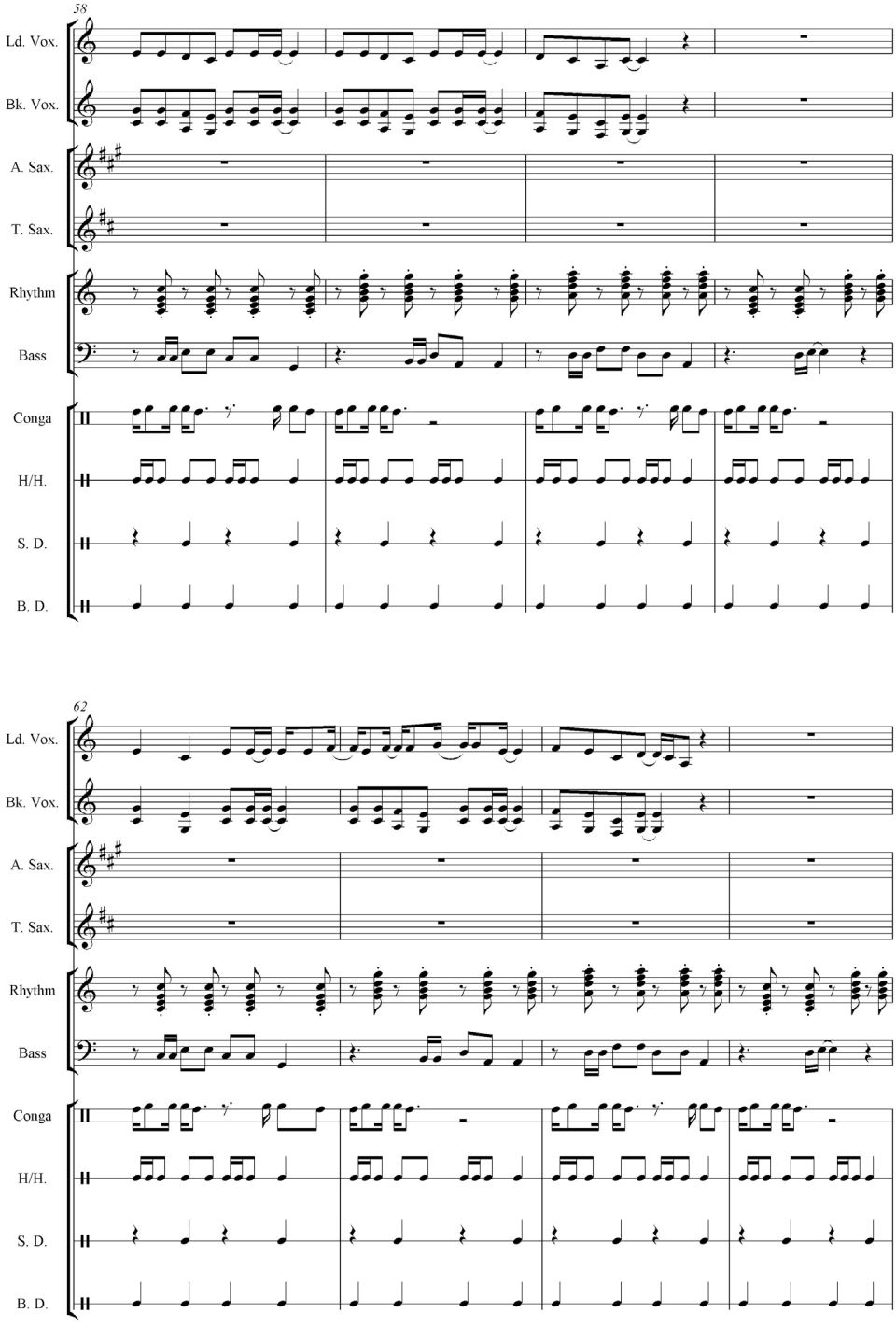

18
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
22
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

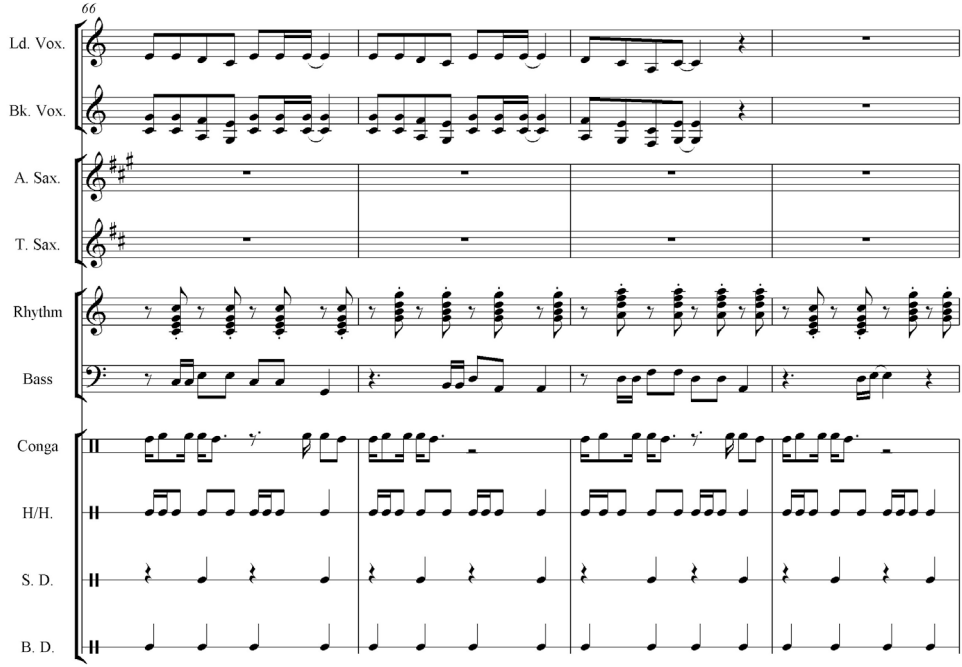

26
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
30
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

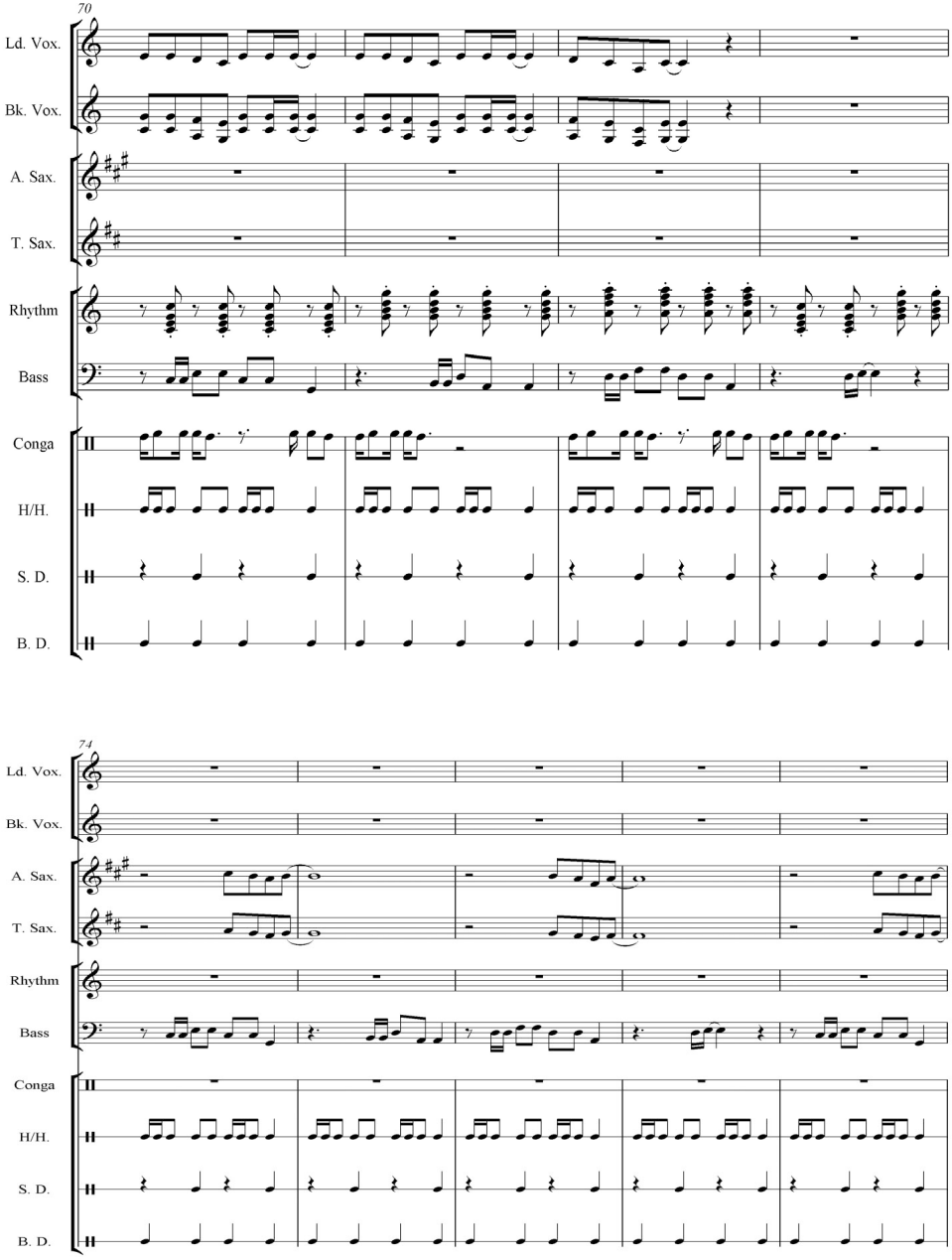

34
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
38
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

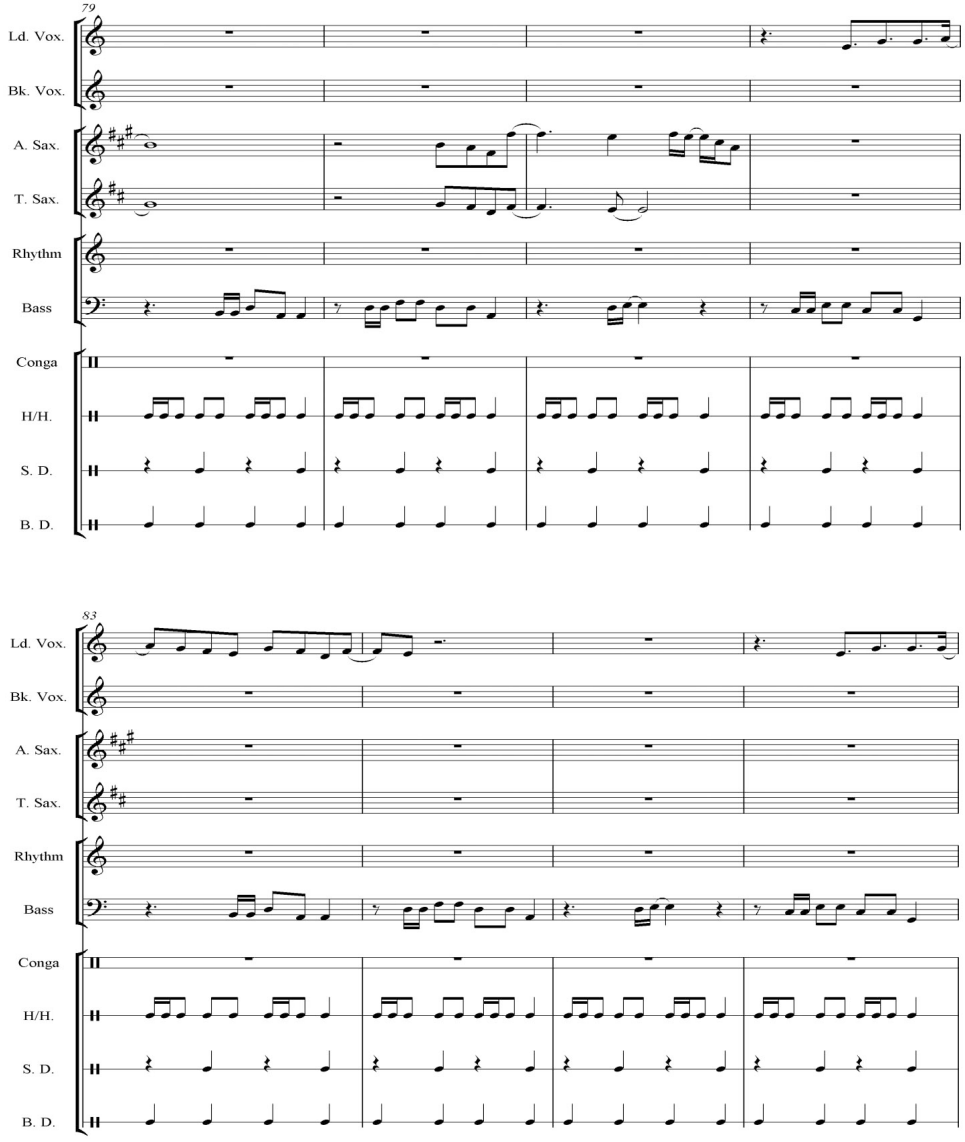

42
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
46
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

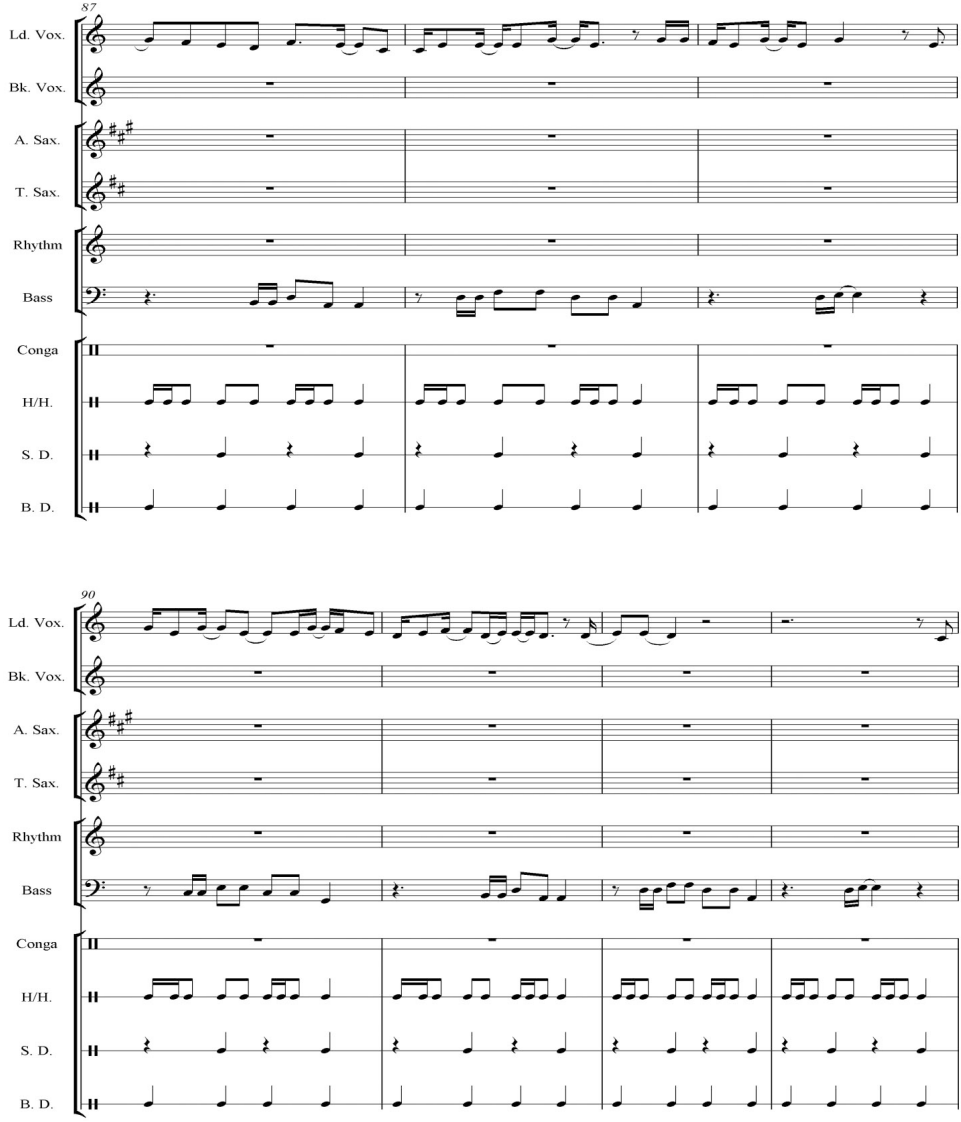

50
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
54
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

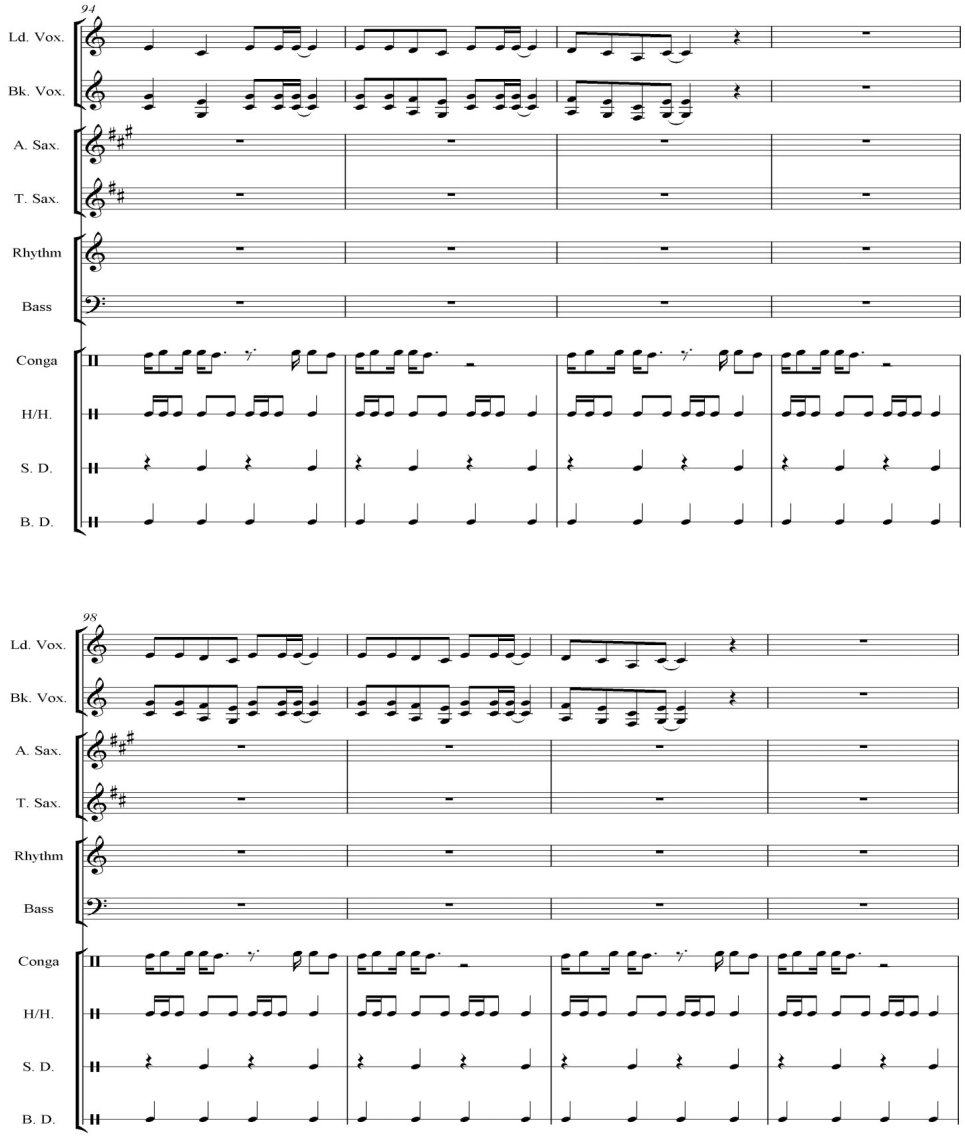

58
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
62
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.


66
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.


70
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
74
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.


79
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
83
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.


87
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
90
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.


94
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.
98
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
A. Sax.
T. Sax.
Rhythm
Bass
Conga
H/H.
S. D.
B. D.

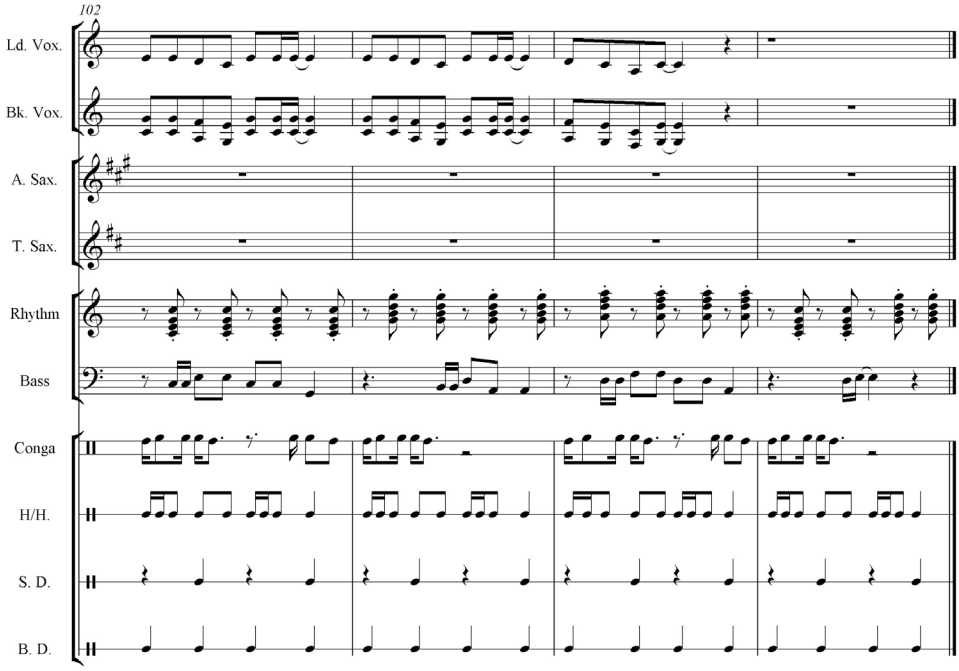


Fig. 3: A representative score of Majek Fashek's *SEND DOWN THE RAIN*

SEND DOWN THE RAIN

The influence of *rock* on Majek Fashek and on the *reggae* genre can be felt in this piece. The tempo running at 120 crotchet beats per minute and the steady beat of 4 crotchets per bar of the bass drum (a negation of the 'one drop' peculiarity of *reggae*) are influences of the *rock* genre.

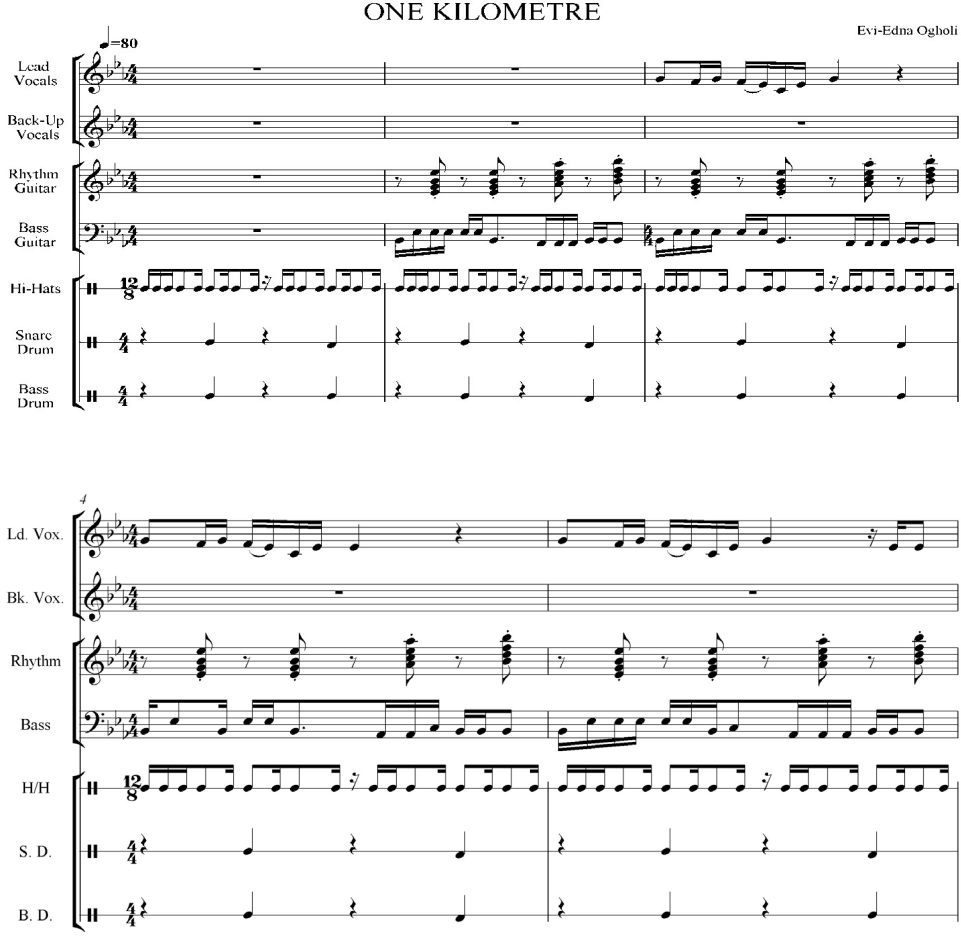
The formal design of *Send Down the Rain* is **AAABCB.** Bars 10-20, 22-36, and 38-52 make up the **A** Section, which are actually all the verses, of unequal lengths, of the song—all three delivered one after the other before the chorus. The chorus (bars 54-72 and 94-104) constitutes the **B** Section, while the bridge (bars 82-93) is Section **C.** What sets Section **C** apart as the bridge of the song is in its melodic expression. The syncopated rhythms that occur mostly in this section create a jerky movement that is peculiar with the section. Also, the employment of

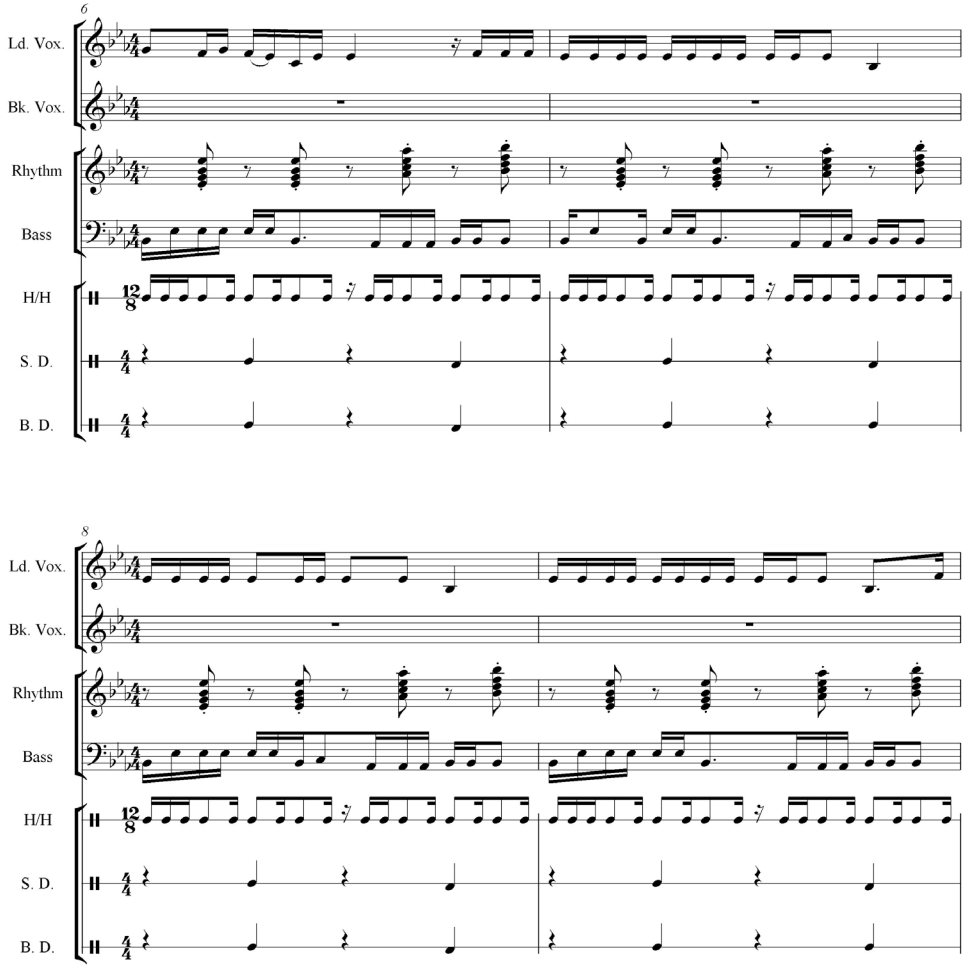
'terraced dynamics', expressed in the saxophones, the rhythm guitar, and the conga drums rest, helps to distinguish the bridge section from the other sections of the piece. All the sections maintain a tonal centre founded on **C.** Since neither in the melody nor in the chorus is the conventional Leading Note (B of C) used in the piece, a hexatonic scale pattern is therefore revealed.

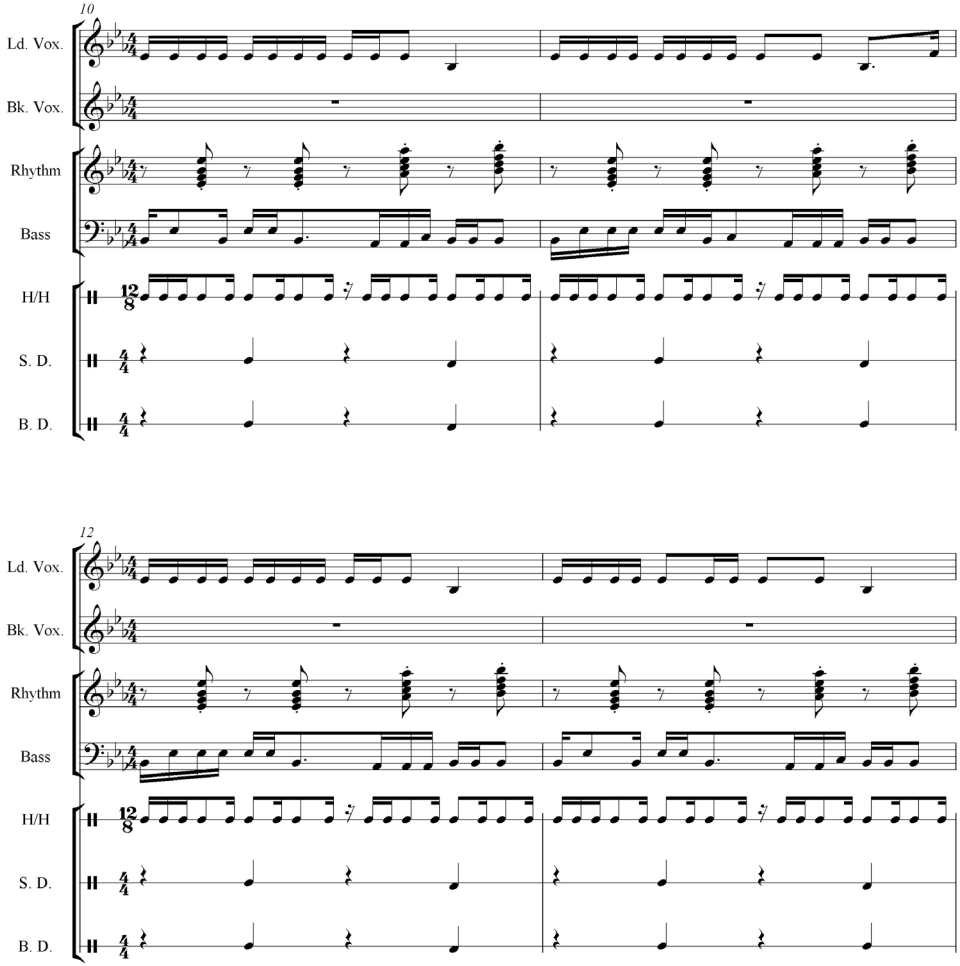
This piece exemplifies a good application of 'terraced dynamics' in pop music. The variation in texture of various sections and segments of the piece is due to the occasional entries and exits of various instrumental passages. The instrumental **Intro** and **Interlude** played by the saxophones (bars 2-9 and 74-81) progresses without the accompaniment of the rhythm guitar and the conga drums. The entry of the rhythm guitar in $\mathbf{A^2}$ (bars 22-37) and its exit at the point of entry of Section $\mathbf{A^3}$ (bar 37), the accompaniment of the chorus by the conga drums (bars 54-73 and 94-104), and the two subsequent but occasional featuring of the rhythm guitar (bars 54-73 and 102-105) all give a sense of contrast, surprise, and balance in compositional rationalization by Majek Fashek.

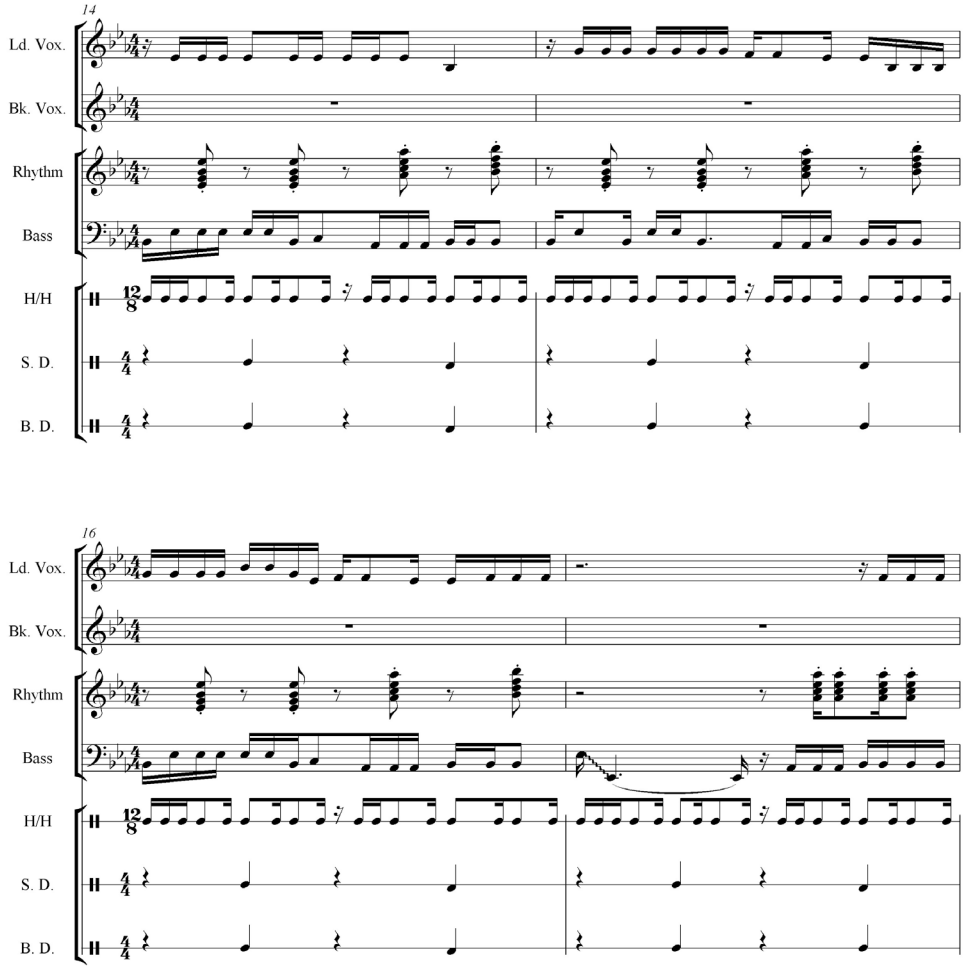
The entire melody of *Send Down the Rain* is organized in a combination of motivic and lyrical patterns. While the verses and chorus express motivic melodies, the bridge section, on the contrary, explores a lyrical pattern whereby the lead vocalist takes the notes in stepwise and narrow leaps. In all, the melodic range of the Lead Vocals is a perfect octave (from small **a** to 1-line **a**) while that of the Back-up Vocals is a compound major ninth (from small **f** to 1-line **g**).

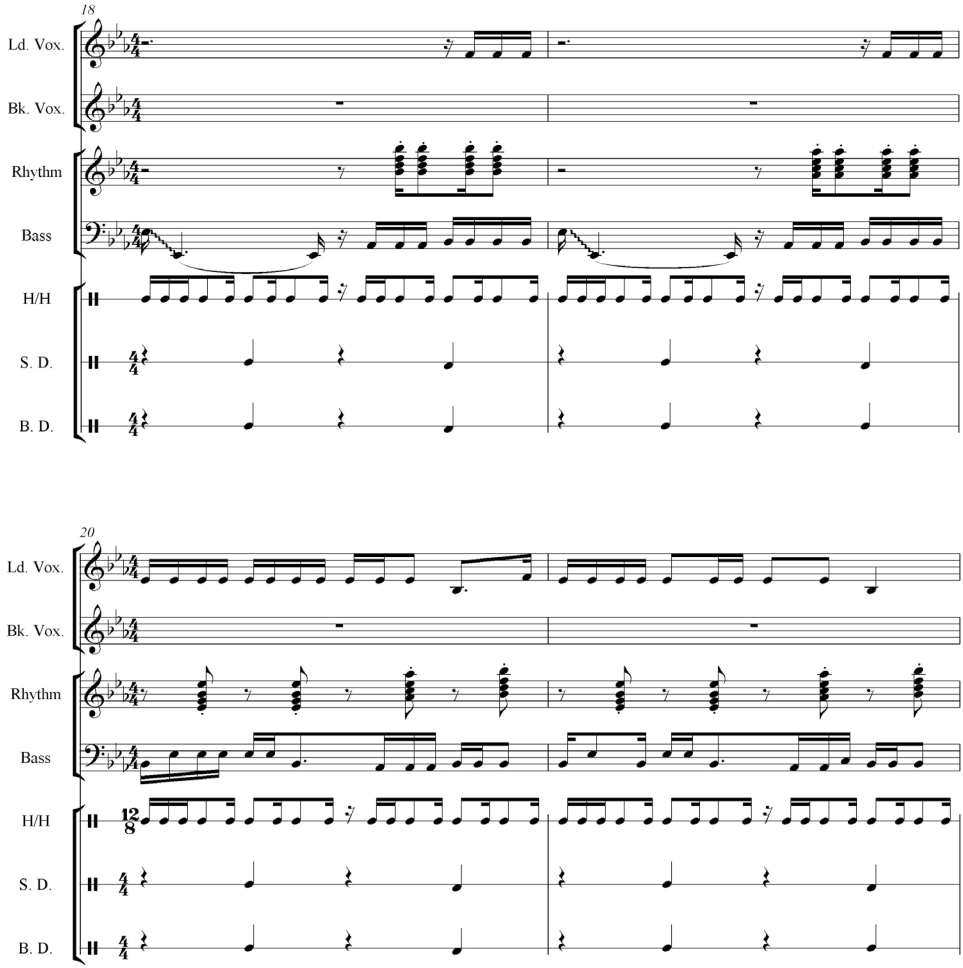
Both vocal and instrumental harmonies of *Send Down the Rain* have a triadic arrangement. However, the harmonic principle applied in the chorus makes use of six-four chords—using the root-position in inversions, thereby giving parallel harmony.

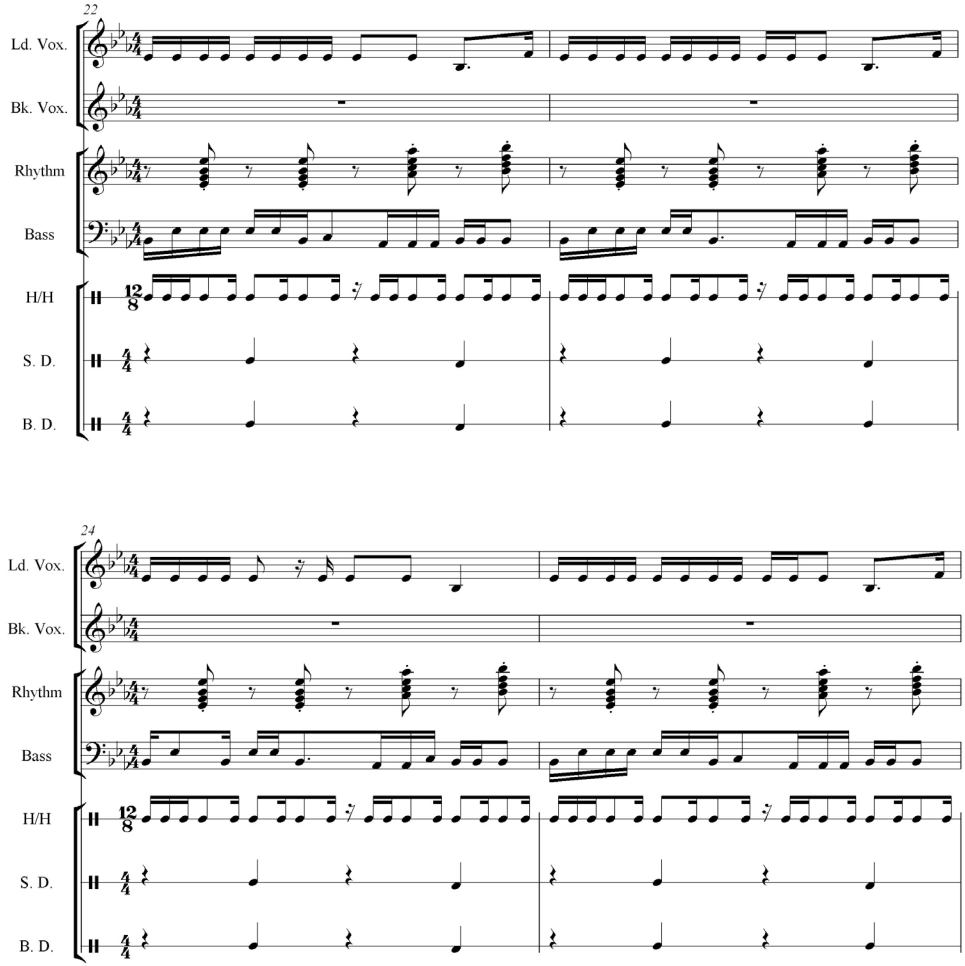

ONE KILOMETRE
Evi-Edna Ogholi
♩=80
Lead Vocals
Back-Up Vocals
Rhythm Guitar
Bass Guitar
Hi-Hats
Snare Drum
Bass Drum
4
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

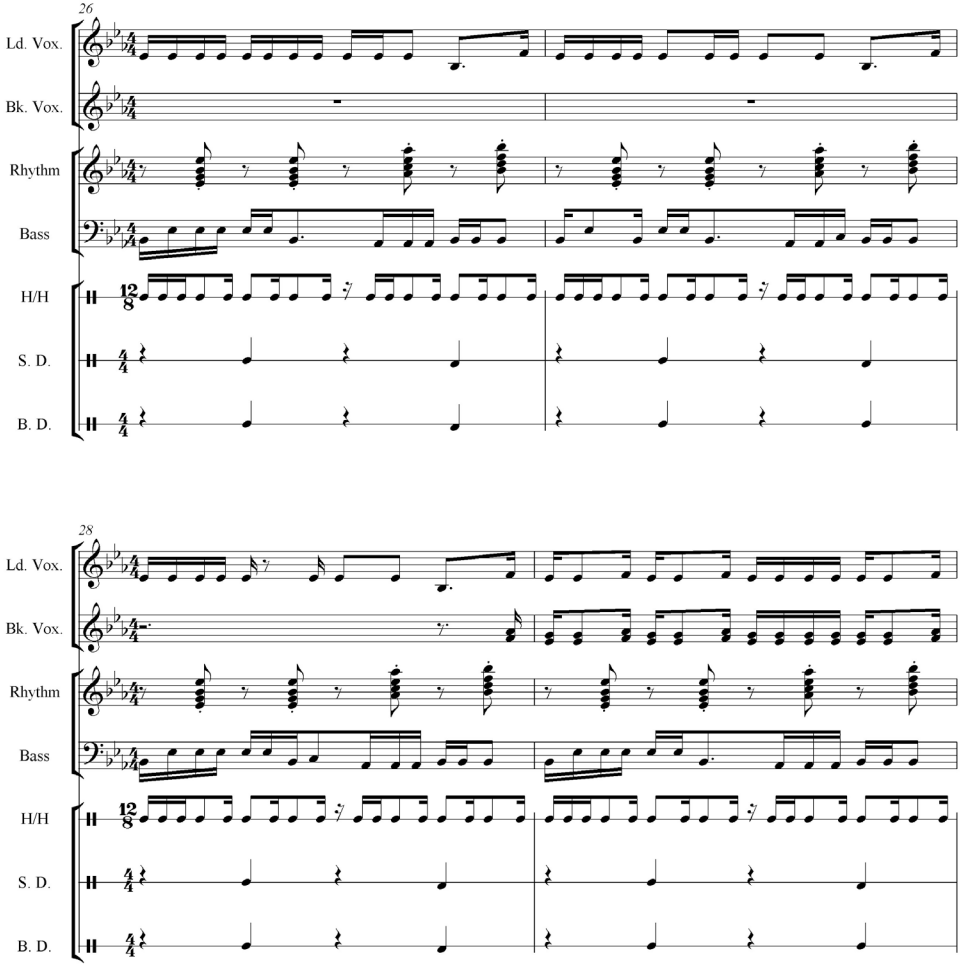

6
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
8
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

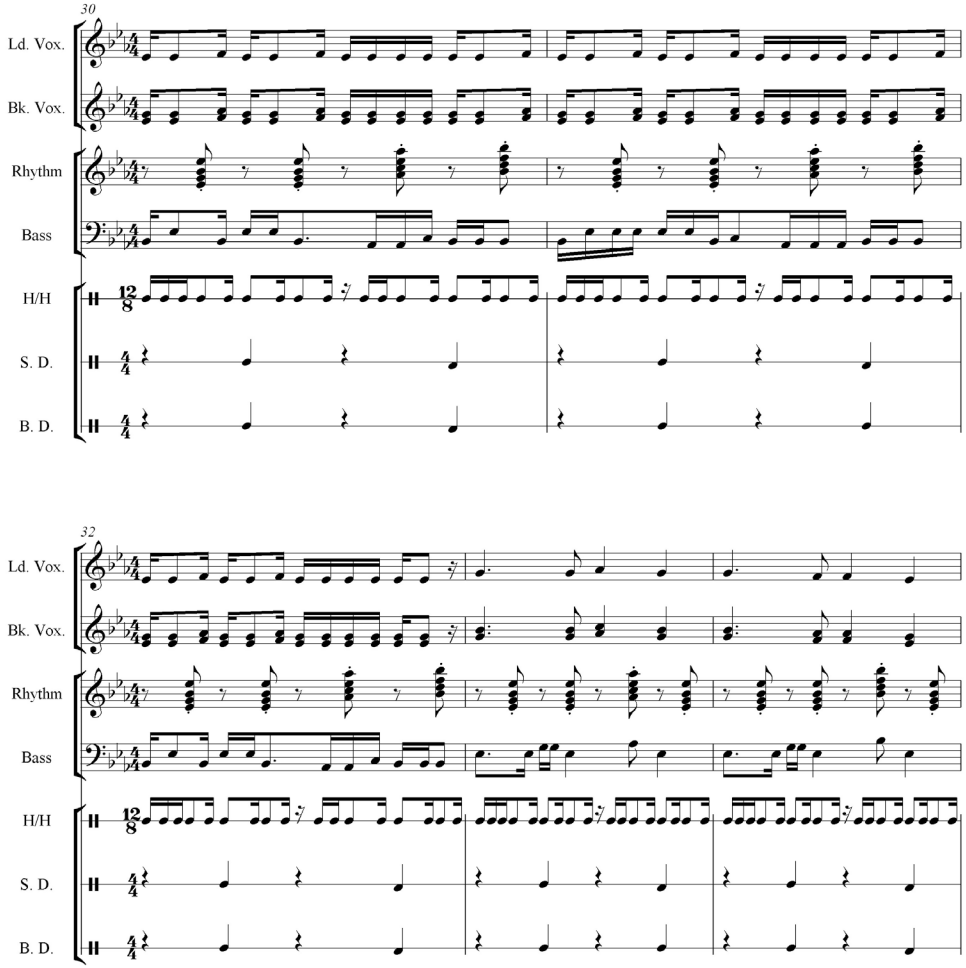

10
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
12
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

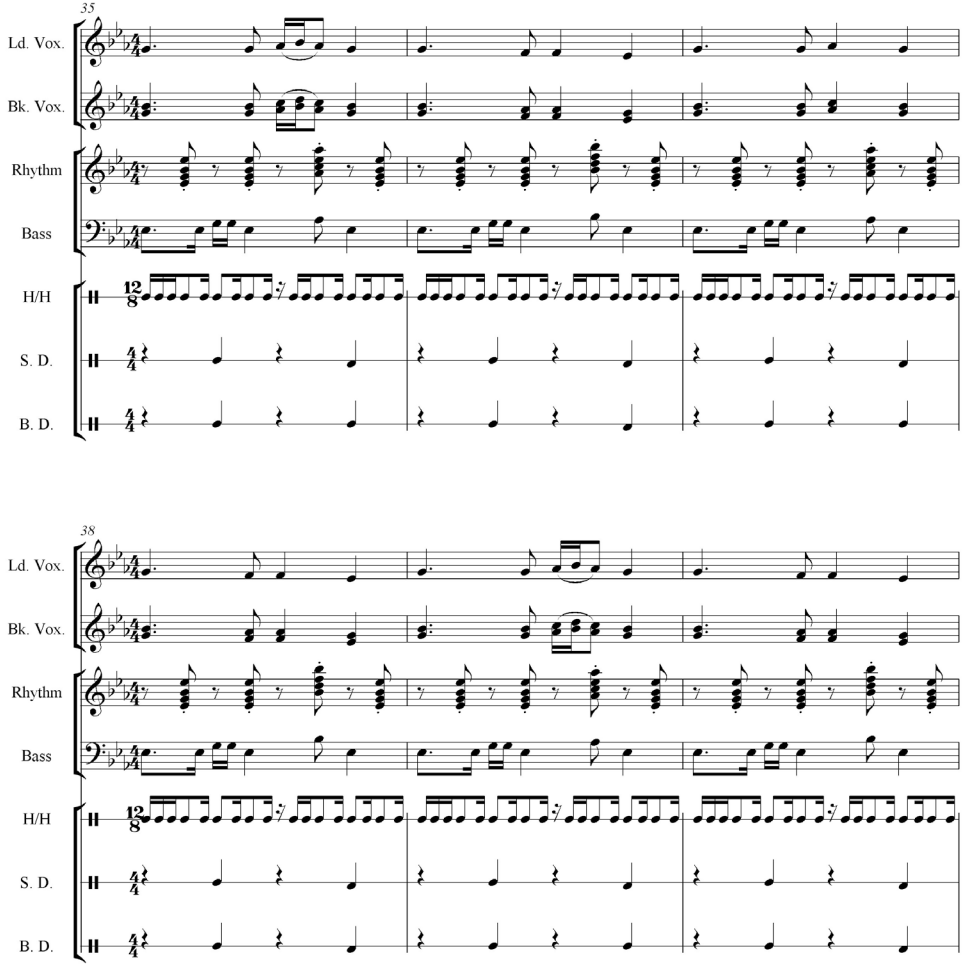

14
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
16
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

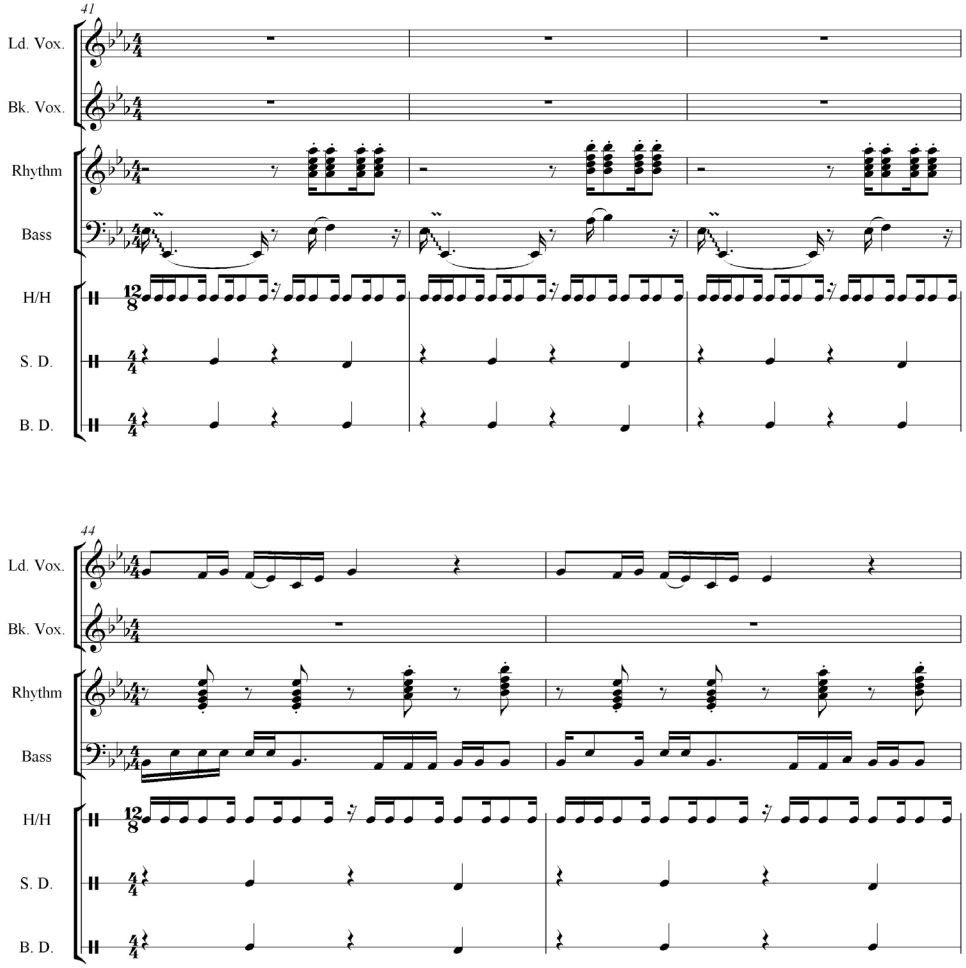

18
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
20
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

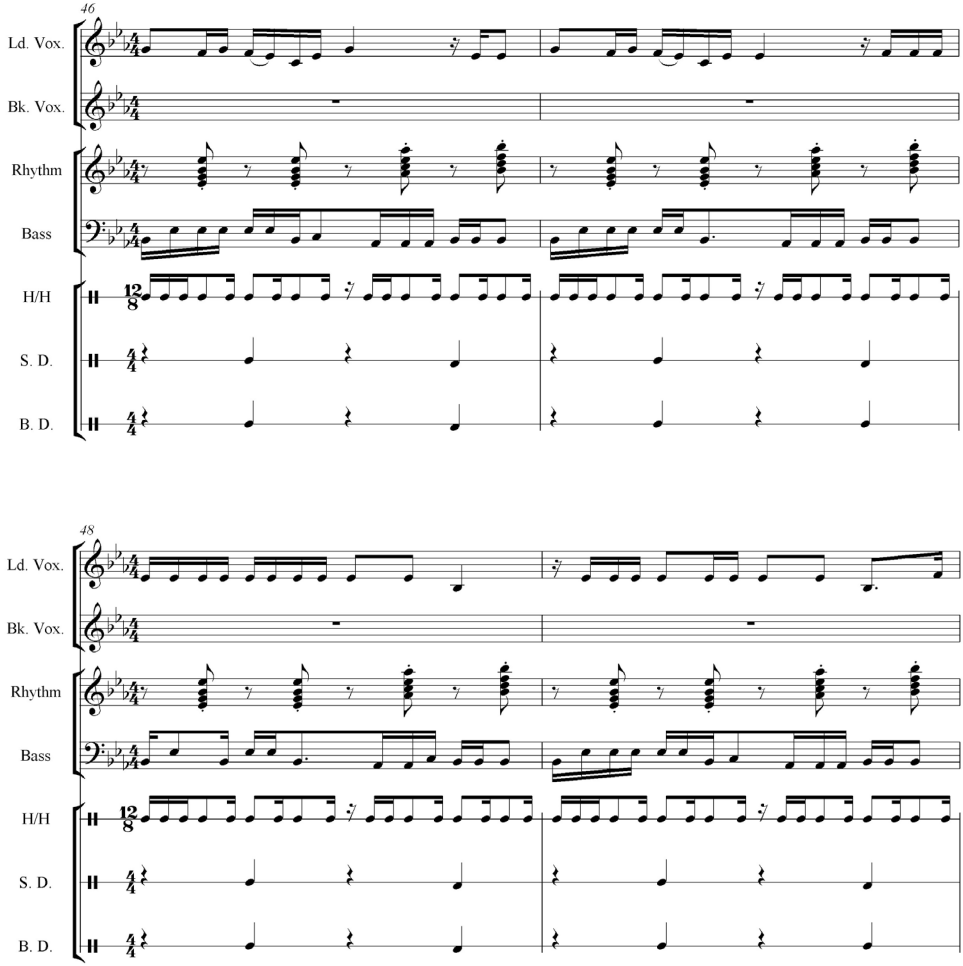

22
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
24
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

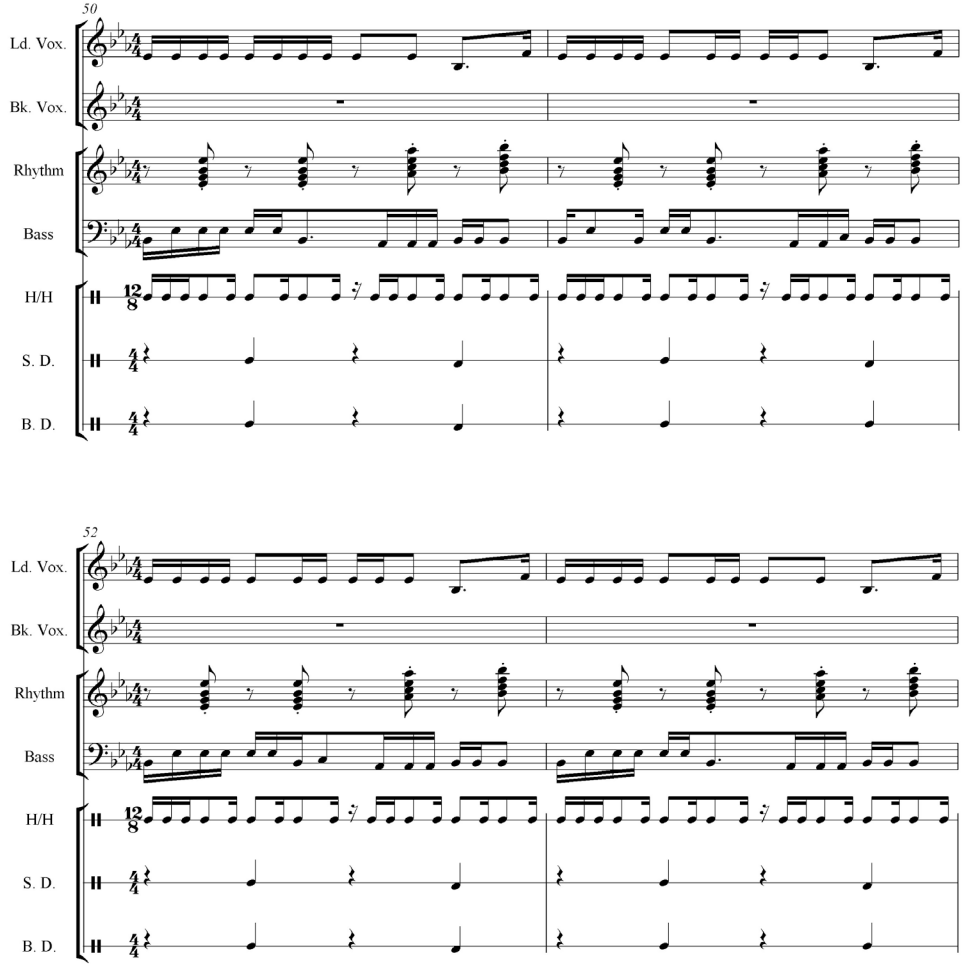

26
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
28
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

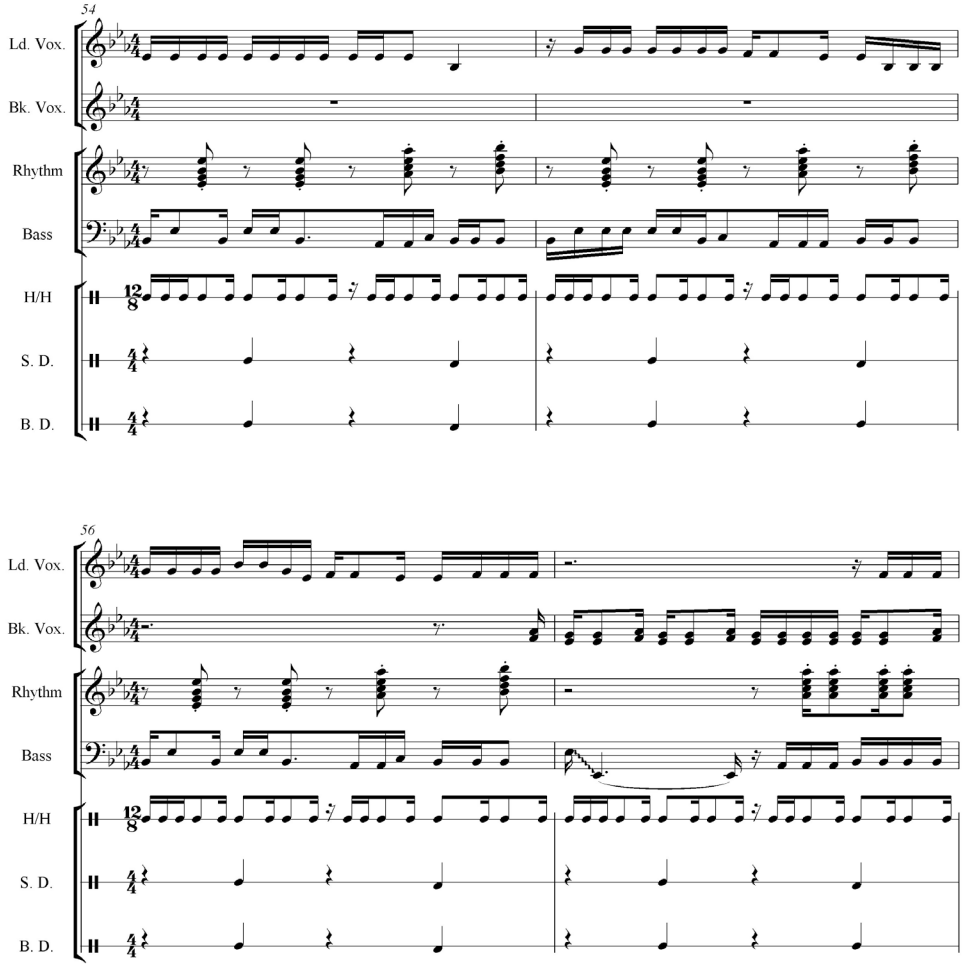

30
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
32
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

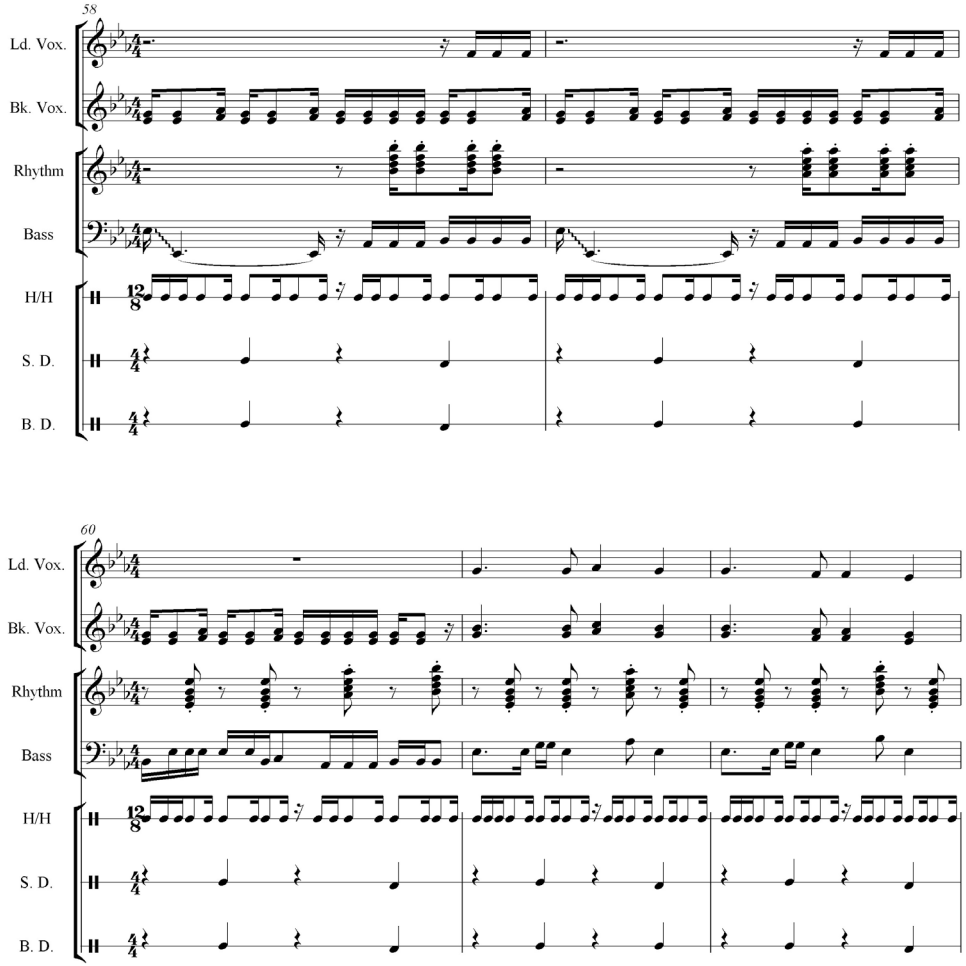

35
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
38
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.


41
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
44
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.


46
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
48
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.


50
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
52
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.


54
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
56
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.


58
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.
60
Ld. Vox.
Bk. Vox.
Rhythm
Bass
H/H
S. D.
B. D.

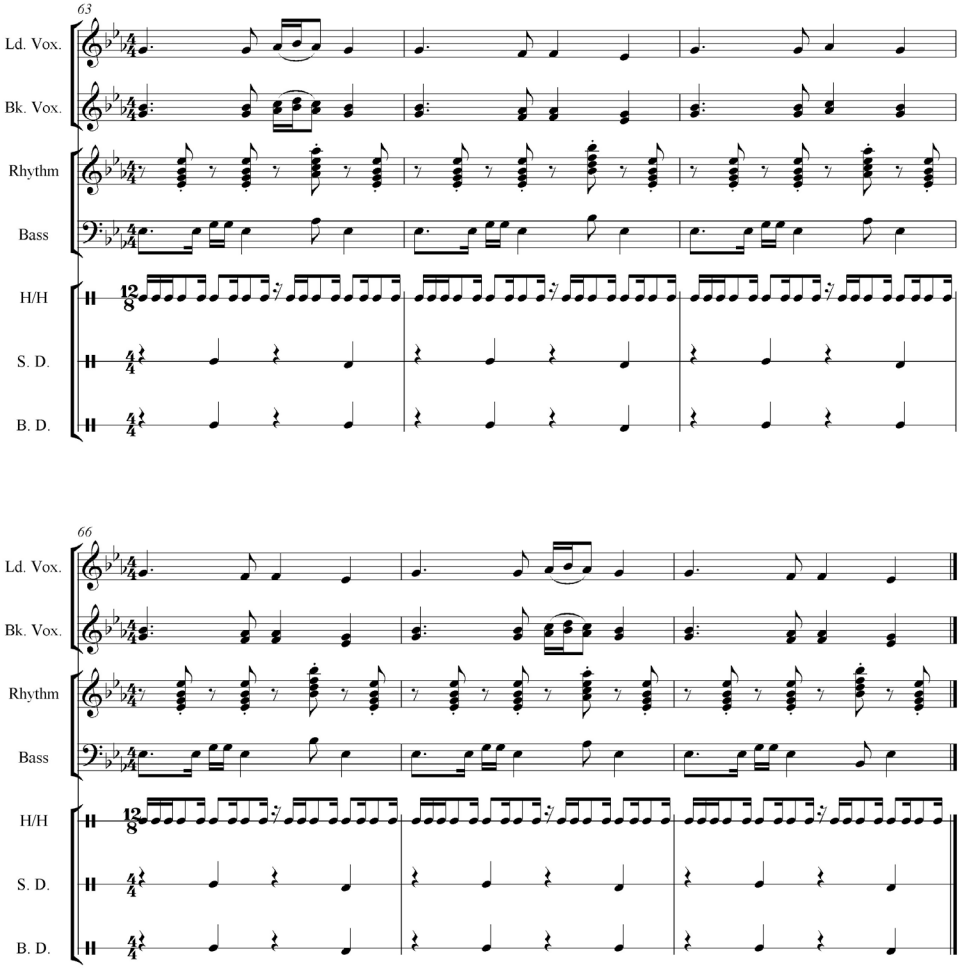


Fig. 4: A representative score of Evi-Edna Ogholi's *ONE KILOMETRE*

ONE KILOMETRE

In *One Kilometre*, Evi-Edna Ogholi achieves an intense marriage of an enchanting vocal melody and a compact instrumental groove depicted in this representative 68-measure score. The piece has basically a formal structure of **ACABCAB,** though it has other sub-sections of **Intro, Pre B, Pre C,** and a fusion of **Pre B & C.** Section **A** (bars 6-14, 19-28, and 47-54), Section **B** (bars 33-40 and 61-68), and Section **C**

(bars 17-19 and 41-43) all maintain the tonality of the diatonic major key of **E♭.** Equally, the **Vocal Intro** (bars 3-6 and 44-47), the **Pre C** (bars 15-16), the **Pre B** (bars 28-32), and the fusion on **Pre B & C** (bars 55-60) are in the key of **E♭.**

The distinctive differences in the various sections are thus: The **Intro** is made up of a short, 1-bar melodic phrase that repeats the rhetorical question, "Which one of them we go speak?" The **A** Section is made up of a lyrical melodic continuum that delivers the verses of the song. Also in this section, the accompanying melody of the bass guitar is busy and flowing, driving the groove constantly. In Section **B,** which is the chorus section, the vocal melody becomes more relaxed as it employs notes of larger durational values, and the bass melody of the bass guitar also becomes less busy, jerky, and more punctuated in rhythm. The creative use of glissando in the bass melody of the bass guitar and the responding effect created by the jerky rhythm guitar chords mark off the peculiarity of Section **C**—the bridge section. For **Pre B** Section, the melodic word-painting of the phrase "We travel . . ." simulates the motion of physical movement in space, leading to the chorus, "All I'm saying . . . Lingua Franca . . ." **Pre C,** just like **Pre B,** is also a melodic word-painting phrase that uses the title of the song, "One kilometre . . ." to introduce the complexity of languages exposed in the subsequent verse that comes after the bridge section.

A very good example of lyrical melody, *One Kilometre* explores a compact melodic movement in the Lead Vocals, concentrating mostly on the tonic note of **E♭.** Movement is mostly by repetition of the dominating pitch, and a few stepwise and narrow leaps. The melodic ambit is a perfect octave—from small **B♭** to 1-line **B♭.** However, in the Back-up Vocals, a few notes managed to hit the 2-line **C** and **D** (bars 35, 39, 63, and 67.

While the instrumental harmony is triadic, the vocal harmony is organized in parallel third intervals.

Socio-Cultural Approach

In the socio-cultural approach, the knowledge of sociology, anthropology, semiology, linguistics, economics, and even history becomes an added advantage to the music scholar. Here music is considered not just as a sonic material but also a symbolical representation of entities, deities, communities, age-grades, generations, classes, races, norms, societies, etc. Analysis under this approach must expose and explain the determinate associations that are implied in the musical expression. The functionality of music in society is the main assignment of the analyst. Is the purpose for music-making self-fulfilling or group-fulfilling? Is it to train, to communicate, to enlighten, to worship, to praise, to heal, to supplicate, to mourn, to mock, to invoke, to curse, to defy, to survive, or what? And what social events are they linked with? This is the approach that is most popular with ethnomusicologists.

Another issue that is almost always misplaced by scholars is the issue of politics in pop music. The misplacement is due to the connotative associations of the word 'politics'. Much as politics suggests activities in state governance, it should be understood that the conceptual value of the term permits its application to other spheres of the social life of man than just governance of the state. For instance, politics of presentation in the arts (whether performing or visual arts) is an activity that has nothing whatsoever to do with state governance. Rather, it is all about the choices made in relation to how to package and deliver a piece of art work so as to achieve most of the desired goals of the artistes. Costumes, for instance, do not add anything to the dancing skills of a dance group, yet they are part of the group's politics of presentation, which add an optical illusory effect on the skills of the group that uses them. The reader would agree to this enhancement capability if he had seen the same group perform in a myriad of varied and heterogeneous apparels.

At this point, definitions become necessary. It has been reported that Aristotle defined politics of state governance as "the art of planning for effective relationships in a society which affords to all its citizens the opportunity to enrich their lives, that is to achieve the distinctive good of man" (Howie 1968, p.39). Following this line of definition, the conceptual definition of politics becomes the artful or skillful

negotiations, by individuals or groups, geared towards appropriation and maximization of opportunities inherent in the distributions of jointly-owned scarce/competitive amenities or interests. Politics of pop music, therefore, is about the choices made by all manners of stakeholders in the musical activity (musicians, sponsors, entrepreneurs, consumers, fans, critics, etc.) and their reasons and arguments for such choices, that are directed at achieving the goals of their vested interests in the musical activity—which are often commercial goals (Frith, 1982).

From the above argument emerges the fact that the socio-cultural issues in pop music are implicated more in the processes and negotiated decisions that lead to the creation and consumption of the musical product, than in the textual pronouncements that make up the lyrics of the song—those belong to the ideological angle of the piece. Other socio-cultural-related issues in pop music include recording/performance contracts, copyright protection, signing-on a record label, publicity, promotion, marketing, publishing, artiste-patron agreements, collaborations, public performance and broadcasting rights, and hiring the services of an entertainment law attorney.

Socio-cultural analysis of the piece, *Help,* by Sonny Okosuns, *Country Boy,* by Harry Mosco, *Send Down the Rain,* by Majek Fashek, and *One Kilometre,* by Evi-Edna Ogholi are given hereunder.

The positive response of Nigerian pop music consumers to the early *Afro-reggae* experiments of the 1970s (here represented by Sonny Okosuns' *Help* and Harry Mosco's *Country Boy*) was due to the consumers' ability to interpret and accept the socio-cultural issues inherent in the new tunes. First was a novelty effect of the fresh musical experiments on a progressive urban society; followed then by a conscious will to encourage a novel mass involvement of the youth of the society in pop music-making as a lucrative part-time business, an attempt at self-employment, and, lastly, a subconscious endorsement of the call for pan-Africanism and mental assertion of the superiority of the black race, for which *reggae* music had become a conduit.

On the part of the early exponents like Sonny Okosuns and Harry Mosco, it was a response to the contemporaneous in musical practice,

which in itself was a step in socio-cultural progressivism. In addition, the economic proceeds of the reigning genre were the other serious consideration. According to Sonny Okosuns (as cited in Collins, 1996), "I'm not lying low and I won't let it take *gari* (a staple food in Nigeria) from my hands" (p. 222). This economic lure becomes clearer when one considers that these pioneer exponents were identified with different genres before the rave of the *reggae* genre came to the country. Sonny Okosuns had gained recognition with his Edo/Ishan-influenced style of *highlife* music, while Harry Mosco had gained fame in his *Afro-rock/funk* style—after his stints with The Funkies and the Osibisa.

The emergence from black Africa of *Afro-reggae* at the early period of the 1970s, and its acceptance at the international music markets (especially the U.S. and the U.K.) also revealed the power of pop music as a veritable ally in building a cultural bridge between Africans at home and those in the Diaspora. This argument is founded on the reports of huge turnouts of the African Diaspora at concerts that featured *reggae* musicians (as well as other international pop stars of the black race) in Black-concentrated regions of the world (Davis, 1985; Moskowitz, 2007).

The compositional process of *Help* is another socio-cultural issue. In the words of Okosuns (as cited in Collins, 1996):

> It was almost an accident, as I was recording six tracks for EMI and needed a seventh to fill the record up. That was my record song *Help*, which ended up being the biggest hit. It was a simple traditional Bini song but written in English. I got the rhythm from Ogunde the playwright. I do believe the *reggae* rhythm came from our side . . . And in fact, if you listen deeply to *reggae* it has a *highlife* formation. The only difference is the modified beat (p. 221).

Compositional process in pop music is not as rigid as that of the classical/art music. Much of its social relevance is drawn from its socio-cultural contents—like in the aforementioned case of *Help*, by Sonny Okosuns.

Later in the reign of *Afro-reggae* in Nigeria, during the period of the 1980s, socio-cultural issues in pop music assumed more complexities. In addition to economic, class, and racial issues, religious, gender, and attitudinal issues became part of the socio-cultural implications perceptible in the *Afro-reggae* expressions of this period (here represented by Evi-Edna Ogholi's *One Kilometre* and Majek Fashek's *Send Down the Rain*). Whipping up the sentiments of gender sensitivity, Evi-Edna became the first known female *Afro-reggae* artiste of the country. This was at a period when the few known works of female *reggae* artistes were those of Jamaica's Ginger Williams, Sonya Spence, and Marcia Griffiths. With subsequent album releases, Evi-Edna was unanimously crowned **The Queen of Nigerian Reggae.** In the case of Majek Fashek and his *Send Down the Rain*, religion and personal attitude assumed controversial dimensions as he openly proclaimed his leaning towards Rastafarianism, and defied the society by growing the culture-negating long-matted hairs (the dreadlocks). Yet the acceptance of the musician and his music by the same society he defied shows how dynamic culture could be, and is!

Majek Fashek's compositional method in *Send Down the Rain*, whereby he lifted lines from the Christian Bible, laced them up with other lines from Bob Marley's *Soul Rebel* and Bunny Wailer's *Let Him Go*, then topped it all up with a few of his own lines, can be seen as a fusion of two musical techniques known to musicologists as *contra factum* and *musical parody.* The concern of ethnomusicologists here is that this compositional method is rooted in socio-cultural practices.

In all four songs (*Help, Country Boy, One Kilometre,* and *Send Down the Rain*), the production processes involved professional sessions musicians recorded live, each album in a different analogue sound studio. These recordings were managed, produced, mixed, mastered, and pressed into vinyl by experts, including artiste and repertoire managers, producers, composer-arrangers, audio engineers, and technicians. The finished products were then disseminated via the media of LP (long playing) records, audiotapes, videocassettes, radio, television, concert arenas, nightclubs, and mobile music vendors, amongst others.

Ideological Approach

Personal opinions held by individual artistes or groups form the bulk of the ideological stance of such musicians. These opinions could be philosophical, religious, spiritual, political (in the broadest sense of the word), interpersonal relationships, and the total world-view of the artistes, which are revealed in the lyrics (including determinate associations of instrumental melodies), record sleeves, video clips, interviews, press releases, personality image of the artistes, and their style of usage of metalanguage and polyglottism (resulting in the so-called macaronic verses of pop music).

The analyst using this approach to study pop music must be objective, and ensure that his biases and his mental constructs do not interject into the analytical assignment. In addition, he must be knowledgeable, as Wicke and Mayer (1982) have argued, in social progressivism, philosophy, linguistics, and semiology; as well as be a direct participant in the antagonistic world of today, and the progressive social events out of which the pop styles emerge. It is for the same need of first-hand and direct involvement of the analyst that Frith (1982) contends, "*Scholars* could not possibly get at the meaning of popular music because of their distance from it . . ." (p. 143). In other words, as much as he is an insider in the pop musical practices that he investigates; the scholar must also ensure that he applies the self-discipline of emotional detachment that is necessary for a successful academic investigation.

Help by Sonny Okosuns, *Country Boy* by Harry Mosco, *Send Down the Rain* by Majek Fashek, and *One Kilometre* by Evi-Edna Ogholi are hereunder analysed ideologically.

HELP (By Sonny Okosuns)
A)1: Oh please!
Lift me up so I can stand, Not to fall;
Give me your hand and I'll stand,
I need your help, your help. *Etc* . . .

Armed with the information that *Help* was a simple traditional Bini song, translated into English and adapted for a native Yoruba tune (borrowed from Ogunde, and possibly the *ere-ege* tune), one gains a better appreciation of Sonny Okosuns' ideological rationalization in his musical creativity. Commenting on his style generally, Okosuns (2000) says, ". . . a very simple style that anyone can relate to. One that is not stagnant" (p. 20)

The message in *Help* is that simple. It is a plea for help from one who knows and appreciates the value of such a favour. The preference for standing rather than falling, the desire for a life of fun, the eagerness for light so as to see clearly, and the willingness to learn a song; all delivered through a musical piece, speak volumes about the place of music in the life of the African. The expression of certainty and positivism in the **C** Section (*I know it's gonna be alright / Right now*) is also remarkable of the nature of trust that the native folk has in Providence.

The theme of *Help* is made prominent through its repetitive occurrence in all the verses: *Give me your hand and I'll stand / I need your help, your help.* Such amplification of a dominant message of a song via repetition is a practice that is characteristic of African music.

COUNTRY BOY (By Harry Mosco)
A)1. I was born in the country
I was born, born, born, born in the country
My mama said to me, You must go to town
My papa said to me, You must go to town, *etc* . . .

At the time Harry Mosco recorded *Country Boy*, migration to urban metropolis and emigration to the Western States—in search of the proverbial 'greener pastures'—was the vogue among the youth of Nigeria. Harry Mosco's views in this song must have been informed by his personal experiences of racial rejection in the hands of the Western whites in whose lands he had sojourned in the course of his musical career.

In presenting the song as a report of an encounter between himself and his parents, Harry speaks from the vantage position of a 'been

to . . .' to debunk the illusion of some uninformed parents who stay in their country homes and push their wards to the cities, with the belief that life would be easier and richer in such cities. In this song, Mosco succeeds in painting the pictures of homelessness, selfishness, and lack of love of the city dwellers. *Down town / They ain't got no job for me / Down town / They ain't got no place for me to live / All the jobs they have / They just share by themselves / Everything they do / They just do by themselves . . .*

In the album sleeve, the cover photograph portends the message that is delivered by the lyrics. Harry Mosco's image occupies the foreground, wearing a bowler hat, a long-sleeved shirt, and a rueful smile on his face—a depiction of a disillusioned 'been to . . .' mocking the falsehood of city life; and at the background lies a lush green country-side prairie, waiting to be explored.

SEND DOWN THE RAIN (By Majek Fashek)
A)1: The sky looks misty and cloudy,
Looks like the rain's gonna fall today.
This morning I was sowing my seed,
Waiting for the rain to drop and water, Lord. *Etc . . .*

In *Send Down the Rain*, Majek Fashek assumes the role of the mouthpiece of the burgeoning youth of his time, whose efforts at rescuing themselves from the throes of joblessness had been marred by the oppressive wickedness of the privileged few. In Nigeria, some psychic manipulators have mastered the negative art of controlling the rain, making it fall or not fall according to their wishes. Majek employs this imagery to address the privileged oppressors who frustrate the youth by withholding any opportunity that the youth may chance on to survive.

In the music industry, Majek had laboured in the background for nearly two decades as a sessions musician, 'paying his dues', before he was able to come out with his own album. In this song, he warns about a possible youth insurrection should the frustrations continue: *I'm a hungry man / And I don't wanna be angry.* And the solution would be to *Send down the rain / To water up my seed . . .* (Release the opportunities

so the youth could survive). A failure to release the opportunities could lead to repercussions: *Everything in life has got its time and season / So you don't have to ask me Why? / You don't expect to sow cassava / To reap up cocoyam . . .*

Making it clear that his is a message from the youth, and justifying the fairness of their demands, Majek sings: *Jah (God) is my song / And that one makes me feel strong / No matter what they say / Even if they say I'm wrong / I'm gonna feel strong / 'Cos I know I'm gonna live long / Oh Lord!*

In language usage, Majek's preference of 'Jah' for God and his use of the phrase 'I and I' reveal his tilt towards the Rastafarian movement and religion.

ONE KILOMETRE (by Evi-Edna Ogholi)
Intro: Which one of them we go speak?
Which one of them we go speak?
Which one of them we go speak?
I say, which one of them we go speak? *Etc . . .*

Nigeria, a nation of over 160 million people, 36 states, about 250 ethnic groups, and over 750 local dialects is indeed a compendium of complex 'languages'. Evi-Edna Ogholi, a female singer born in Isoko ethnic town of Emede, in the then Bendel (now Delta) State of Nigeria qualifies better than her contemporaries to sing about these complex 'languages' since her region has the most complex mixture of them all. In *One Kilometre*, she chronicles these 'languages' to show how difficult it is for Nigeria to have a lingua franca that is truly Nigerian: *Which one of them we go speak? / I say, which one of them we go speak?* Realizing that exaggeration is not only an effective tool in communication but also a legal one, Evi-Edna declares: *One kilometre is another language / Even half a kilometre is another language.*

Her choice of delivering the song in Pidgin English, which is widely spoken and understood by both literate and illiterate Nigerians of all regions, appears to be Evi-Edna's endorsement of the 'language' as Nigeria's lingua franca.

Historical Approach

In the historical approach, the analyst embarks on a retrospective study of schemata of pop music and how they have developed over time. He studies the major stylistic features that characterize each particular period and relates them to parallel developments in other forms of the arts and sciences of the same period, and how each individual pop musician has interpreted the dominating music of his own time. In addition, he exposes the practices that marked the points of transition from one era to the different practices of another era, thereby establishing the trends that distinguish one period from another. In this approach, the analyst also embarks on biographical studies of prominent exponents that are representative of various times, styles, and innovations. In presenting the biographical data of the musician, the following information must be supplied:

1. The musician's name, style of music, and natal records,
2. remarkable events that marked the musician's time of birth,
3. the musician's pedigree,
4. the exerting influences on the musician—musical and otherwise,
5. the musician's experiences within his nuclear/extended family circles,
6. the musician's education and apprenticeship/training,
7. his professional career, growth, and development,
8. remarkable turning points in the life of the musician,
9. patronage of his works and services,
10. his contemporaries, collaborations, and controversies arising from his person and/or his works,
11. his works and contributions, and
12. his philosophy and general world-view.

(Ferris & Worster, 2009; Grout & Palisca, 1996; Machlis & Forney, 1995; Till, 1983)

The entire discourse in chapters four and five of this book represents an example of the historical approach to analysing pop music.

Problems of Popular Music Studies

Operationally, the notion of 'Otherness' refers to the negative implications of Western-oriented art music scholars' opinions that are associated with the tendency to suppress the multiformity of knowledge types in popular music as strange, odd, dissimilar, trivial, and lowbrow. This negation amounts to segregation and isolation for mere pedantic excuses which, eventually, stultifies the intrinsic function of the arts as a humanizer of the society.

The imperialistic point of view upholding the dichotomy of the in-group and the out-group is the basis for formulating the construct of the Other. This Otherness, according to Staszak (2008),

> . . . is due less to the difference of the Other than to the point of view and discourse of the person who perceives the Other as such. Opposing Us, the Self, and Them, the Other, is to choose a criterion that allows humanity to be divided into two groups: one that embodies the norm and whose identity is valued and another that is defined by its fault, devalued and susceptible to discrimination. Only dominant groups (such as Westerners in the time of colonization) are in a position to impose their categories in the matter.

Otherness, at its extreme manifestation in music studies, suppresses the multiformity of knowledge types in popular music as the lowbrow 'Other', while deifying the Western-oriented art music as the highbrow 'One' (Tagg, 2011). This dichotomy of One and Other has generated varying opinions that are discernible in the works of many African music scholars.

Okafor (2005) has worried about "the general snobbish attitude of the music academia" (p. 204) towards popular music studies, Emeka (2006) has complained about the repulsion of popular music studies by curriculum planners, and Onyeji (2002) has reported the academia's derogatory opinion that "a popular air is that which echoes in empty heads" (p. 24). But it is Agawu (2003) who paints the picture succinctly in *Resisting Pop Music* where he asked, "Why is the most widely heard

music on the continent not also the most written about, the most taught in our institutions, the most valued?" (p.118). To substantiate his claim, Agawu (2003) goes further to report:

> As recently as the early 1990s, the Department of Music in the School of Performing Arts at the University of Ghana at Legon still lacked staff trained to teach the varieties of African popular music. When the intention to appoint a lecturer in that area was announced, a number of people vehemently opposed the idea, arguing that an expert in popular music belonged not in a music department but in the department of sociology or African studies—in short, some place other than the music department. The music department was reserved for those who could talk of crotchets and quavers, sonata and rondo forms, diatonic and chromatic harmony (p. 120).

When the foregoing is scrutinized against the backdrop of bi-musicality and/or multi-culturality, it becomes clear that the so-called Other—regarding popular music—is the only musical phenomenon that truly reflects and dramatizes the economic, political, and ideological contradictions of the society. In the politics of the 'Other', therefore, one argues the rationale for isolating the aesthetic (art music) and segregating against the more multi-cultural utilitarian (popular music) angles to music studies.

No greater problem confronts academic pursuit of popular music than the problem of **primal fundamentalism** on the part of African music scholars. Primal fundamentalism is a conservative mental construct that upholds the first developed principle/practice (often handed down) as the best, ever the best, and therefore sacrosanct—a pristine approach to value judgment. This problem exists in two streams—one is **primitive musical ethnocentrism,** while the other is **Western classical élitism.** What, here, is regarded as primitive musical ethnocentrism is the practice whereby, in Barber's (1997) findings, "ethnomusicologists deplored the *contamination* of authentic indigenous traditional sounds by the infusion of Western rhythms, melodies, and technologies" (p. 1). Supporting the foregoing view,

Graham (1988) argues that "ethnomusicologists are in the main much more comfortable with tradition than innovation, and are often biased against music with any overt Western influence" (p. 10). Agawu (2003) therefore concludes, "Ethnomusicologists are in part to blame for the relative neglect of popular music" (p. 118). Decrypting the reason for this primitive musical ethnocentrism, he explains that ". . . academic protocol and a long-standing fascination with ethnographies of old music had rendered popular music avoidable for anyone attempting a survey . . ." (p. 117).

The problem of Western classical élitism is in the mental frame that the Western classical music studies are the mark of authentic academic musicianship. Agawu (2003) deplores these "prejudices against our cultures instilled by colonial education" (p. 118). He goes further to say:

> In the case of music, some schooled Africans "lucky" enough to be exposed to Handel, Bach, Mozart, or Beethoven stuck with them; very few listened with interest to contemporary African art music. And while popular music such as *highlife* served an important social function as dance music, its incorporation into the curriculum was slow to emerge (p. 120).

In Okafor's (2005) opinion:

> The special demands of contemporary popular music received no particular attention, thereby giving rise to the misconception that qualification in music means qualification in Western classical music with a few credit hours of ethnomusicology added for good measure (p. 357).

Blaming the problem on early musicological researchers' evaluation of popular music, Wicke and Mayer (1982) write:

> Now although the phenomena discussed in literature on popular music are clearly related to the subject of musicology, the theoretical and empirical scientific activities carried out in this area by same discipline have been few and

> far between. One might even say that reactions from the discipline of musicology have not only been skeptical but also characterized by an attitude of rejection and negative evaluation (p. 223).

Musicology, the scientific study of music in its widest sense—covering both the natural and the humane sciences of music—was first conceived and practised in ancient Greece as early as 600 BC; and dominated by the writings of such philosophers as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. But it was not until 1885, when Guido Adler defined the branch of musicology that deals with the regional applications of music-making that ethnomusicology emerged. Adler used the term *Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* (meaning Comparative Musicology) to refer to the broad programme of musicological comparison of melodies, scales, intervals, styles, and various performance techniques of different cultures of the world with one another (Thieme, 1966). Ethnomusicology, therefore, goes beyond the study of music within its social context, and extends to the study of music as an aspect of socio-cultural behaviour. It is for this reason that pop music, a phenomenon of socio-cultural production, fits comfortably in the ethnomusicological field.

The Department of Music at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, established in 1960, is regarded as one of the foremost Departments of Music in Black Africa. Within the span of 53 years, a total of 28 institutions offering music at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels can be counted in Nigeria alone (Onwuegbuna, 2012). Yet, even with what Okafor (2005) calls "a few credit hours of ethnomusicology added for good measure" (p. 357), only two of these institutions have a clearly defined programme of popular music studies. The depth of the damage that this anomaly is causing can be felt in Agawu's (2003) regrets:

> Reflections would have revealed that students possess a large repertoire in memory, that some have internalized—naively, no doubt but authentically in enabling procedures, and that none would lack insight into the social meanings set in motion by sound and especially words of the popular music they had grown up with. Reflection might have led to

> the discovery that students are able to speak popular music as a language . . . complete utterances begun in it, recognize idioms, and evaluate not only the grammatical correctness but also poetic depth of other people's performances (p. 121).

The other problem of popular music studies (and music studies in general) is one encountered by young learners of Music as a subject at the post-primary school level in Nigeria. Students with an inclination towards music are discouraged at this formative stage, where the Cultural and Creative Arts (CCA) of the Nigerian current policy in education is operative. In this arrangement, Music, Drama, and Fine Art are lumped together and one teacher is assigned to teach them. The curriculum implication is that these three subjects which are actually professional fields in their respective rights are to be taught as one subject, by one teacher, within the time duration of one school subject. This situation is responsible for the ever-dwindling number of music candidates at the entrance examinations for admissions into Nigerian higher institutions.

Suggested Solutions to the Problems

From the beginning of the 20th century, the systematic study of the arts has so exploded that popular music has become an interesting subject of scholarly investigation. In the U.S., Canada, and the U.K., amongst others, tertiary institutions offer courses in Popular Music up to the postgraduate levels; some of these institutions include the Stony Brook University of New York, the Berklee College of Music in Boston, the City University, London, the Athabasca University, Canada, the Carl von Ossietzky-University of Oldenburg, Germany, and the Southern Cross University of Lismore, Australia. And in 1981, the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM) was founded to function as a conduit for global communication among people that work in the field of popular music. The British *Popular Music Journal* is one of the numerous journals that are solely devoted to the publication of issues in popular music (Nardi, 2009; Stahl, 2009; Strachan, 2008). Today, not only do these institutions maintain vibrant

departments of Music with highly successful programmes of popular music, many also maintain functional institutes of popular music that are highly competitive and productive. These institutes are comfortably funded by international foundations and agencies of high repute.

In Africa, the KwaZulu-Natal University, at Durban, in South Africa and the University of Ghana, at Legon, in West Africa take the lead in vigorous pursuit of popular music studies. It is because of these developments that a musicologist at the University of Pretoria in South Africa, Bosman (2006) informs that popular music, world musics, and music technology are increasingly playing vital roles in the most recent curricula in Africa and the world at large. In Nigeria, conversely, it is only the Delta State University at Abraka and the Obafemi Awolowo University at Ile-Ife that are known to have some forms of academic programmes that are defined along the lines of systematic studies in popular music. Other institutions in the country have it implied in their courses that emphasize the folk music of Africa and other cultures of the world, as well as the African-American music.

It is not enough to describe problem situations and their negative consequences, although defining a problem is a step towards solving it, while suggesting solutions to it is yet another step further than a mere definition of the problem. Below are some suggested solutions to the problems already described.

1. African music scholars (systematic musicologists, historical musicologists, and ethnomusicologists) who are of the 'analogue' generation should try to 'digitalize' by adopting a positive attitude to change and innovation and availing themselves of the wealth of information on 21st century approach to music studies, which are accessible on the Internet. This will enable them to update and upgrade their knowledge and skills in current music procedures.
2. Since ours is a system where precedence lends credence to recent events, curriculum planners (especially in Nigeria) should review the present curricula, and remodel them after the system that operates in the U.S., Canada, the U.K., South Africa, and also Ghana. The academic music programmes of these nations

are carefully designed to accommodate functional bi-musicality and operational multi-culturality in both principle and practice. Certification from any of these systems covers the broad areas of Certificate, Diploma, Undergraduate, and Postgraduate courses; and student specialization in any of the multi-disciplines of music is discovered, encouraged, and guided to fruition from an early stage of learning.

3. Employment of adequate numbers of qualified music teachers in the post-primary schools in Nigeria would be a healthy solution of the current practice, whereby Music, Drama, and Fine Art are tangled in a lethal battle.

Recommendations and Prospects

There is a fine line between suggestions and recommendations. For a meaningful and successful academic exercise in African popular music studies to be undertaken, the opinions of some devotees of this virgin area must be recommended. These opinions are expressed mostly in the form of books and other reference materials in electronic forms. They include: ***Popular Music Perspectives*** by David Horn and Philip Tagg (Eds.) Amsterdam: Göteborg & Exeter, ***Popular Musics of the Non-Western World: An Introductory Review*** by Peter Manuel. New York: Oxford University Press, ***Africa O-Ye!*** by Graeme Ewens. London: Guinness, ***West African pop roots*** by John Collins. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, ***Highlife Time*** by John Collins. Accra: Anansesem, ***Producing Pop*** by Keith Negus. London: Arnold, ***The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock*** by Simon Frith. London: Cambridge University Press, ***Playing with Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa*** by Mai Palmberg and Annemette Kirkegaard (Eds.). Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikanstitutet, ***Representing African Music*** by Kofi Agawu. New York: Routledge, ***Music in Nigerian Society*** by Richard C. Okafor. Enugu: New Generation, and ***The Instructional Value of African Popular Music*** by Ikenna Emmanuel Onwuegbuna. Saarbrücken, Germany: LAP Lambert Academic Publishers.

The prospects for studies in African popular music are quite enormous. Citing the records of ethnographies on African popular

music between 1971 and 2001, reported by notable individual scholars including David Coplan, Christopher Waterman, Kazadi wa Makuna, John Collins, Ronnie Graham, Atta Annan Mensah, Christopher Ballantine, Veit Erlmann, John Chernoff, Louise Meintjes, Wolfgang Bender, Tejunmola Olaniyan, and Michael Veal; Agawu (2003) insists that "the collective work of these scholars has helped to counter some of the prejudices against popular music and generate excitement about its interpretative possibilities" (p.118). Possibly reacting to the "implications of the largely untapped competence in popular music possessed by many students" (p.121), the University of Ghana, against all obstacles, in the 1990s, appointed experts to teach popular music in the Department of Music of the university.

> Today, courses in popular music attract more enrolments than any others; and the degree of student engagement with these repertoires—both practically and theoretically—is unmatched by any other (Agawu 2003, pp.120-1).

Collins (1996) argues that the flexibility and adaptability of African popular music is what has enabled it to cross all frontiers to become directly or indirectly a major force in international music; while Emeka (2006) is of the opinion that "the strength of popular music lies partly in the situation in which every age has its brand, enabling it to interpret and reflect itself in a manner most effective and digestible" (p.9). From South Africa, Coplan (2002) reports:

> More to the point, in post-apartheid South Africa today, one of the industries in which this marriage of Western technology and organization and African social and cultural materials and resources has the greatest potential is popular music . . . (p. 112).

These prospects explain why the World Bank finds African popular music a healthy and lucrative business ventures to invest in (Kirkegaard, 2002).

Summary and Conclusion

In its treatment of the issue of trends in the development of African popular music, based on the socio-musical processes in the continent; especially as it concerns the *Afro-reggae* genre, this discourse has tried to expound such information and knowledge to its audience that would enable them to function effectively as pop musicians, popular music composer-arrangers, researchers, analysts, artiste and repertoire managers, producers, promoters, and/or teachers.

Arguing that popular music definition can be based on the music's generic stylistic peculiarities, their sociological connotations, their processes of production and dissemination, and/or their over-all structure, based on the Theory of Music; the discourse has presented three categories of African popular music as the **Ethnic Pop,** the **Interethnic Pop,** and the **International Pop.** For interpretative purposes, popular music can be analysed **musically, socio-culturally, ideologically,** and/or **historically.** The discourse has presented an analysis of four *Afro-reggae* pieces based on the aforementioned analytical approaches.

In conclusion, the author has opined that **primal fundamentalism,** which exists as **primitive musical ethnocentrism** and **Western classical élitism** on the part of African music scholars, is the main problem facing the academic pursuit of the African popular music. Embracing the dynamism of culture, the positive review of the current music curricula in the continent, the formal training of popular music scholars, and the employment of such qualified popular music experts are suggested as solutions to the problems identified

Until African popular music is introduced and sincerely, seriously, and vigorously pursued in African schools, music scholars of African descent may never realize how much disservice they have been doing to their continent through their "snobbish attitudes" toward their own unique and lucrative cultural practice.

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