JOURNAL OF PERFORMING ARTS

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Business correspondence and subscription information would be addressed to: the Business Manager, Journal of Performing Arts, School of Performing Arts P. 0. Box 19 Legon - Ghana West Africa – with copies of Professor John Collins, the Music Dept, University of Ghana, Legon, Accra, Ghana,West Africa.

Subscription rates are as follows:
Ghana GH10   (nb. University of Ghana students GH5)
Other African Countries & Overseas: Individuals $15
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JOURNAL OF PERFORMING ARTS

CONTENTS

SECTION FIVE: FEATURES AND ROLES OF GOSPEL MUSIC

SECTION SIX: PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC

SECTION SEVEN: TRADITIONAL GHANAIAN AND NIGERIAN MUSIC AND DANCE

INTRODUCTION BY EDITOR

As there are twenty chapters in this edition I have, for ease of reading and access to the materials, divided them into the following seven broad sections:-

SECTION ONE: THEATRE ARTS
This includes two chapters that analyse specific Ghanaian and Nigerian plays that provide metaphors for the destructive effect of colonialism on traditional African life and also the changing gender roles in contemporary Nigeria. There are also two other two chapter that deal with the areas of directing and producing Literary Theatre and Theatre for Development.

SECTION TWO: MEDIA AND CULTURE
This section contains one article which examines co-productions, using the film *The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011)* as a working example. Addressing international co-production strategies and modes of storytelling, the writer ask how ther signs of globalisation feature within the film.

SECTION THREE: POPULAR MUSIC
This looks popular music in connection with the economic opportunities it can provide for Ghana and Nigeria. A third article examines the African origins of jazz, including its multi-cultural nature of this genre and its and psychological features.

SECTION FOUR : THE PERFORMING ARTS &ND GOVERNMENT/EDUCATIONAL POLICIES
Two of these chapter deal with the importance of drama in education and drama being staged at heritage and tourist sites. The two other articles look at the role of two famous figures in the institutionalising of local performance. One is the Nigerian playwright Hubert Ogunde and the other is the Ghanaian traditional dance choreographer Professor A.M. Opoku.

SECTION FIVE: FEATURES AND ROLES OF GOSPEL MUSIC
Both these articles are on Nigerian gospel music. One examines the therapeutic nature of gospel music at the individual, social and national level. The other looks at the feature of using multiple languages for the text of songs of both the gospel and the contemporary Islamic music idioms.

SECTION SIX: PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC
The first paper examines the writing by the German philopher Theodor Adorno on the ambiguities that emerge when aesthetically analysing musical pieces. The second article looks at the philosophical and other isssues related to African art-music.

SECTION SEVEN: TRADITIONAL GHANAIAN AND NIGERIAN MUSIC AND DANCE
These four papers cover the traditional music and dance in Ghana's Upper West and Northern regions as well as a female performance genre from Kogi State in Central Nigeria.

SECTION ONE

THEATRE ARTS

THE MYSTERY OF HONEY AND MONEY AND THE MOUTH IS SEALED:
A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF YAW ASARE'S 'ANANSE IN THE LAND OF IDIOTS' AS A METAPHOR ON THE AFRICAN SOCIETY.

by

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ABSTRACT
The culture of the African has been destroyed and supplanted by infiltration and colonialism. The life to which the African is consigned to is an economic imperialistic order that results in bribery and does not enable him to rise to a high level. This paper tries to investigate how Honey is used as a symbol to 'seal' the lips of those who could have revealed all the secrets of Ananse[1], the trickster in the play. This, I see as analogous to our modern society where peoples' mouths are also 'sealed' when they are bribed with money to keep certain important things secret that ought to be known by the public.

INTRODUCTION

The key to the understanding of African art is to appreciate it through its distinguishing characteristics, dramatic design. The African mind does not reveal the African as a filthy cannibal, a proud child or a greedy simpleton, as seen through the biased eyes of the explorers exaggerating in order to make money off a gullible public. However these negative characteristic are what the playwright emphasizes on in "Ananse in the Land of Idiots" and as he puts it in his introduction;

> The play tries to reveal the basic causes of alien domination of all forms: insatiable lust, egoistic materialism and greed, lack of committed faith, loyalty and eternal vigilance on the part of the victims. Have these weaknesses not been the causes of the social, economic, political, cultural and spiritual enslavement of the African societies? [2]

Honey is used as a symbol to 'seal' the lips of those who could expose the secrets of Ananse in the play and by extension secrets concerning corruption in society as a whole. The paper also brings into focus Akpala, a character in the play from the imaginary village of Dim-nyim-lira, who is the victim of this honey tasting and hunting saga.

SYNOPSIS

The story demonstrate how Ananse acquires his treasure by making Akpala drunk through the sweetness of honey, catches him, takes his manhood and reduces him to slave-hood. The doctrine of non-resistance seems to have been prevalent in the people of Dim-nyim-lira so that none resisted the powers of Ananse, not even Akpala, a renowned security officer.

In his encounter with the people of Dim-nyim-lira 'The Land of Idiots', Ananse, a shrewd, and cunning character, uses his skills to persuade King Dosey, the Abi of Dim-nyim-lira, and his elders and people, to realize his personal dreams. This occurs after Ananse he suddenly finds himself being lifted from a gloomy position of one condemned for having eaten a sacred food

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1 Ananse is the mischievous spider trickster of Akan folklore [editor].

2 Yaw Asare, about the play, pp.xvii

meant to appease evil spirits and departed souls. He becomes an absolute Prince with a lot of enviable property including the Princess, Sodziisa, the most precious object of the people of Dim-nyim-lira. What is the cost of Ananse's victory to the lives of the people of Dim-nyim-lira? They have been caught in the tricky web of Ananse despite the warning from the gods. The most precious asset of the people has been taken away on silver platter by Ananse, the supreme god Odomankoma's head weaver.

When the King and the elders decided what should become of Ananse after eating the sacred food, he is placed in the hands of Akpala, a royal guard to watch over Ananse who has to weave a kente fabric for the marriage ceremony between Princess Sodziisa and Prince Pootagyiri. As a royal guard, it is Akpala's duty to protect the princess and the prince who were engaged to marry the following day. But on the command of Ananse he kills Prince Pootagyiri, the son of Potaaguo, whose totem is the prowling bush-cat, by piercing an arrow through his heart. At at the moment of execution Akpala 'delivers the fatal blow' himself and the moral issue here is that he (Akpala) 'should not bear the knife of killing his own kinsman by himself'.

Up to then Akpala had proved a die-hard defender of the people of Dim-nyim-Lira and their spiritual rituals. In fact, it was Akpala who had arrested Ananse in the forest when caught eating the sacred food for departed souls and sent him to the king's palace. But Akpala and the other men of the community were unable to protect their people from the wiles of the Ananse. The play ends with the awful irony of Akpala, only concerned with maintaining a fine reputation, a vast investment and the possession of honey. He finally dies a shameful death, one that is regarded by the King as 'dark path into the forest of evil souls.'[3]

THE THEMATIC CONCERNS OF THE PLAY

The play is designed to caution exploited peoples of the world, especially in Africa, on the premium placed on visitors and strangers who come onto our midst and the kind of reception we offer them. This story takes place in the village of Dim-nyim-lira as Ananse arrives. The Dim-nyim-lira clan practices tribal traditions - worship of gods, sacrifice, communal living, war and magic. Leadership is based on a man's personal worth and his contribution to the good of the tribe. Pootagyiri stands out as a great leader of the tribe. This can be deduced from what Akpala says of him.

AKPALA : *You are surely out of your senses, Ananse. The Princess is betrothed to the ferocious Pootagyiri, the most ruthless warrior and wrestler in our time*. (p. 34)

Indeed, tribesmen respect Pootagyiri for his many leadership achievements.

Yaw Asare wrote this play not only for his fellow Ghanaians, but for people beyond his native country. He wanted to explain the truth about the effects of losing one's culture and following other cultures. How does a person lose his/her culture? I think one of the major indications is derived from how the king disobeyed the voice of the gods through the Priestess.

PRIESTESS: (Charging towards Ananse) *You…you…you've ruined that sacrifice…you've stopped the passage of sacrifice to appease evil spirits. You are an evil soul…Great King, this man must die…he must die instantly…..*(p.12)

Asare's play describes the tragic demise of an African prince named Pootagyiri. Initially, Pootagyiri rises to become a powerful leader in the rural village. As Pootagyiri climbs the ladder

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3 Yaw Asare, 2006, p.59.

of success, however, it becomes apparent that his strengths and position become a curse for him. His self-confidence becomes pride, his manliness develops into authoritarianism and his physical strength eventually turns into uncontrolled rage.

In this regard, Pootagyiri's character can be likened to the classical Western tragic hero who is a character of great importance to his state or culture and is conventionally of noble birth and high social station. The moral health of the state is identified with and dependent on him, so the tragic hero's story is also that of the state. Such heroes are mixed characters, neither thoroughly good nor thoroughly evil. Yet they are 'better' or 'greater' than the rest of us are in the sense that they are of high social significance. The plot of tragedy traces the tragic fall of the hero, when a disastrous change or reversal of fortune, catapults him (the classical tragic heroes are often male) from the heights of happiness to the depths of misery. This fall usually comes as a consequence of a tragic flaw in the hero's character and/or an error of judgment. The fall may also be a product of the hero's pre-ordained destiny or fate which the gods may have prophesised. The hero's tragic flaw is sometimes in the form of ruling passion, hubris or overweening pride and self-confidence. This may cause the hero to disregard divine law and try to escape his fate. The tragic hero may also experience a supreme moment of recognition of the truth of his situation and/or destiny. This hero is supposed to move us to pity because he is not an evil man and his misfortune is greater than he deserves. But his story may move us to fear or terror, because we recognize similar flaws in our own fallible natures, of similar errors of judgment in our own lesser lives. In the 'Poetics' the ancient Greek theorist Aristotle asserts that these feelings of pity and fear are purged or purified through 'catharsis': tragic representations of suffering and defeat leave an audience feeling but relieved and elevated, rather than depressed. A part of Akpala's 'fall' is described in the following passage (p.42).

AKPALA: *This rage of yours is pointless, valiant prince! I was posted here by the king to watch over the master-craftsman while he worked. Your betrothed came along here to dance. How could I have avoided taking a glance at her without losing sight of my charge?*

POOTAGYIRI**:** *You know the custom…you know that no lowly man must take any pleasure, physical or visual, from the spouse of his superior. I will surely remember to reward you when I assume my chiefdom. You just wait*

AKAPLA AS AN AGENT OF DOOM
Asare sets this play to the end of the nineteenth century when Europeans first began colonizing this region of Africa on a large scale. By so doing, he establishes a parallel between Pootagyiri's' personal tragedy and colonialism's tragic destruction of native African cultures. Akpala is seen as a character in the play who holds the key to the success of Dim-nyim-lira. He was a respected guard who was entrusted with the vigilance of no less an important prisoner than Ananse. When Ananse was measuring the princess in an awkward manner, Akpala protested…

AKPALA: *Excuse me Ananse…I think you're over stepping your bounds. She is a betrothed woman, you know...and…*(p. 29)

Yaw Asare sees the colonization experience of Dim-nyim-lira in tragic terms. This representative of pre-colonial Ghana is vibrant, sophisticated, complex and has a high level of cultural decency. But all this is undone by the arrival of the colonizers (Ananse) with their (his) own very distinct sense of social administration and absolute disregard for tribal society. This is how Ananse corrupted Akpala (pp. 32-33)

ANANSE: *Aa! How tired I am! Now this is refreshing. (pauses) Have you two ever tasted honey?*

AKPALA: *What is that? Honey? Never heard of it.*

ODUDU: *Nor I.*

AKPALA:*What is it? A fruit juice?*

ANANSE: (Laughs scornfully) *You mean there is no honey in these parts? No bees?*

AKPALA AND ODUDU: *We know nothing of the sort in these parts.*

ANANSE: *Poor you! The gods passed your land over when they distributed the greatest pleasure to mankind. Here, stretch out your palms.*

It is indeed important to recognize that prior to Ananse's coming the people of Dim-nyim-lira were really living in harmony without both the taste of sweet honey or "liquid gold" and the awful stings from horrible bees.

At this point, let me briefly say something about the dangers than can occur through the lure for liquid gold. According to a Los Angeles Times staff writer Paul Watson (December 19, 2005) in Gabura, a village in Bangladesh, the jungle honey hunters' biggest worry is the sting of a giant bee that burns like a red-hot needle. Infact many villagers enter the protected forest to cut trees for fishing boats or to supply factories that make hardboards for furniture and building. Fishermen also gather crabs and shrimps. However it is the honey hunters that often have the most treacherous job, searching for bees' nests in vegetation so dense that the only way through is on hands and knees – which makes them easy prey for tigers . Paul Watson (ibid:6) interviewed a forestry officer called Mohammed Abdul Wajeb who told him that 'human flesh is sweet. Once a tiger has tasted it, it always prefers to feed on humans' and that in the 1990s one tiger killed 84 people who were hunting for honey.

But back to the play - and when Akpala and Odudu stretch their palm in search of sweet honey, Ananse pours some little drop of honey for them to taste. After tasting by licking their palms clean, they stretch out for more. A clear indication that they were hunting for more. The taste of honey makes Akpala's mind blow…"*If you show me, I*

shall relax my vigilance over you…" (p.33) Apkala in this sense can be seen as a honey hunter and therefore should have tried to become aware that tigers will devour him, bees will sting him and other possible dangers could befall him.

Another lesson from this scene is what gives balance and stability to the society has been corrupted by honey which, interestingly, rhymes with money. There are tensions between individuality and communal concerns and the individual fights for his own (and it usually is 'his' own, not 'her' own) honour, success and reward. But if his actions are excessive, or if they might inflict damage on the greater community, they are checked by law and by religious principles.

It is perhaps a flaw in Akpala that his desire for personal eminence and prosperity is paramount. But in the end, for him and for Dim-nyim-lira itself, and as the veteran Nigerian novelist as Chinua Achebe (1958) has put it 'the centre cannot hold'' and 'things fall apart.' It should be indicated that Akpala's central flaw is his inability to achieve a patriotic balance. As can be seen in the following passage (p.38) Akpala's whole life is an attempt to make up for what Pootagyiri meeted out to him when they were young boys.

AKPALA: *All right. Let's see again-half of everything…chiefdom, cattle, food barns, land everything, as well as the secret of the honey. (Dreamily). And as for Pootagyiri….aa! I haven't forgotten how the fool humiliated me during our seclusion as initiates into manhood. Maybe this will be my rightful revenge*

ANANSE: *Your rightful revenge! Sure…sure. That is the spirit.*

The great mistake of Akpala is that he is a witness to the truth, but betrays the whole community for riches and fame. The flaw of Akpala - not only of Akpala but to some extent of the whole society - is that he gives way easily.

CULTURAL CONTEXT
The actual division of the play corresponds to the changes within this society both before and after the coming of Ananse. It is the clan, which is important, and not the individual and so with Ananse's coming the clan suffered for just a few men's guilt. Akpala and Odudu were enticed by the sweetness of honey and King Dosey and his elders were enticed by the beauty of Ananse's kente strap even against the warnings from the high Priestess of Kompi. But it is the attraction of foreign materials (kente and honey) that defeats all of them. The priestess herself refuses the kente cloth from Ananse. Customarily it is religion and the good or ill will of the gods and ancestors which keeps this society together. The Priestess of Kompi, has to be obeyed unquestionably, but for the first time she is disobeyed and 'the empire is in crisis.'

THE MYSTERY OF HONEY AND MONEY.
'H' and 'm'! The first letters of Honey and Money, pronounced 'hm' which has such deep meaning that translates itself to the loss of the power of the tongue or a

mechanism for silence. For linguistically, when pronouncing 'hm' our lips are pressed tight together to depict a sealed mouth Akpala could not speak again and gets his head chopped off because Ananse 'seals' his mouth after tasting sweet honey. (Odudu could not say anything because nobody asked him). As Akpala is given honey and gets his mouth sealed, many of us are given money to get our mouths sealed as well. The effect is the same…

HAD I KNOWN
We no turn to the matter of why have the Prince Pootagyiri and the Princess Sodziisa had never seen each other at all and yet they are about to marry? This is what Akpala says on the matter.

AKPALA: *The King and Queen may recall memories of him as a boy, as a leader of our initiation group when the royal couple honoured us. As for Sodziisa, she doesn't know her groom-to-be beyond the vague descriptions by go-betweens.*(p.36)

This statement reveals that the King and the Queen do not and cannot recognize Pootagyiri when they see him. Pootagyiri also makes a remark which confirms his ignorance of his 'wife'

POOTAGYIRI: *That's when you allowed this worthless owl the opportunity to feast lustful eyes on my bride as she danced… a privilege even I, her rightful owner, have never had!* (p. 43)

After Mbasila, one of the guards, reports to the King that it is Pootagyiri who had died with a poisoned arrow-head sticking through his heart… the King shouts… 'Naa Buruku'. Meanwhile, Ananse acting as Pootagyiri had taken the princess away with him. The elder has nothing to say except;

ELDER: *We are doomed. I should have known. Will posterity ever forgive an elder who went to sleep at mid-day as his barn was looted?* (p. 66)

KING: (In sober resignation) *All is lost, then. (To the audience) why didn't anybody tell me? (Turning furiously to Odudu) You…why didn't you tell anybody, fool? You sat here and looked on. Why?*(ibid)

ODUDU: *Nobody asked me my Lord.* (ibid)

KING: *Aa! Ananse…Kweku Ananse has swindled us…taken everything away* (ibid)…

ODUDU: *No, my Lord…not everything…he…he left….(pulling out the perforated gourd strapped behind him)…this* (ibid)

King Dosey's last lines 'Naa Buruku! What a land of idiots I preside over!' confirms what the Playwright indicates in his introduction…

For are we all not bigger idiots than Odudu, if we fail to perceive and be on our guard against the subtle deceptions, diversions, disguises and thefts that have ended in the depletion of our sacred heritage?

THEMES, ISSUES AND VISION OF THE PLAY

In this play Asare shows us how rich and varied pre-colonial African culture was, but he is not able to illustrate any anti-colonial stance through any character or action or symbol in the play. But does this mean that Ananse (colonialism) takes everything on a silver-platter? Well, it must be recorded that it is only Pootagyiri who sort of commented on the skills of Ananse at (p. 45).

POOTAGYIRI**:** (Looks at the cloth with some disgust) *is that the sort of special cloth you are spinning for us?*

ANANSE: *The designs and hues are on the other side. You can see those after.*

POOTAGYIRI: *Well, I don't have the time. Just make sure they are absolutely artistic. I have a very high sense for artistic judgment.*

In this sense, Pootagyiri represents both the values that hold the society together and those that the people of Dim-nyim-lira and the environs are proud of; manliness, courage, hard work, leadership, titles, etc. He is the only person in the area to whom the most precious treasure of the land has been given, for whom the whole ceremony is about (i.e. betrothal to his wife Sodziisa). Maybe he could have resisted colonialism. (Ananse) but he is eliminated through the hands of his own kinsman. His death therefore is a symbol of the destruction of the old order and the beginning of colonialism. The central theme which runs through the play is that the cohesiveness and unity of the Dim-nyim-lira clan, even classified as 'the land of idiots', are all made to disintegrate and fall apart by the coming of the outsider Ananse, who symbolizes the coming of colonialism.

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TESS ONWUEME'S " SHAKARA: DANCE-HALL QUEEN"– THE PERFORMANCE/ (ACT) OF A MOTHER

by
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ABSTRACT

Contemporary studies of women in literature tend to perceive them essentially as mothers; subjugated and subdued. This portrayal is most times imagined by male writers. Tess Onwueme's Shakara: Dance-Hall Queen challenges this thought. To her, mothers are icons of a society and procreators of the nation. She substantiates this through her women characters by subtly reconciling two parallel divides: past and present. Onwueme's appreciation of the Aniocha Ibo and Yoruba worldviews unfolds this contemporary dilemma in crisp artistic manner while employing the nuances of tradition matched with modernity. This paper questions the various portrayals of mothers within these divides, and submits that the modern-day mother has a lot to learn from tradition. The essay extends the argument that a mother is not "one who births" but "one who cares." The essay concludes that mothering is rather a challenge in contemporary times taking into account against the drop in economic resources.

INTRODUCTION

In traditional societies the story-teller is a repository of history and knowledge and at times an entertainer and educator. Story-telling exacts a privileged position central to the maintenance and sustenance of a society's culture and heritage. However, in these societies, the story-teller is almost always a man. Thus, he tells Hi(s)tory and not women's experiences.

The act of story-telling and theatre share a common platform: they are both narratives of life. The traditional story-teller finds a companion or ally in the modern-day playwright. The theatre being a particularly resonant space offers the playwright a site to articulate social and cultural resistance against practices inimical to communal growth and development. In a patrilineal society, it offers the woman playwright the position to be an advocate for justice and a voice against perceived oppression of women. Importantly, it offers the woman writer the platform to tell her experiences and that of other women and men.

Indeed, contemporary Nigerian theatre-scape is predominantly male-dominated: the implication here is that "we-men" are writing about women, and this obviously has profound impact in the representation of women. Hence Banyiwa-Horne's observation (1986:111-20 is apt:

> A close look at the various images of African womanhood provided in the literature reveals that, to a considerable extent, depictions of African women in the literature by African women writers differ from the images presented by their male counterparts. By virtue of their gender experiences, women writers are inclined to depict female characters in more realistic terms, with great deal of insight, and in meaningful interactions with their environment. Also women

writers tend to create a woman's world in which women characters exist in their own right, and not mere appendages to a male world.

This African world is resonates with the concept of motherhood since "in many African societies motherhood defines womanhood which is therefore crucial to woman's status (see Davis 1986:243). Motherhood aggregates as an identity, a social-historical construct and a social institution. Steady amplifies it in this manner:

> The most important factor with regard to the woman in traditional society is her role as mother and the centrality of this role as a whole. Even in strictly patrilineal societies, women are important as wives and mothers since their reproductive capacity is crucial to the maintenance of the husband's lineage and it is because of women that men can have a patrilineage at all. (qtd. in Davis 1986:243)

We perceive motherhood as a central fact of the female existence because it is most connected to nature (mother earth) and biology. A women's role in reproduction far outweighs that of a man. It is a woman who is a mother and universally do nearly all the mothering, as according to (Tarlow 1996:56) "caring is part of the world of women". Motherhood and mothering is usually perceived as naturally related. But paradoxically this bringing forth of new life and its sustenance, so essential to human survival, has become instruments of subordination. Maternal responsibility is used as an alibi to exclude a woman from power, authority, decision - and from a participatory role in public life.

THE PLAY "SHAKARA: DANCE-HALL QUEEN"
A matriarchal contest occurs which has once again gravitated to the theatre landscape and is resounded in Tess Onwueme's *Shakara: Dance-Hall Queen*, a play in which the story and study of mothers expand dramatically. Onwueme in a subtle and artistic manner creates and (re)imagi(n)es an (en)gendered space to dramatise the personal narratives of mothers. It is instructive to reflect that Onwueme's *Shakara* is a rereading and revisioning of "mothers" within two cultural worldviews that are caught between two extreme spaces: tradition and modernity. The vast gulf that exists between this divide obviously results in a dilemma for the contemporary Nigerian mother. Modernity has brought about an identity crisis among Nigerians, and in particular among women who may seek a form of alternative modernity that is not the same as embracing westernisation.

The First Stage of this play, which appropriately reads "Foreplay", engages us by the verbal use of certain sexual nuances by young girls at the border of adulthood. Deeply thought-provoking is the fact that young persons are widely descriptive of the present reality, so that these young girls start us on this maternal journey but later on are jointly assisted by their mothers and sistesr, and of course some men.

In cultures throughout the world the image of the mother has appeared as a central theme in art, myths and dramatic performances. This Yoruba folk song reinforces this thought:

> *Iya ni wura iyebiye*
> *Ti a kole fowo ra*
> *O lo yun mi fosu mesan*
> *O pon mi f'odun pupo*
> *Kini mase kin 'ma*

> *Gbagbe re*
> *Aro re nso mi pupo.*

Translation:

> Mother you are precious gold
> And a priceless jewelry
> You carried me in your womb
> For nine months
> After delivery, on your back, you carried me for many years
> What can I do without you?
> MotherI will forever remember you!

This passionate appreciation of mother in Yoruba folk tradition is replicated in *Shakara…*. Onwueme's play is set in present-day Lagos but presents the world view of Aniocha Ibo and Yoruba in framing mothers. Using contemporary nuances and metaphors she vividly tells her story of an insider, a woman and a mother. For instance in the play the Aniocha Ibo perceive mothers in this manner, as expressed by Shakara's older sister Kechi:

> KECHI: (Teasing) You mothers rule the world. Nneka. Isn't that what our people say? (*Shakara…* 43)

Faseke (1998:154) talks about this importance of mothers in traditional Yoruba society:

> Over the years, women had combined a number of roles as wife, mother… and so on. As a mother, her influence in all spheres of the … community… becomes noticeable. For this reasons, as mothers, women had been praised through songs and poems for their unflinching loyalty to their children. […] Women were par excellence the agents of transmitting Yoruba culture and also keeping it alive.

However, the status of mothers in the present reality may have necessitated this remark in Onwueme's play by Shakara's mother Omesiete:

> OMESIETE: Hnm… Maybe before. Not now. Things are changing fast, one feels dizzy, looking. Ah! Time was when parents had power. Not now. Not now. (*Shakara…* 43)

Onwueme's rests the disrespect, disregard and disempowerment of mothers on social and political pedestals:

> OMESIETE: It's you children, the youth that we ask. And worse still the leaders who have no solution to anything except to load up their pockets. Ah – ya – ya – ah! I tell you, the way I see things coming? Tomorrow's babies will be born with full sets of teeth. (*Shakara…* 43)

Onwueme's ideological portrayal of Omesiete as a mother presents her as an adviser and advocate of social cohesion:

> OMESIETE: Child, what else do you expect me to say? Are you both not my blood? As they say, "it may be one mother that gives birth, but it is not the same God that creates." Also, "the destiny of the hen is not

the destiny of the cock." It's destiny. Ha, destiny. That huge baggage that everyone bears. Everyone, her own, the bargain with her Chi…God, the final judge and power. Omesiete has no hand in anything except to guide you through your course. (Pause) (*Shakara…* 43-44)

Omesiete's assumption here that a mother gives birth is totally antithetical to the view of Shakara's friend Dupe who claims that "you don't need a mother to be born?" (*Shakara…* 4) which may make the term "mother "ambiguous to define. In other words, a mother is not necessarily a woman who gives birth but one who cares for and raises a child. The actual act of doing is what makes a mother, which suggests mothering is "a social constructed set of activities and relationships involved in nurturing and caring for people (see Forcey 1994:357).

Thus, for Dupe a mother is only a mother when she is devoted to the care of others; she is self-sacrificing and "not subject to her own needs and interests" (see Bassin *et al* 1994:2). Dupe finds in Omesiete the quintessential mother. She craves to swap positions with Shakara who ironically judges the act of a mother on purely social status. Shakara prefers to have Dupe's mother (Madam Kofo) as her mother. Listen to both of them:

DUPE: You know what you sound like? Like a resounding empty drum – just like that woman who calls herself mother.

SHAKARA: isn't it a gross miscarriage? You, too, you sound like my "holy" sister who's shrinking from daily working, fasting and praying until she disappears (mock laughter). […] Baby, think it over you have it all. Choose.

DUPE:(Sighs) Oh, how I wish!

SHAKARA: Sick. Sick. That's what you are… like everybody else around me. Otherwise, how could anyone be blessed, feel so… so…

DUPE: Cursed! Say it. Yes, cursed!

SHAKARA: Cursed? By whom?

DUPE: My birth. My mother.

SHAKARA: A great woman. The envy of the world! Princess and jewel among her peers. The hand that mints money. Money? A curse? Maybe I'm a fool to think…

And a few moments later:

DUPE: Then go hug her! Take. Take her until you both kill each other. And leave me alone. I'm leaving.

SHAKARA: (Trying to restrain her) Why do you have to take everything so seriously? Nothing in life's worth it, you know. As if I love my own mother any more…

DUPE: My kind of woman… that woman. I like mine less…

This ding-dong talk is extended:

SHAKARA: I wish I would be near… (giggling) You have mine. But sorry. No change to take or keep. You know her. More wretched than a

18

church-rat. Just nothing… nothing to keep. What is there to keep in poverty? And in walking misery such as my mother? What is there to keep? Nothing Dupe. So each day you wake up, count your blessings... (*Shakara…* 5 - 6)

Hence, it can be implied that motherhood is linked to infantile experiences and relate to complex, ongoing deeply personal feelings. The import of the above foregrounds the thought that while mothers differ culturally and individually, they share a set of activities that Ruddick says (1994:34) "are identified not by what they feel but by what they try to do"

However, what is common for both characters is that caring "as experienced in the family has come to act as the metaphor and standard for all forms of caring" (see Tarlow 1996:56). Instructively, a mother's actions are shaped by the dynamic interaction of their beliefs about family, individuality, childhood and the nature of their child. These interactions are potent in *Shakara…* and Onwueme uses the characters of Omesiete and Madam Kofo to exemplify the divide, and Dupe and Shakara to reinforce her artistic mandate as a woman writer. Onwueme resolves to allow the audience act as jury in this debate. At crucial points, she appoints her characters to directly encourage and embrace the active participation of the audience. She makes the audience the temple of judgement:

> DUPE: […] Now people, tell me. Who's a mother? The one who gives birth or the one who cares? To me, Mother is – "The Care Giver." And what about you? Tell me – tell me. […] Until mu queen, the real mother comes, I will be waiting. Yes, waiting… (Shakara coughs on the doorway. Embarrassed, Dupe tries to cover-up with a smile). (*Shakara…* 10 – 11)

What is rather interesting in their images is the fact that Dupe sees her mother intrinsically while Shakara imagines her mother from an extrinsic perspective[4]. However, the friendship the two girls share is a basic model for identifying the two sides of motherhood and mothering. Indeed, Dupe sees her friend's "courage" against her mother as likely to put her in trouble. Dupe offers the myth of Icarus as a parable: the young Greek boy whose father made him wax wings to escape captivity, but warned him not to fly towards the sun. He did not heed the warning and so burnt in flight and fell into the sea. The metaphor of "flight" and "fly" as applied in the play connotes a determination by Shakara to "run without first learning to crawl." No wonder Kechi constantly refers to her as "Eneke-nti-mkpo" (the stubborn bird).

This reference to "eneke-nti-mpko" readily invokes the salient appreciation of folk tradition in the play. Onwueme's appropriates it in such unique manners especially by conceding "ancestors" to the feminine sphere. She is wont to reflect at times through Omesiete her appreciation of proverbs and parables. And instead of using "as our fathers say," Onwueme inserts, "our mother" or "my mother" or in extreme cases "my people." Onwueme does not shy away from investing mothers as authors of these wise-sayings[5]. These sayings at crucial times are indicative of the act or performance of mothers. A few examples should suffice:

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4 It should be noted that Shakara's (un)acceptance of her mother is disapproved of by her older sister, Kechi.

5 Kechi shares in this wisdom too, but Shakara finds her attitude rather anachronistic.

OMESIETE	[…] Well, well, "One day monkey go go market e no go come back. […] We shall see… We shall see… We shall see how the python basks in the sunshine. (*Shakara…* 13)
OMESIETE:	You haven't yet sold in the market and already celebrating your profit. (*Shakara…* 13)
OMESIETE:	The chicken plume which flies to the dance-floor even when the chicken is still at home. (*Shakara…* 14)
OMESIETE:	The old woman who sees a baby suckling, too, knows the taste of milk. (*Shakara…* 15)
OMESIETE:	As my mother used to say: It is the duty of the old to let the youths know. And it is the duty of the youths to heed advice from the old. Note too that "if you pound well, you pound in the mortar, if not, you pound on the ground. (*Shakara…* 16)

Hence Omesiete would be emphatic:

> Li-sten! Eneke-nti-mpko! Listen to your mother! The fowl which refuses to listen hears inside the anus of the wolf. Listen! You deaf one who sold your ears and bought wild eyes to look beyond your reach! (*Shakara…* 17)

With these proverbs and words of advice, suffused in local idioms, Omesiete magnifies the duty of a mother "to tell what you need to know. What you do with it is your own business!" (*Shakara…* 16).

We liken this sort of encounter and interactions as manifestations of mother-tongue education. We substantiate at this juncture that Omesiete explores the world of traditional education grounded in deep-seated "trial and error" experience:

> […] But I tell you, she who has cooked longer can boost of more broken pots. (*Shakara…* 22)

The motivation for Omesiete's actions is purely based on the plinth of maternal responsibility. She puts it better idiomatically: "Because children are the salt ... the very essence and season of our lives" (*Shakara…* 44). She importantly recognises that "children are the best Teachers of Parents" (*Shakara…* 44).

Omesiete's teachings are not in vain. She finds a ready and willing pupil in Kechi:

KECHI:	Mock me for all I care. You can't change me… my identity. I am me, and you are you. But no matter who one becomes, home is home. Without it, one is rootless, and can wither.

This recognition of identity is aligned to her name, Ke-chi-nye-lonye, which literally translates to "what God gave to me." Kechi accepts this name; this symbol of her persona. This is not the case with Shakara who not only rejects "Akajunwa – the hand that never rejects a child" but also "Nwaebueni – a child uplifts." To Shakara these are "bush names" that do not reflect her person. Indeed, she changes her name to Shakara after winning a dance-hall contest and constantly attempts to make-over and deliberately modify her appearance: "…especially by use of the set of marks – cosmetic (hairstyle, make-up, etc.)… which… function as social markers deriving their

20

meanings and valve from their positions in the system of destructive signs which constitute … the system of social positions" (see Bourdieu 1986:192).

As is typical of Omesiete she counters her "assertive" negative behavior by employing native idioms:

> […] No matter how poor, I cannot forget who I am. You call that pride? Yes! I wear it like the only royal garment that I have. (Pounding her chest) It's me, Ome-sie-te. Yes, my name. Ome-sie-te – Someday, I too will be… I, Omesiete! Daughter of Ejeme! Daughter of Atochi! My father, Diji! Ogbuu ji-wa-aka-nga-na-ba! Hand that tends yams which grow into many branches. Yes, I am! Daughter of Oka-Onwene! My mother… mother of mothers. Nnem Omenka! Hand that weaves intricate patterns of threads to clothe the World. […] Child, if only you knew your value… your heritage. How could you throw all that away?

Once again, Omesiete's words are loaded with a deep-rooted acceptance of her heritage, and engage us with the importance of having mothers worthy of emulation. She practically boasts of her matri-lineage and encourages Shakara to see that mere cosmetic applications cannot in any way rival substance. But Shakara's influence by worldly engagements exemplified in the personality of Madam Kofo would ultimately spell doom for her. Does she now agree with her mother: "[…] Remember, 'the destiny of the hen is not the destiny of the cock' (*Shakara…* 36).

In another context, this proverb commands importance in Dupe's life: the hen takes care of its chicks; what about the cock? Does it care? Madam Kofo's desire is to change her destiny as she wants to be rich so that she can command respect in society. In her quest, she neglects her daughter and leaves her to the whims and caprices of the world. Madam Kofo substitutes television and gifts as examples of mother care and love. She is the cock leaving Dupe to seek mother hen, Omesiete! To say Dupe is a traumatised young woman is too put it mildly. We must be quick to remark that Dupe represents the child longing for maternal companionship, and finds it in Omesiete, the other mother. The attention she craves for would stir her to report her mother's illicit drug business to the police. Dupe also wants to remove Shakara, her bosom friend, from the "destiny of Icarus."

Tess Onwueme's Shakara: Dance-Hall Queen is divided into nine stages with an interlude in the Sixth Stage. This creatively takes us into a mother's world since a mother naturally carries pregnancy for nine months. [Could the Interlude imply a "premature delivery?"] Anyhow, the play is substantially meta-theatrical in presentation: a play-within-a-play. Noticeably, aside from Omesiete and Madam Kofo, the other characters in the play dual roles, merging and (re-)merging. Does it suggest that the mother characters plays the dual role of "one who births" and "one who cares and nurtures"?

What may be peculiar and interesting in this "Brechtian-style" play is the salient appropriation of projection screens to substantiate the actions of the play. Indeed, it can be argued that the juxtaposition of the traditional performance praxis (where the characters and the audience are active participants) and the application of multi-media technology is clearly a convergence and, an such, an analogy of the dilemma inherent in the play: tradition and modernity. It must be stated that the use of both performance approaches were complimentary. It can, however, be implied that it is an acceptance of the seeming reality of both divides in the play or study of mothers in these present times.

Nevertheless, could Onwueme be subtly saying that even in the face of contemporary demands, mothers can still perform their roles, and *act*? Could she be offering that no matter the challenges it is possible to still *perform* mothers? Good mothers. Could she be theorising that the present-day mother has a lot to learn from tradition?

Tess Onwueme imagines mothers as humans, diligent, entrepreneurial, prudent, intelligent, wise, self-reliant and able to cope despite all the odds of life. After all 'life is like a river." She also recognises their inadequacies and so represents them. Onwueme revisions a mother as ever asserting her "nature" role and identity, and importantly as ruler of the world. EVER SUPREME! NNEKA!

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THEATRE FOR DEVELOPMENT :A METHODOLOGY FOR COMMUNITY WORK

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ABSTRACT

Theatre for Development or Extension Communication practitioners are constantly faced with the challenge of making theatre understandable and beneficial to the target audience. Theatre as a methodology takes into consideration the varied backgrounds of the audience, the situations on the ground, the culture and language of the people and other factors that facilitate effective communication through a participatory approach. This paper may be of some help to those who are interested in using theatre methodologies for community research work. Theatre for Development seeks to build a bridge between the Arts and other disciplines. It offers a flexible space for experimentation, data analysis, participant-observer interaction and collaboration. It is a methodology for "the people by the people". It is a unique methodology that uses theatre, including popular theatre, as a form of language and instrument of communication for both the "lettered" and the "unlettered", the "literate" and the illiterate", the "formal: and non-formal". This paper seeks to critically examine the various stages of the processes involved in Theatre for Development.

FIVE PILLARS OF THE PLAY-MAKING PROCESS:

Theatre for development does not require a written, well-made or ready-made play. It evolves out of spontaneous creativity and improvisation. For this reason, it may seem that there is no need to discuss any specific play-writing process. But there is! It is important that theatre for development practitioners must equip themselves with some basics on evolving theatre for development plays. This paper presents five pillars [A…E] for creating such plays

[A] FROM CENTRAL PROBLEM TO THEME:
From the pictogram below it should be obvious that participatory research in a target community leads to identification of the fundamental problems in that community. For the purpose of undertaking a community based workshop, let us say that the outstanding problem in community 'A' is widespread ignorance resulting from illiteracy and that the residents, who are simple peasants, often fall prey to cheating field-workers and other literates. The Jasikan Cultural Recovery Project at Buem provides an example of this approach of using Development/Extension Theatre to highlight social problems.[6]

But how does one turn a problem into a theme for a story or play? The process is one of distillation and democratic creativity. This simple diagram may help you understand the processes.

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6 The Buem Cultural Heritage Recovery investigated into the reasons why the Youth of Buem had become apathetic and de-motivated in many ways. The forum discussions and post-performance discussions revealed a number of factors ranging from: cultural oppression, discouragement, lack of adequate parental support and ignorance. This is summed up in author's Ph. D thesis: Re-invention of Tradition: Buem Case Study. Winchester College- Southampton University, UK 2001

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          │   PROBLEMS      │
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          │     THEME       │
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      │   THEMATIC STATEMENT    │
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 │  PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC AND CREATIVE │
 │  TRANSFORMATION OF THE THEME INTO STORY│
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     │  VISUALIZATION OF STORY IN     │
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| BEGINNING | MIDDLE | ENDING/ DISCUSSION BAIT |

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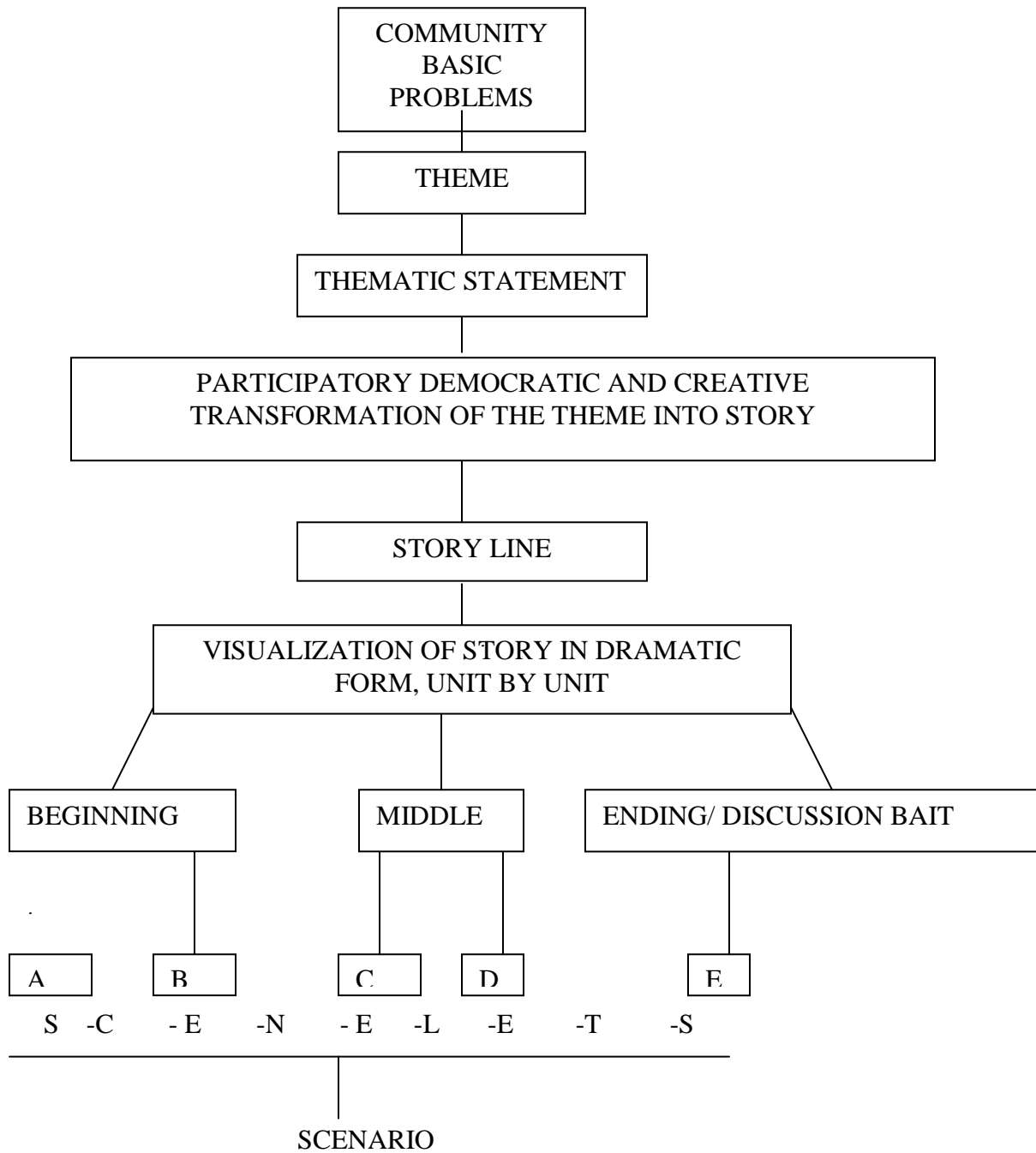
From the diagram above it may be noted that what started as identification and prioritization of the community's basic problems may is summed at the end as the play and its scenarios. With regard to the example of the problem of illiteracy as in community 'A', the problem may be condensed as follows.

PROBLEM	Ignorance and illiteracy

TRANSFORMED INTO THIS THEME	Illiteracy as a major cause of cheating

REDUCED TO A SPECIFIC THEMATIC STATEMENT.	In a society where the people are illiterate, they often fall prey to cheats and quacks

This thematic statement embodies the focal point for the exercise. Beyond this point, the process relies mainly on the creative capabilities of the facilitators. A story-line may be built out of the statement. Then a play structure may be conceived, with a definite beginning, middle and end.[7] During the scenario making stage, details of performance, mood, characterization, folk artistic values, etc. may be worked out. The last stage is, of course the play itself.

The selection of theme must reflect the focus for the exercise. It is always better and more effective to base your theme on one, or at most two of the central issues identified. Avoid the temptation to cluster several issues into one theme as this would tend to obscure the central issue. Once a theme has been identified, it can be condensed into a precise statement; a fact which is true and peculiar to the entire target community. For example, in a community where most people are illiterate, they become victims of cheats and quacks! From this point, try to build a story that would highlight the theme based on this statement.

[B]: THE STORY-LINE FORMATION
4 approaches may be identified. These are a) the democratic process: b) the pooling of separate creative pieces: c) the use of old stories/experiences and d) the Solo creative output. Each will be discussed in turn.

    a) The democratic creative process.
This been observed as the most difficult and challenging, and yet the most effective method (see Chambers 1983). Here the members sit together and through collective brainstorming, selection and blending, create a story based on the thematic statement and factors, situations, attitudes and characters observed in the community. Every member is allowed to contribute in this creative exercise. What is often difficult is the beginning – the formulation of a gem idea, character, situation or event.

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7 See John Dietrich's *Play Direction* Princeton University Press 1967 This is a useful book in the field of play directing and Theatre for Development.

In this approach too, it has been recognized, the members are bound to disagree. But this should not be a discouraging factor as long as the members are aware that it is supposed to be a collective effort and that their arguments would invariably result in the formulation of a story into which each one has contributed a part. Some basic considerations for those using this approach are:

  i.   Examine what situations, characters, images and symbols adequately reflect and embody the central theme, as well as real conditions and values in the target community.
  ii. Analyze which episodes, events and attitudes are both probable and possible.
  iii. Create situations, characters and events that are most likely to be accepted broadly by the members of the target community as credible and recognizable.
  iv. Order the plot of your story simply and in a beginning- middle-end sequential order.
  v.   Above all, give each member a chance to contribute his/her bit.

b) Pooling of Separate Creative Pieces:

This approach often results when facilitators fail to reach consensus while trying to pursue the first (democratic) approach. It is comparatively easier but less effective since what comes out is often a forced blending of different view-points. However, when the separate creative pieces are put together a good story often emerges. But this then becomes a duplication of effort and unnecessary waste of time since one could have used the democratic method to start with.

c) Use of Old Stories/Experiences

This approach is based on adaptation of existing stories and personal experience. However its very usage defeats the vital need for theatre for development story/play to be created exclusively for a specific community, reflecting its unique situation, character, attitudes and problems. It is only natural that facilitators tend to use this method when they are hard pressed for time or creative output, since it is easy way out (see Jennings 1997). To ensure that an effective story is built this way therefore, it is important to analyse the existing story bit by bit, and consider how faithfully each unit reflects the peculiarities of the target community. This again, must be collective exercise.

d) The Solo Effort: The Individual Creative Output

This method, by implication, is undemocratic. It breeds animosity and apathy among the facilitators. When an individual imposes his/ her story, no matter how good, on the rest of his fellow facilitators, it ceases to be genuine community theatre since the product assumes the personal point of view of the creator. This, of course is unacceptable for the practice of theatre for development. It often results in the other members folding their arms in apathy or not providing the requisite motivation to give their best.

[C]: FORM STORY-LINE TO PLAY STRUCTURE:

Once the story-line has been identified and established, the rest of the process takes a definite form. The story becomes the outer framework within which details of action, character and mood

may be filled. To begin with, your story must have a number of principal characters, even if sketchy, as well as situation and action points in which they relate to each other. Now you must begin to visualize the unit scenes in the story. The usual temptation of contriving more detail than is necessary at this stage must be resisted; otherwise there is the likelihood of obscuring the focal concern. Stick to the story framework while you develop the play. Again, one of the facilitators may take note of a vital "action point" or "spark point" that should mark the important unit of the play. The following four points must be considered while making a play structure:

i)   Plot

This is the logical and sequential arrangement of events from the beginning to the end. The beginning (exposition) of a play for theatre for development may be based on the apparent tranquility and harmony of the status quo, a point which reflects the situation as it were of ignorance, poverty, disease or lack of basic amenities. Alternatively, the beginning may be based on conflict, right from the start. Sometimes it may be appropriate to begin a theatre for development (TFD) play with some drumming, dancing or sheer spectacle to a captivate the audience from the start.

ii)   Characterization

In identifying characters for your plays it is necessary to conceive of them in line with the type of people you may have interacted with in the community during your participatory research. Remember that your characters must be seen as representative of the the community so that, as David Pammenter (in Jackson 1999) puts it, a broad section of the audience may identify themselves with these characters

Your characters must be believable, familiar and easily identifiable. Avoid creating characters that may tend to ridicule the handicapped and afflicted, as this may arouse animosity or a loss of t sympathy for their plight. This caution is necessary considering the tendency of most artists to explore ready-humour through the creation of comic roles that put the hunchback, the cripple, and the blind to ridicule. Of course, the mischievous cripple or the notorious hunchbacks who are already known by the people as deserving ridicule may be used for such purposes. Otherwise, such "underdog" personality should be represented in situations that rather elevate their status. For example the cripple or blind character may be conceived and presented as the "spokesman" or the "voice of wisdom" in the play.

For an effective TFD play, there is the need for economy of characterization. As much as possible, limit your characters to the barest minimum of not more than five characters in any scenario or unit.

iii)   Conflict:

It is important to note that conflict is the dynamo and spark-plug of dramatic presentation. Without adequate conflict, TFD plays would only be a long and boring discursive presentation, no different from many didactic and prescriptive radio and television documentaries on topical issues. Therefore conflict is important not only to sustain excitement and action in the play but to also to explore varying and sometimes contradictory shades of opinion and interests. Conflict

itself emerges as a result of intense clashes of interests, view-points, pursuits and ideas. Four basic levels of conflict may be identified:

a) Internal conflict:
Crises (dilemma) within the character, which may occur when the individual is divided in his or her own mind. You should identify dual or multiple "voices" that are arguing, questioning and criticizing from one conflicting point of view or the other.

b) Characters versus characters:
This is conflict in which one person contends with another or an identifiable group over a specific view point, interest or pursuit. But do not to fall into the usual trap of conceiving all conflict as being expressed in physical action. Sometimes artists are tempted to spread their plays with lots of noisy quarrels and fighting scenes. This needn't be the case. Rather artistically use subtle means, like gestures, mood and symbols to express conflict between one person and another (or others).

c) Person versus society:
Here the individual is pitched against the rest of the society. The point of conflict may be over issues that touch the very existence and welfare of the society at large: education, health, environment protection, population issues, shelter etc. The stage character possesses a perception which may be rightly or wrongly radically different from that of the rest of society.

d) Person versus abstract values
This conflict over mystical ideas, principles, and values generates the crises within the individual. This internal conflict, motivates him/her to rebel or oppose other people and ideas, etc.

All these above four forms of conflict are used to activate and animate a play. One specific example might be on the need for peasant housewives to be "functionally" literate. Here we can cite a good example from one community play in which two rival housewives hold opposing views on non-formal literacy classes. First there is a person to person conflict between them. At another level, there is an abstract conflict between the need to accept functional literacy or not. Without these points of conflict the presentation would tend to be a one-way discussion in which all the characters may agree that functional literacy is useful, without exciting dramatic opportunities to present the opposing interests and views of the ignorant rival and arrogant, rich husband.

iv)   Flavouring ingredient in the TFD play
These are the 'fleshy' parts of the play that come as language usage, movement (gestures), rhythm, mood, dance and symbolism. We need not make a detailed study of these elements and so let us examine certain key devices. These firstly include suspense, irony and contrast. Secondly, humour and wit are very central to TFD. In fact, it is these, added to conflict, that distinguish the dramatic presentation form from a discursive-didactic presentation. Their effective use would depend on the artist's knowledge of local proverbs, riddles, metaphors, images, etc. Finally and thirdly there other supportive arts, like drumming, dancing, lyrics, etc.

to enrich your play. For example, catchy slogans that embody vital messages may be composed as riddles, songs, chants or drum-rhythms.

[D] MAKING THE SCENELETS
The important thing to note in making scenarios is that they are meant to assist you to identify the various 'action-points' that stand distinctly by themselves as little episodes within the play. Once your play has taken shape, spell out logical and sequential units e.g. as follows:

Scenelet. 1. from entrance of A at market
        To fight between A and ticket collector after former insults the latter.
Scenelet. 2. from arrival of X at clinic
        To arrival of Y at the same clinic and both patients talk about being cheated.

Such an arrangement helps you to identify where one major action should start or end and helps one avoid the temptation to overstretch units within the play!

It has often been noted that characters find it difficult to know when to stop an episode and begin another. This is only natural, since although the TFD play is scripted it relies heavily on spontaneous improvisation. In order to solve this problem, the use of scenario organization as noted above comes in handy. Between the two 'action points' the character may improvise actions and dialogue and easily connect one point to another with in-work cues, such as the insult of one by the other or the talk about cheating by X and Y. These cue-points provide smooth and timely transitions between one scenario and another.

[E] MODES OF AUDIENCE INVOLVEMENT
Audience involvement is crucial to TFD play which therefore must have techniques which can draw the audience intimate attention and sometimes direct participation into the dialogue and action of the play. Below are some of the recommended ways in which the audience may be involved:

(a) A character may pose rhetorical questions to the audience, especially, when he is in crisis or a dilemma. Such questions must be such that they solicit short answers. For example, the housewife being taunted by her husband for attending literacy classes may ask the audience: what shall I do now? I want to attend classes but my husband won't let me! To this, a member of the audience may answer, humorously, "Divorce him! Run away from him!." Such a situation, apart from the laughter it may induce, ensures continued audience attention and involvement in the play. Another way is to make a statement and ask the audience if they agree with you or not. You might receive varied answers, but the audience will be drawn into the action.

(b) Inviting volunteer-actors into action is another powerful way of audience involvement. One should however be careful not to try this involvement at very crucial section of the plot.

(c) Use of local place-name and images also helps to ensure audience involvement. Audience, especially those in simple rural communities' cherishes the mention of popular local names, such as famous or notorious people and events).

(d) Sometimes too, characters may borrow a piece of cloth, walking stick, a hat or handkerchief from the audience. But remember, if you do this - return it as soon as you finish. It may not be necessary to actually collect the props. You may ask a character to lend you his/her walking stick to thrash a character such as stubborn wife,. But you can be sure the owner of the stick will tell you not to beat the poor woman with the stick. So the actor may decide to use blows instead
This is audience involvement!

[F] THE "DISCUSSION- BAIT" (i.e. a bridge between the play and the discussion)
Most audiences are wary, if not distrustful, of dry, didactic and prescriptive discussions. That is why when officers gather them under tree and preach acting methods to them, they gradually leave with petty excuses of fetching tobacco, attending a sick child and so on. If TFD is to avoid such a situation its discussions needs to be made as informal as possible. The usual practice of ending the play, receiving the applause and one of the facilitators stepping into the centre and opening the discussion does not ensure an atmosphere of informality. Another thing to remember is that most local audiences, either out of humility, suspicion or coyness are reluctant to come into the lime-light and ask questions or make contributions to the discussion. The answer lies in consciously creating towards the end of the play what I term the "Discussion Bait". At this point, you have your audience deeply involved in the action of the play. They may be unabashedly passing comments among themselves ridiculing and praising characters. This is the point to capture their attention and sustain it in the transition from the play into the discussion. This is not easy, but a little bit of creativity does the trick.

 For instance, you may create a situation in which one of the two quarrelling rivals may make a complaint to a chief, headman or opinion-leader seated in the audience and ask him to judge. Various other members of the audience may be invited to pass comment or testify during the "mock trial". A facilitator remains on stage as a kind of moderator while the other facilitators may plant themselves randomly among the audience to nudge them into the discussion by asking leading questions, prompting or encouraging individuals to speak up their private 'mutterings'.

The "discussion bait" may also take a form of leaving symbolic characters on stage at the end. This was done during one of the plays connected with the previously mentioned Jasikan Cultural Recovery Project at Buem. At the close of this play a teacher asked the audience whether they liked the illiterate, unhappy and continually cheated character, or his confident, enlightened and happy rival. These contrasting characters are most likely to form indelible impressions on the audience's minds and thus reinforce the process of learning
.
Managing to "catch" the attention of the audience by reflecting instances similar to their real world experiences leavers a lasting effect on the community members. Conversely, the popular culture of a people becomes fertile grounds for nursing their popular theatre and also theatre for development as well. The local myths, dirges, popular songs, indigenous stories, proverbs, sculpture and paintings provide a solid ground for the development of a people's theatre.

CONCLUSION
Although Augusto Boal (1992) suggests Image Theatre, Invisible Theatre and Forum Theatre as ways of using theatre for developmental purposes this paper focuses on Theatre for Development. The paper therefore offers interested scholars and practitioners some kind of

guidance for using theatre for development for community education, development and cohesion. Start with those interested participants by asking the questions that will tickle the creative abilities such as "if you were a king, how would you walk? Then ask a participant to demonstrate this form of walking and build a story around the character. Let others try by joining and adding speech to "action" and there will emerge lovely characters that will breathe life into the "cold images".

The natural language and activity of the child and careful observation of children's play within indigenous communities give clues to the creation of Theatre for Development pieces. Indigenous stories are an equally good starting point for the creation of Popular Theatre pieces. One must bear in mind that improvisation, spontaneity and experimentation are key to both theatre for development and popular theatre pieces. The paper suggests small or large groups of facilitators working in communities during theatre for development sessions. It has spelt out five major pillars that are indispensable for TFD play-lets. Furthermore, the paper also illustrates in a pictorial form what one might do as a facilitator of community theatre. Finally also it discusses the steps practitioners might adopt for audience participatory learning activities through theatre.

As can be seen from this paper Theatre for Development is a collaborative art. It requires self-discipline, cooperation, creativity, a high level imagination, critical thinking and taking the past, present and future into consideration. This Theatre is a discipline that brings all other disciplines together. It employs make-believe methodologies and offers room for introspective, retrospective, reflexive and deductive teaching and learning. As one of the universal languages it communicates beyond regions and thus breaks barriers, mental walls and entrenched positions.

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DIRECTING STYLES IN THE NIGERIAN LITERARY THEATRE

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ABSTRACT

Performance in the theatre through the players is the last phrase of artistic communication to the audience. Consequently, the art of performance, whether social, cultural, religious, improvisational or scripted can only become a reality through the creative endeavour of the theatre director in the complex art of play directing. Through the descriptive, interview and participant-observer methods of research, this research work examines some directing styles that are clearly articulated by some of the creative and experimental theatre directors in Nigerian literary theatre. These directing styles are explored and documented so that directors in Nigeria and elsewhere can learn theatre practice from them. Even though individuality, aesthetic experience, education and so on cannot be ruled out for theatrical concepts of directorial style, we conclude that the intellectual and practical mastery of these directing styles will further help the theatre directors grasp the reality of play directing.

INTRODUCTION

Skill, dexterity, creative imagination, versatility, diligence, mental alertness, the love for research and also style are some of the positive qualities that a good theatre director should possess in the creative work of artistic interpretation. Consequently, Soyinka, Rotimi, Akinwale (2010), Adelugba, Musa (2000), Ukala (2007)[8] have examined the style as the hub and essence of play directing.

Two important reflections from Bayo Oduneye (the former Artistic Director of the National Troupe of Nigeria) and Dapo Adelugba (a seasoned theatre scholar and artistic director of over forty years) will be recalled here to drive home the point regarding the failure of style and directorial interpretation on the part of the present crop of Nigerian theatre directors. First, Bayo Oduneye's venom.

> Most times, I find it difficult to cope with some of these mediocres who parade themselves as directors…some of those who call themselves super directors can't even tell me where they trained.[9]

Secondly and most importantly is Dapo Adelugba's reflective criticism that:

> a theatre director should always observe life and I found out that young theatre directors do not observe life adequately enough. That I think is a major kind of problem

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8 Most of the scholars mentioned here are seasoned theatre directors in the Nigerian literary theatre who have worked to re-define the Nigerian theatrical space.

9 Bayo Oduneye in an interview with Shuaib Hussein, 1992. p. 29.

that I have of the current theatre directors. There should be greater observer of life whether on life stage or on anywhere else. There should be no hurry as well in getting rounded education. I do not think that the present younger theatre directors read widely enough or give themselves enough time to watch productions of good works done not only in Nigeria but also in countries outside Nigeria. That is part of the equipment of a theatre director[10].

From the two statements above, one can see the expressions of dissatisfaction about directorial laziness and arrogance that have dominated the Nigerian theatre. This has led to the artistic destruction of the art of play directing by the present crop of Nigerian theatre directors whose directing is based on haste and hurry, trial and error – an extension of the crisis of cultural identity in dramatic communication.

Certainly, the theatre director is important because the art of performance, whether social, cultural, improvisational, scripted, commissioned or religious becomes a reality through the creative endeavour of the theatre director in his art of play directing. This is why various theatre scholars and theatre directors have accepted the complexity of play directing in their various conceptual postulates. For example, Robert Cohen (1988:144) sees directing as "an art whose product is the most ambiguous, perhaps the most mysterious in the theatre", while Francis 7(1991:1) concludes that directing is:

> a highly sensitive craft involving intensive play analysis,
> exceptional skills in communication and approaches to the
> making of style…stimulation and arrangement of the doing
> of the others, a very complicated process requiring many
> exceptional skills of its own.

Wole Soyinka, a theatre director par excellence also accepts the reality of the complexity of play directing. He submits quite frankly that play directing is a:

> complex business. It is a sociological phenomenon. It
> relates to the environment, the cast in hand, how much time
> one has, how many actors there are, how to balance the
> amount of time given to each actor in view of just how
> much time one has to put a play on stage and of course the
> overall theatrical images which one wants to represent, the
> dynamic tensions of the various special images which one
> want to create on stage[11].

Both Dean and Cara (1965) and Goldfarb and Wilson (1993) have also written extensively on the complex dynamics of play directing.

The theatre director is also one of the important image makers in the theatre business. The director, in the word of Edwin Wilson and Alvin Goldfarb (1993:1) must be "responsible for the overall style, space and visual appearance of the production. The entire process requires skill at

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10 Dapo Adelugba in an interview with Musa Rasidi Abiodun, 2000. p. 24.

11 Wole Soyinka in an interview with Okorie C. and cited in Musa Rasidi, 2000. p. 3.

organization as well as aesthetics sensibility, qualities the director must have in abundance". As a gifted artist in the theatre, the director is no doubt a creative artist, peacemaker and an anointed leader in the theatre who Peter Brook (1966:38) says "does not asked to be God and yet his role implies it" The director is also someone whom Cruthrie Tyrone says must partly be:

> an artist presiding over a group of other artists, excitable
> unruly, childlike and intermittently "inspired". He is also
> the foreman of a factory, the abbot of a monastery, and the
> superintendent of an analytic laboratory. It will do no harm
> if, in addition to other weapons, he arms himself with the
> patience of a nurse, together with the voice and vocabulary
> of an old-time sergeant major[12].

Script selection and interpretation, audition and casting, picturisation and composition, the coaching and teaching of actors on movement rubrics, characterisation and general coordination of theatrical activities are some of the functions of the theatre director in the business of play directing. These functions are dynamic because they often change with time. So, the non-static nature of theatre means that the director must be very intelligent, educative, creative and disciplined. Futhermore, as a trainer the director "must also train and labour on the speech, voice, expression, body movement and character portrayal of each actor"[13]. The acquisition of these qualities will make him or her to be the true "master of all the arts of the theatre".

To stem the current tide of directorial laziness and arrogance, and for play directing to grow to new heights of artistic excellence, the current young Nigerian theatre directors must observe and learn from renowned Nigerian theatre directors. What we therefore emphasise in this research work is the need for the understanding various directing styles available in the Nigerian literary theatre. Most of the directing styles that we will be discussing in this work are in reference to the directorial works of notable Nigerian theatre directors such as; Dapo Adelugba, Bayo Oduneye, Femi Osofisan, Olu Obafemi, Chuck Mike, Akanji Nasiru Ayo Akinwale, Ziky Kofoworola, Ola Rotimi and Zulu Sofola.

STYLE AND THE NIGERIAN LITERARY THEATRE
Style suggests that "every play has an intrinsic quality, an identifiable structure and texture and that handled according to the rules. It's likely to produce a certain type of response… detailed matter, and more elusive… something deeper"[14]. Style is an affectionate and emotional mode and method of aesthetics by a designer in the theatre. Hodge (1971) and Akinwale (1993 and 2002) have defined style in relation to artistic cum directorial interpretation. Francis Hodge sees style as what makes form individual and specific.[15] Ayo Akinwale states that the "style employed by a director becomes visible during the performance. Some styles are related to periods and hence such terminologies as realism, symbolism, expressionism, surrealism and so on."[16] Within the conservative traditional school of directing, style relays to us three polemics:

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12 Cruthrice Tyrone in Frank Whiting, 1961. p. 156.

13 Alexander Dean and Lawrence Carra, 1965. p. 26.

14 Hugh Morrison, 1984. p. 127.

15 Francis Hodge, 1971. p. 279.

16 Ayo Akinwale, 2002. p. 122.

A. The individual creative interpretation of the theatre director is intrinsically linked to the director's vision, passion and emotion in his theatre.

B. The interplay of culture, society, period and or convention which the audience sympathise with is what the theatre director may draw his experience from.

C. The technical and dramatic demands/qualities of a play can radically influence the theatre director.

Consistency is, however, the dominant key to style. Once a theatre director has used a method of directing throughout his directing career it then becomes his directing style. Directing style can, in turn, be influenced by other factors such as education, creative experience, socialisation and the nature of the play contemplated for directing. The major problem associated with style, particularly in the modern plays, is that "a modern play seldom has a pure style, and there are almost as many styles as plays"[17]. This implies that a play in the modern sensibility can have elements of tragedy, tragi-comedy, comedy, melodrama and so on. Directors handling modern plays must be careful while inventing styles. If undefined styles are imposed under the illusion of the director's artistic superiority or self-indulgence, this can be an invitation to directorial suicide and artistic disharmony within the *mise-en-scene* and the *mise-en-actor* on the living stage. Style is important and must be determined because style "will tell the degree, kind and amount of composition, the simplicity or complexity of form to be used in the groupings. It will settle the actors' body position in relationship to the audience, the use of area and level"[18].

Linked to style, is the classification of the Nigerian theatre. This is also controversial because many scholars treat this subject matter from various evolutionary, historical, practical, ideological and aesthetic angles. Through Nigerian theatre scholars such as M.C.J. Echeruo, Yemi Ogunbiyi, J.P. Clark, Ola Rotimi, Ossie Enekwe, Olu Obafemi, Meki Nzewi, J.A. Adedeji, Biodun Jeyifo, Demas Nwoko and Wole Soyinka we have heard various traditions and divisions. In fact, Olu Obafemi analysed some of the traditions in the Nigerian theatre as: the dramatic ritual: popular tradition: literary drama: traditional drama: theatre for development: the conservative: the reformist: the revolutionary: historical (pre-colonial, colonial, postcolonial): formal (traditional, modern): thematic (including ideological structures and determinants): the residual: the dominant and the emergent.[19]

Unfortunately, not much historical writing has been done in Nigerian play directing. However, we have heard of some such directing traditions, such as the Olofin Ologbojo of the Alarinjo traveling theatre and those of Ogunde, Duro Ladipo's and Kola Ogunmola's. Likewise in the Nigerian literary theatre, directing traditions have evolved through Wole Soyinka, Ola Rotimi, Femi Osofisan, Zulu Sofola, Olu Obafemi, Dapo Adelugba, Bayo Oduneye, Ayo Akinwale and many more. Their works are familiar with us through their consistent use of directing styles suitable to their theatre and accepted by their audience. It is important to note that "specific individuality" and "special characteristics of an individual production" make the theatre "director a stylist".

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17 Alexander Dean and Lawrence Carra, 1965. p. 322

18 Ibid ..., p. 323.

19 Olu Obafemi in Yemi Ogunbiyi 1988 p. 54.

LEADERSHIP SENSIBILITY AND STYLE IN THE DIRECTING PROCESS

The theatre director is an indisputable leader, especially when play production is contemplated. However, the key to leadership is the ability to influence others to carry out his instructions. Perhaps this is why Paul Jersey and Kenneth Blanchard (1969:60) define leadership as "the process of influencing the activities of an individual or group toward goal achievement in a given situation". As an influential member of the production team, the theatre director's individuality and character can make or mar any production. The director's leadership acumen will ultimately be put to test when performing the crucial directorial functions such as play selection, casting, blocking and actors' coaching. The director's leadership individualistic style will also determine the output of his theatrical directions, for as policy maker in the theatre he or she are representing themselves in the art. However, once a theatre director has total control of the theatre through good leadership, he or she can then begin with one of the important functions of play directing - which is play selection.

Quick frankly, it seems that most Nigerian theatre directors select plays based on the choice of the audience, the financial strength of the producer, the space or the performance area, the available manpower and "technical and dramatic qualities" of the play.

Robert Cohen (1988:135) also suggests that "three basic considerations go into play selection; the director's interest, the interest of the intended audience, and the capacity of the director and the producer to acquire, conceptualise and produce the play". A play should not be selected on the basis of the popularity of the play or the playwright, but rather on the theatre director's artistic, intellectual and creative abilities to direct the play. Wrong choice of plays for directing is the beginning of failure because it will mar the image of the theatre director and his or her directing style. Play selection has to be negotiated with the producer based on the strong conviction of the director. Then, once a final agreement has been reached on a play to select, the theatre director can then begin to experiment with the directing style familiar with him or her.

DIRECTING STYLES IN THE NIGERIAN LITERARY THEATRE

Most of the directing styles that we will be discussing in this research work are the ones that have been consistently used in the Nigerian theatre by famous Nigerian theatre directors from the literary theatre tradition. We must emphasise here very clearly that directing styles should not be confused with production styles, though there are points of connection between the two. In analysing a directing style, the individuality of the theatre director in his creative intervention through his or her passion is non-negotiable. Production style on the other hands is the holistic soul of the production: costumes, make-up, set construction, lighting and preliminary factors of *mise-en-scene* and *mise-en-actor* represent. The directing style will ultimately influence the production style as if it is the 'whistle-blowing referee' who controls the affairs of the players.

The endless and changing paradigms of the theatre are, perhaps, two other factors that make directing styles in the Nigerian theatre a zero-sum game of intellectual misconceptions. Certainly, the theatrical contention that a play is capable of dual interpretation and that a directing style employed for "play A" may not work for "play B" belies the endless space of creative interpretation. In this study, ten major directing styles in the Nigerian literary theatre will be analysed within the multi-media and multi-cultural aesthetics:

1. The Preconceived or Pre-blocking Directing Style

This is a directing style where the theatre director writes down his directorial movements and actors' body positions about a play he or her is directing on paper and directs the actors according to these instructions. Complaints are not entertained from the actors, and the theatre director often acts faithfully to his or her pre-blocking designs. Bayo Oduneye, the former Artistic Director of PEC Repertory Theatre, Lagos and the National Troupe of Nigeria is one of the proponents of the school of pre-blocking directing style. He has:

> committed over forty years to the service of the theatre. He has produced and directed a number of stage productions among them: *The Visit of Bishop Alaba, Coloted Miseum; Nadrian, The Seventh; Spirit of Lagos; Ayege; Death and King's Horseman, The King Must Dance Naked; The Lion and the Jewel; Langbodo; The Silent God; The Trial of Oba Ovonramwen*; the stage adaptation of *Things Fall Apart*, *John Brigg's Paradise* and lately Efua T. Sutherland's play *Marriage of Anansewa*[20].

Bayo Oduneye has accepted the fact that he "takes the same process", i.e. that the theatre director is a 'super artist' who should 'play God' . This is also one of the main directing styles rooted in the Craigian theatre school and it saves time as it emphasises the infallible power of the artistic director in the theatre. However, it can turn the actors into mere mechanical robots, who cannot think and create.

2. Actor's Freedom Directing Style

This style of directing gives unlimited power and freedom to the actor in the theatre. It is dialectically opposed to the pre-blocking style. Constantin Stanislavsky and Arthur Hopkins created this style. Another who belonged to this school of directing is Dapo Adelugba who started his directing career with Geoffrey Axworthy when he adapted Moilere's *Les Feuberies de Scapin* to "That Scroundrel Suberu" in 1961 at the University of Ibadan. Theatre directors who are in this directing school tend to create pictures and see directing more as picturisation. In fact, Dayo Adelugba defends this school of directing when he submits that "I do create pictures. I think they are unlikely to be aware that I am creating pictures because I don't make fetish out of it. But I am just as interested in the visual aspect of the directorial art as in the verbal aspect.[21] Alexander Dean and Lawrence Carra (1965:320-1) also support this directing style.

> Although there is, of course, no standard formula for directing a play, repeated productions have taught us not to work out particular details of scene, its composition, picturisation, movement, rhythm, or business, but to consider the general tonal and emotional values of the play and how they may be sensed by an audience. Only by the actor's conveying these qualities in a performance will the director be able to direct six or seven plays a season.

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20 Bayo Odunaye in an interview with Shuaibu Hussein 1999 p. 29.

21 Dapo Adelugba in an interview with Musa Rasidi, 2000. p. 142.

The actors need freedom in the theatre, as this will help them to act intuitively and accept the reality of "magic if" and the essence of "transubstantiation" while acting. This directing style, therefore emphasises not only the need to condition the actors to the directing style of the director but to allow the actor to develop and interpret the play in the best natural sense possible. Whether we like it or not the actors are the communicators of the director's vision in the theatre enterprise. This style enjoins that they should be given the freedom to bring their creative endowments to bear in their acting. That the theatre director owns the theatre should not mean turning the actors into robots and this seems to be the statement from directors in this school. Apart from Dapo Adelugba, Femi Osofisan and also Olu Obafemi to some degree belong to this school of directing.

3. Inner and Outer Resources Directing Style

For the inner and outer resources directing styles the theatre director uses a combination of styles. For instance the pre-blocked play may be used in the working paper but the director also allows the actors to creatively, imaginatively and intuitively give the best interpretation to their roles and characters. Ayo Akinwale, the former president of the Society of Nigeria Theatre Artists (SONTA) propounds this style which he christened 'schools of inner resources and outer technique'[22]. He leads the this school of directing style which includes other theatre directors like Israel Eboh, Tunde Bakare, Inih Ebong, Yemi Akintokun, Ofonime Inyang and Linus Osemene.

4. The Traditional Directing Style

Directors who accept this notion of their function usually retain the time and place specified in the script and follow the playwright's prescriptions about staging[23]. This directing style implies that the play as written by the playwright is not edited by the theatre director. Every movement, moods and all stage instructions are followed by the director. Nothing is removed and nothing is added. Such plays must be directed with a view to retaining the intentions of the playwright through a 'closer examination of the script'. Sola Fosudo of the Lagos State University Theatre School experimented with this style of directing through the performance of Femi Osofisan's *Many Colours Make the Thunder King,* performed at the 2000 Convocation of Lagos State University. Most dramatists who are in the group of the playwright-directors conventionally strive to retain the vision of the play at the expense of other radical directorial styles within the experimental gamut. Most playwrights prefer their plays to be directed through this style. However, a good theatre director should not please the playwright. Rather, he or she should please the audience and satisfy his or her artistic curiosity.

5. The Improvisational Directing Style

Young Nigerian theatre directors often make use of this style of directing. It is a directing style without definite focus but whose theatrical intention is to do everything possible while attempting to put the play on stage. 'Àrúkù' which literally means 'anyhow' is a local name for the improvisational style of directing. It become necessary when there is not sufficient money to really provide for all the necessary human and material resources in the theatre. The time factor, or the director laziness or lack of expertise are some other factors responsible for this style. Yet,

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22 Ayo Akinwale in his inaugural lecture, "And the Journey Begins… The Travails of a Theatre Sociologist", presented at the University of Ilorin on 29th of April, 2010. p. 35.

23 See for instance Oscar Brockett 1992 p. 310.

improvisational directing style has the advantage of allowing the theatre directors and the actors to create a workshop theatre, storyline or a play-let which ultimately forms a working document for a performance in which the performers "thrives on spontaneity and ingenuity"[24].

6. The Director's Theatre Directing Style

This style of directing strongly re-states the power of the theatre director. Richard Gilman states the intentions of some theatre directors and explains the rationale behind the director's theatre.

> What are we to make of this production? Is it liberated and innovative; as a few critics have said? Or is it an outrageous violence of Shakespeare's intent? One thing is certain… director's   theatre - a performance in which the director imposes his own extreme vision on a playwright's classic work, radically changing the original in the process[25].

The overbearing influence of the theatre director who is of this school is so great that when they pick a script they can start the play at the tail end, or introduce [special] visual aesthetics and speeches at the beginning of the play. Daniel Merguich, Ntozake Shange, Andrei Serban and some Nigerian theatre directors (Effiong Johnson, Bakare Ojo Rasaki, A. A. Adeoye, Felix Emoruwa and so on) often use this style of directing. It is even artistically rewarding to use this style if the cast of the play is made up of greenhorns and inexperienced actors. Here, the vision, mission and direction of the play rest squarely with the director.

7. The Editing Directing Style

This is a directing style where the theatre director edits a play and decides on the aspect of the play he or she intends to direct. It is different from the improvisational or the director's theatre style because the remaining edited part of the play is used as a guide. Long dialogue based plays and published novels contemplated for stage adaptation often fall under the hammer of the editing theatre directors. Most often they re-write the play for the playwright, with many things having to be removed for a meaningful and compact performance

8. The Computer Directing Style

The late Professor Ola Rotimi[26] originated this trend which is similar to the pre-blocking style. This is a style where the actors' body positions and movements are programmed into the computer and played for prospective actors to subsequently imitate during rehearsals and performances. This style is another hi-tech innovation that can positively change the art of directing. Importantly, computer education is now crucial to the growth of theatre scholarship. Theatre arts should not be left out in the exploration of this modern technology. We are currently working on a software that will accommodate the basic Western and African directing icons whichs we hope, will save time and cost in the directing process.

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24 Iyorwuese Hagher, 2000. p. 5.

25 Richard Gilman in an interview with Chris Nwamuo, 1983. p. 69

26 Late Professor Ola Rotimi, a confirmed master of Nigerian stage iconography (Ayo Akinwale and Emmanuel Oga) radically changed the face of the Nigerian theatre through good productions that relied on African artistic resources.

9.   The Straight-Take Directing Style

This directing style, propounded by Ayo Akinwale, asserts the essence of a free-flow performance in the African theatre. Akinwale says that this style allows the play to open from beginning to the end without the stage light going out. This is to increase the audience's interest in the production[27]. This style is dialectically opposed to the intermission of Western theatre.

10.   The Folkist Directing Style

Sam Ukala, a versatile Nigerian playwright, critic and director is the originator of the folkist style of directing. He has written extensively on this and this is celebrated through the broader perspective of folkism. This includes the "language of African folktale in performance", "the use of Members of Audience (MOA)", "a large measure of accessibility, authenticity and popularity within Africa" and the use of the "eight laws of aesthetic response in folktale performance."[28] This style is a search for "a viable audience-performer relationship" and directors who wish to use it must internalise the folkist's icons by studying some of Ukala's plays such as *The Slave Wife*, *Break a Boil* and *The Log in Your Eye*. Furthermore, to be able to tell a folk story very well and impact this on the performers, Ukala wants the African director to be in the garb of actor-director.

A REFLECTION ON THE DIRECTING STYLES IN THE NIGERIAN LITERARY THEATRE.

For clarity, it should be emphasised again that several scholarly works have been done to foreground Nigerian literary theatre styles. Wole Soyinka has his "ritual" aesthetics and style, Ola Rotimi is always at home with "theatre-in-the round", "fabulous theatre" is the fancy of Femi Osofisan while Dapo Adelugba has also deployed his style within what we called "Daoduism" in play directing.

The second point of reflection is that directing styles are often confused with production styles. We have remarked briefly on this before. Ayo Akinwale's two works mentioned in this study dwelled on the historical review of production styles and the essence of theatrical traditions in performance analysis. But on directing style, Ayo Akinwale (2000:135) concludes that:

> In terms of staging, it is difficult yet to talk about a Nigerian
> directing style because there are not many directors whose
> passion is to direct plays and direct them well. When this
> occurs, we would then have a school of directors and be able
> to talk about the Nigerian directing styles.

This style statement was made ten years ago. However, the documentation here, though not exhaustive, attempts to celebrate the likely directing styles which close to twenty Nigerian literary theatre directors have created, adopted and used for the proper location, identification and articulation of Nigerian performances. Directing style is simply individualistic and can make or mar a production. It gives the production its spine, whilst the production style itself is built the flesh of a good performance.

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27 Ayo Akinwale, 2010. p. 36.

28 Sam, Ukala, 2007. pp. 24-34.

CONCLUSION

We started this research work by stating the growing dissatisfaction of the educated founding fathers of play directing in Nigeria on the works of the young Nigerian theatre directors, in terms of leadership sensibility and play selection. We also discussed the prevailing directing styles in the art of directing. This was done with a view to making theatre directors in Nigeria and elsewhere e sensitive to the directing art, and to see constant research and learning as crucial to the survival of the art of play directing. As one of the theatre makers, the theatre director can, therefore, explore the icons within the directing styles to build and develop a style for himself or herself.

The theatre director is a leader and leadership sensibility is a prelude to directorial sensitivity: an unavoidable factor in the art of play directing. It was noted that the theatre director must understand the prevailing directing styles in the theatre, yet not all the best directors are identified with a definite style. Moreover, while controlling the "exhibitionist actor" the director must also avoid the superiority toga of "observe me and do likewise". Also and as Hugh Morrison puts it (1984: 157):

> The director should never stop learning. His schools are
> theory and practice. The varied techniques of acting,
> speech, movement, interpretation, design and theatre
> technology… His creativeness is his willingness to learn, to
> try to understand other people's creative process and the
> skills.

While learning, the director in the literary theatre in Nigeria and elsewhere must do more documenting of and theorising on his directing style. This is important because as E.K. Efakponana, puts it (2009:78) "the literary dramatist is considered a determinant of the future advancement" of the African literary theatre.

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SECTION TWO

MEDIA AND CULTURE

SPIRIT AND LESSONS OF INTERNATIONAL CO-PRODUCTIONS AND THE MAKING OF *THE DESTINY OF LESSER ANIMALS* (2011)

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to draw attention to and address certain generally held suppositions about international co-productions, using The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011) as a working example. The paper examines what The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011) stands for as a film resulting from an international co-production with minimal budget but high production values and a crossover genre story set in a context that builds in a certain audience termed "international."

BACKGROUND

How films engage globalisation is a subject that must be considered on various levels. Addressing international co-production strategies and modes of storytelling, I ask how the signs of globalisation feature within *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011). Embarking on an exercise such as this is significant because, if nothing else, as an international co-production, the film is honest work, true to the intention of involving creative talent on two continents in the creation of a work that will reach a broad, international audience. In the words of Keith Hermann, "[…] without such links and leverage, the benefits of globalization are elusive."[29] This task is also important considering the recent upsurge of a "resemblance of international co-productions" taking place in Ghana.

The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011) engages transnational audiences in an alternative critical way, first by changing the perspective of globalization from the "global" (that is, dominant, privileged) to the "local" through the use of a small story. The film shows Africa and Africans not as object but as subject, not as a place of war and poverty, but of real people doing real things. It reflects the intricacies of 'everyday African lives' as opposed to how many foreigners tend to treat films made here, as 'objects' to fit their stereotypes of what they think is the way Africans should live. This approach allows the film to convey ideas about larger abstract forces even as it grasps audiences emotionally through the depiction of ordinary people, friendly relationships, and everyday life.

International co-production, in the view of Hammett-Jamart (2004), "is a film made by production companies from different countries. International co-productions open new markets for films and television programmes and can increase the output of high quality productions through the sharing of equity investment."[30] For filmmakers, the key attraction of a co-production is that it qualifies as a national production in each of the partner nations and can access benefits that are available to the local film and industry in each country. In many cases, co-productions are a response to the challenges of internationalization or globalisation by

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29 Sean Coughlan, "Left out of the Loop," BBC News Online: Inspiring Change: African Platform for Development Effectiveness coordinated by African Union Commission and NEPAD Agency, 22 March, 2011, 25 March, 2011. http://www.africa-platform.org/news/20110322/left_out_loop

30Hammett-Jamart, Julia, "Regulating Diversity: Cultural Diversity, National Film Policy and the International Coproduction of Films," Media International Incorporating Culture and Policy, No. 111 (2004): pp. 46-62.

countries with small production sectors, as they seek to maintain a viable production industry and produce culturally-specific content for national audiences. However, these dual goals also produce tensions within national film sectors. Although a co-production agreement may make available more resources, an international co-production risks being less relevant to its target audiences than purely local productions.

According to Raebum (1978) and Ukadike (1994), incorrect co-production strategy by the [defunct] Ghana Film Industry Corporation (GFIC) was one of the reasons that accounted for its final demise. Both indicated that,

> the GFIC under the directorship of Sam Aryetey implemented policies that not only weakened the progress of talented Ghanaian filmmakers but were also detrimental to GFIC's economic feasibility as a self-sustaining industry. Aryetey embarked upon a policy of co-production with European countries, according to him to "find distribution outlets outside Africa at the detriment of local filmmakers who needed financial assistance to operate."[31] The outcome of GFIC's signing, for instance, with the Italian film director Giorgio Bontempi to film *Contact* (1976) and with Mike Fleetwood to make *The Visitor* (1983) was disastrous. Both films were box-office failures.[32]

In the face of such challenges, local producers need to learn how to internationalise local film production in order to retain and hopefully build market shares; and how to develop new models of financing that combine both local and foreign sources. The absence of this strategy in the current scheme of filmmaking between Ghanaian and Nigerian producers betray the true definition of international co-production, as it involves only engagement of actors and actresses in exception of involving production companies. The functions of production companies in international co-production are paramount for the reason that through the engagement of these companies the benefits (the ability to pool financial resources; access to the partner government's incentives and subsidies; access to the partner's market, or to a third market; cultural benefits; et cetera) to be derived by each partner country in the film project are clearly spelt out. To avoid the possibilities of films being less relevant to its target audiences both national and international, one approach has been to reconcile this tension between local and international partners by creating local production with an explicit international orientation. This is what producers of *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) view as the best option for advancing local film production, especially in Ghana.

THE STORY

The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011) is about Boniface Koomsin, a Ghanaian police officer, who is desperate to return to the USA after years of deportation. When he loses his newly acquired counterfeit passport and visa, he embarks on a dangerous journey through modern Ghana to retrieve the stolen documents, only to find his own search linked to a series of violent crimes. Joining forces with a seasoned veteran still optimistic about his country, Boniface must choose between the future of his dreams and a reality that takes a very different path. Far from a simple ''cop movie,'' *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2009) is a film about what it means to be

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31 Michael Raeburn, "Interview with Sam Aryetey," Afrique litt*é*raire et artistique, No. 49 (1978) p. 19.

32 Ukadike, N.F., Black African Cinema (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1994) p. 111-112.

trapped by the limits of one's own country, economic status, and social standing; and a film about how three succeeding generations in post-colonial and economically globalised Africa find their own windows of hope, and confront their clouds of despair.

The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011) is, at its core, about home, or perhaps, rather, about attempting to confront the reality of one's home with the hope of one's dreams and how the two must ultimately be reconciled. It is also a film about journey and return and how difficult it is to accept a home that was once thought left behind forever. The irony is that, it is often not so much about the place, as it is about the person returning. Whether from war or prison or expatriation, journeys change the tendency of a person, and the land to which he/she returns is never the same. So Boniface's character becomes more of a "tragic hero" who is torn between his dreams of what he wants to be, and who he really is.

Yao Nunoo as *Boniface Koomsin* with Amanorbea Opoku Boakye
as the *Visa Fence* in *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011).
Photo courtesy Bright Noon Pictures.

SMALL STORIES, CULTURAL HYBRID POSSIBILITIES & PRODUCTION VALUES

The general approach of the film was simple: authenticity of representation, honesty of character, respect of location, and a willingness to adapt. According to the producers, "there was never any question of shooting in local languages, the question was rather about which language was appropriate for a particular scene."[33] This element alone places the film on the 'typical' platform of the Ghanaian cinema practice. The result of this is that the acting in the film is, thus, not forced or constrained. Ukadike (1998) alludes forcefully to the fact that there is a correlation between verbal communication and screen acting and when applied wrongly can affect narrative negatively. He states that,

> the use of English in King Ampaw's *Kukurantumi: the Road to Accra* (1984), poses a paramount dilemma for the film's narrative. In this film, we see a serious theme of important socio-historical significance acted out by […] actors who appear to be trying to remember their English lines. Absent is the natural flow of words, gestures, and movements – all of which are unavoidable components of Africa's oral

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33 This information was obtained in an interaction with the producers in June 2011.

communication pattern. The spoken word has a psychological as well as a cultural identification that affects the interpretation of meaning in any given circumstance.[34]

Produced in both English and (Twi, primarily Fante) but also, Pidgin, and Ga, to heighten the element of cultural balance, the film aims to be accessible to a wide audience, from the average Ghanaian videodisc watcher to the American ''Art House'' devotee, in a way that opens a discussion about issues of identity and nationality, self and other, destiny and hope. Right from the research stage of this film the producers were hoping to explore, the assumptions, and expression of personal identity; the relative ignorance, and thus "otherness,'' with which we approach people from cultures apart from our own. Also, they were seeking to establish a potential bridge between cultures and an aesthetic focal point for a discussion of how, even as we become a more "global" society, we are still distant from a real global understanding. The producers decided that it is a story that must be told, and did not think about market for it or find market for it, but were hoping that the market will find them, that is, the film.[35] The film's title originates with a Ghanaian proverb, *Sibo na kra, Dabo na kra*, literally implying, "the destiny of the leopard is different than that of lesser animals." The proverb is related to the vagaries of fate, which Boniface's uncle, the Old Fisherman (Sandy Arkhurst) capitalizes on to remind him of his providence which is unconnected to that of other people.

Yao Nunoo as *Boniface Koomsin* with Sandy Arkhurst as the
Old Fisherman in *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011).
Photo courtesy Bright Noon Pictures.

The whole point of the fake passport was to get Boniface to America, where he dreams of "making it" in a country that is not burdened by corruption, greed, and all the other problems that drive people into emigration, legal or illegal. This leads to some poignant scenes involving Boniface and a more experienced, and senior cop named Oscar Darko (Fred Amugi) who becomes a father figure to him. Their discussions revolve around Boniface's desire to emigrate, an act that Oscar considers disloyal to Ghana. Oscar remains committed to Nkrumah's vision of the country even though corruption and poor governance have taken their toll. In his role as Boniface (Nunoo) ably conveys the confusion and desperation of a cornered man with little left

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34 Frank N. Ukadike, African Cinema (Oxford: John Hill, 1998). p. 103

35 The author of this article co-produced The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011).

to lose. Fred Amugi provides a solid foil as Inspector Oscar Darko, challenging Boniface to question the culture of corruption endemic to their careers. The mentorship and friendship provided by Oscar Darko helps the young inspector turn his focus to the beauty of what is in front of him, as opposed to that Western horizon. A dip into the crime thriller genre for sure, but *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) is only a dip. More so than typical police procedurals, the film relies on its evocative setting to reveal the social and cultural details that underpin the film's characters and narrative: a crime drama with a distinct sense of place. With a heavy amount of dialogue and not a whole lot of action, the film is ultimately about self-discovery and pride in one's roots.

Throughout his investigations, Boniface is confronted by Zongo Girl (Xolasie Mawuenyega), a shy bowl-in-hand-beggar-child who at first seems a mythical element to the story: a haunting and recurring confrontation with a personified (yet adorable) version of the Ghana he would like so badly to leave behind. Somehow, the effect she has on Boniface implies this, by the end of the film, Koomsin finds himself no longer searching for his stolen fake passport, but the little girl who seems to have disappeared. When he finally finds her and brings her home, which is somewhat odd considering she is not a kitten, it seems that Koomsin has also found his identity, as well as destiny, in the home he never considered as such.

Yao Nunoo as *Boniface Koomsin* with Xorlasie Mawuenyega
as the *Zongo Girl* in *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011).
Photo courtesy Bright Noon Pictures.

Undoubtedly, one thing that sets this movie apart is the depth of the story crafted with Ghana and Africa in mind. It covers a Ghanaian canker, thirst for greener pasture, which constantly threatens our society. The story brings to the fore lessons and dangers many face in their quest to get to the so-called promise land forgetting that Ghana, and Africa, holds bountiful opportunities ready to be exploited. The lessons and images in the movie are so real and powerful. It has been adapted so well that one finds him or herself in at least a character in the film no matter where you belong in the development ladder. In a sense, Boniface's search, which makes the end of the film seem confounding, can be likened to today's Ghana, where her citizens, realizing the need to stay behind and lend support for the developmental agenda in nation building often find themselves in intricacies of what is referred to time and again as the "system."

CONSTRUCTING CRITICAL NARRATIVES IN GLOBAL FILM ECOLOGIES

The film occupies a space in the ''Art House'' or ''International'' cinema. The international stylistic and thematic inheritors of *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) include Kurosawa's *Stray Dog* (Japan, 1949), a film to which, in some ways, *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) is a homage, and *Fear Eats the Soul* by Rainer Werner Fassbinder (Germany, 1974). More explicitly, though, the film follows an ''immigrant'' theme, although in this case, the immigrant is forced to live in the country of his birth, a scenario I have not found in any comparable release such as John Sayles' *Brother from Another Planet* (1984), and Joshua Marston's *Maria, Full of Grace* (2009).

Structurally, the introduction of Boniface's life in the USA as a small but a significant plot thread brings to mind two specific examples made 30 years apart, John Sayles' *Lone Star* (1996) and the first recognized feature film produced south of the Sahara by a black African, Ousmane Sembene's, *Black Girl* (1966). Of course, mention need be made of prominent Ghanaian features, including Kwaw Ansah's two international successes, *Love Brewed in the African Pot* (1981) and *Heritage ... Africa* (1989), and King Ampaw's work with Werner Herzog, *Kukurantumi: the Road to Accra* (1984), and his more recent movie, *No Time to Die* (2006). In short, there is a small, but consistent stream of production of films that provide a context for *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011).

Even more so than Kurosawa's classic, *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) delves into the motivations of its main character. The cop in *Stray Dog* is unexpressed, intuitive, and impulsive. By contrast, Boniface Koomsin is reflective to the point of indecision, trying to decide, in Hamlet fashion, whether to be or not to be a Ghanaian.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that at the heart of the producers of *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) is a desire to promote mutual understanding among cultures, through international co-production, by use of a small story with a global appeal. According to Albright, "the reality of filmmaking is that, it is a tedious enterprise; low budgets make the process much more difficult. It is important that [cultural producers] understand that putting quality images on the screen is usually the result of countless decisions, extreme patience and proverbial 'blood, sweat and tears.'"[36] *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) resulted from low budget complexities. However, its high production value makes it stands out such that if the film leaves us high and dry in an important way, it delivers emotionally via the hero's care for Zongo Girl and politically by giving insight into Ghana's recent history and challenging recovery from rampant poverty and corruption. The strategy of using a small story to engage transnational audiences in an alternative critical way through the depiction of ordinary people and everyday life is laudable. *The Destiny of Lesser Animals* (2011) can be a medium for critiquing and resisting the master narrative that has informed discussions of the economic and cultural changes that define globalisation.

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36 This was obtained from a personal interview with Deron Albright, the director and one of the producers of The Destiny of Lesser Animals (2011) in April 2011.

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SECTION THREE

POPULAR MUSIC

POPULAR MUSIC AND YOUTH EMPOWERMENT   IN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

Since 1979 when the youthful Kris Okotie took the Nigerian music scene by 'storm', Nigeria has witnessed an endless stream of 'musical youths' into popular music practice. Critics of this phenomenon point to lack of proper training and poor musical output as the bane of these youthful artistes. Yet, their involvement represent a new form of youth   empowerment and poverty alleviation in a country where youth restiveness and graduate unemployment have reached frightening proportions. Based on the writer's involvement with youths in the popular music industry in Nigeria over the last two and half decades, coupled with recent interviews with stakeholders and published works on the subject matter, this paper explores the concept of empowerment and the place of popular music within the broad spectrum of youth employment in Nigeria. The paper concludes that in the emerging global socio-economic environment of the 21st century, a well developed and professionalized music industry can provide a sustainable means of economic empowerment and poverty alleviation for Nigerian youths.

INTRODUCTION

> **'***I want to release my album   so that I can make money to take care of my younger ones; I have no father and mother.'*

The statement above is a response to an informal conversation between this writer and an aspiring young musician at Tabansi Studio, Oregun, Lagos in 1984.[37] As casual and unimportant as the above statement appears, it does highlight an important phenomenon in popular music practice in contemporary Nigeria, namely youth involvement as a means of economic empowerment. In recent times, the music industry in Nigeria has been parading an impressive array of 'musical youths' who have seen in popular music a new form of economic empowerment that transcends such limitations as poor educational backgrounds and the lack of 'white collar' jobs amongst other critical issues. The massive turn out of youths at the audition of the 2008 edition of Star Quest[38], testifies to the growing involvement of youths in the Nigerian music scene as a means of livelihood across gender lines, and educational and social/religious backgrounds.

Against the backdrop of the so-called 'Youth Empowerment' programmes which have become a resonant agenda in the   political rhetoric of government, non-governmental organizations and

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37 This writer was an independent music producer in Lagos in 1983/84.

38 Star Quest is a television reality show on the network service of the Nigeria Television Authority, sponsored by Nigeria Breweries Ltd.

political aspirants in Nigeria, this paper examines the place of popular music within the broad spectrum of youth empowerment and poverty alleviation programmes in Nigeria. In this paper, the following conceptual issues are been raised:

1) What is Nigeria's concept of 'Youth Empowerment'?
2) What are the potentials of the music industry in Nigeria?
3) Where is the place of popular music within the broad spectrum of Youth Empowerment and poverty alleviation programmes in Nigeria?

THE CONCEPT OF YOUTH EMPOWERMENT IN NIGERIA

The <u>Encarta Dictionary</u> defines empowerment as:

1) To give power or authority to someone or;
2) To inspire or give someone a sense of confidence or self esteem.

Empowerment is therefore a multi-faceted concept that cuts across the social, political, educational, technological and economic spheres of life. Empowerment can also have a gender aspect. For example, 'feminism' and its current 'womanism' in African literary discourse areas hinged on the concept of women empowerment. While radical feminism with its Euro-centric flavour and Afro-centric 'womanism' may differ in ideological positioning, the concept of empowerment espouses an ideology of 'power and powerlessness'[39]. It is against this ideological backdrop that the concept of youth empowerment in Nigeria should be seen. This paper focuses exclusively on economic empowerment which has the capacity to trigger off social, ideological, educational, technological and political empowerment and eventually alleviate poverty in its various manifestations.

It is not exactly clear when the term 'Youth Empowerment' entered into the Nigerian socio-political and economic vocabulary. The term perhaps, resonates more as an attempt by stakeholders to draw attention to the ecological degradation and economic 'powerlessness' of those living in the oil-rich Niger Delta area of Nigeria. The youths have been the loudest voice and also the major constituent of militant groups in the vanguard for resource control in the Niger Delta region. Government attempts to arrest what they perceive as youth restiveness in the Niger Delta may have introduced the term 'youth empowerment' as a new vocabulary in governance in recent times. For example, at the youth stakeholders workshop in Port Harcourt in 2004[40], a resonant agenda was 'youth empowerment'. But it was from the viewpoint of quelling youth restiveness through some forms of economic empowerment (negotiation, government incentives or compensation if you like), so as to provide an enabling environment for the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) and other oil prospecting companies to work.

The need to maintain a peaceful working environment in the Niger Delta through one form of empowerment or the other led to the creation of such government agencies as the Federal

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39 Mabel Evwierhoma theorized extensively on ideology, power and powerlessness in her book Female Empowerment and Dramatic Creativity in Nigeria, (Ibadan: Caltop Publications, 2002).

40 The Niger Delta Youths Stakeholders Workshop was held in Port Harcourt, Rivers State between the 15th and 17th of April 2004.

Government owned OMPADEC (now NDDC)[41] and the Delta state-owned DESOPADEC[42] as agencies of empowerment in the oil- producing areas of Nigeria. Since crude oil is the mainstay of the Nigerian economy, the concept of youth empowerment in the Niger Delta area could be seen more as a negotiated relationship between government agencies and the 'restive youths'. It is therefore born more out of fear of destabilizing the national economy than by the need to develop the creative potentials of the Nigerian youth, of which popular music can be seen as an integral part.

In November 1986, the board of the National Directorate of Employment (NDE) was inaugurated in Nigeria. This could be seen as the first major and widely distributed network of government's programme of empowerment in Nigeria. With offices in the thirty six states of the federation and in Abuja, the NDE programme is targeted at youths, the working class, women and retirees. The programme which took off effectively in 1987 had the mandate to intervene in the following areas of the nation's economic life:

1) Employment Counseling Service,
2) Skills Acquisition and Entrepreneurship Development Training,
3) Provision of Transient Jobs and
4) Enterprise Creation for trained beneficiaries[43].

According to the Director-General of the organization, the NDE is said to have trained over one million people as of 2008. He described the NDE training programme as the catalyst for the attainment of the nation's vision 20/20 programme.[44]

In 2001, the Federal Government nurtured yet another programme of empowerment known as the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), which is part of the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The NEEDS document revolves around the idea of empowerment across a broad spectrum of the Nigerian people. According to this document 'NEEDS empowers through job creation, opportunities for employment and wealth creation and promoting private enterprise.'[45] At the state level, many have also been evolved or are at the level of implementation of a state-based empowerment programme referred to as the State Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (SEEDS).

Among all the empowerment programmes discussed above, only the NDE showed initial interest in the musical training of Youths under their Skills Acquisition and Entrepreneurship Development Training. This was known also as the National Open Apprenticeship Scheme (NAOS) and this writer was involved in this as a pioneer music trainer in Ilorin, central Nigeria between 1987 and 1989. Although the NDE began as a training and empowerment agency, the Kwara state coordinator of the programme explained that after the Ahmed Jordan panel of 1999, the NDE's activities were restricted to training. While the economic empowerment aspect was

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41 OMPADEC stands for Oil Mineral Producing Areas Development Commission. OMPADEC is now defunct and replaced with a new statutory body NDDC (Niger Delta Development Commission).

42 DESOPADEC stands for Delta State Oil Producing Areas Development Commission.

43 National Directorate of Employment. Brochure, 2006

44 See The Punch, Feb.14, 2008, p. 30

45 NEEDS Brochure, 2004

left for micro-finance agencies, the National Poverty Alleviation Programme (NAPEP) monitors the whole process of training and empowerment.

At present, musical training and empowerment is now no longer part of the programme. Asked why this is so, the head of the Vocational Skills Department in Kwara state, Mr. Ajayi Olaniyi[46] explained that sufficient interest has not been shown in music training by youths, while also acknowledging that music trainers are few. This lack of interest in musical training and skills acquisition is a wide-spread phenomenon in Nigeria. This seems to explain why in the Nigerian popular music scene, there are far more 'vocalists' than instrumentalists. This phenomenon is hinged on the false assumption that everyone can sing.

This observation brings to fore one of the core issues in this paper, namely the lack of professionalism in the music industry in Nigeria. Specialized training either formal or informal, will lead ineluctably to professionalism and career sustainability. In this regard training can be seen as a form of empowerment. The fact that music trainers and music teachers are also few in Nigeria highlights further the problem of professionalism noted above. There is the need for what we may describe here as 'institutionalization': the breaking down of the industry into specialized sectors, with a well equipped human resource base in each sector. It is also a fact that popular music is not part of the music curriculum at the secondary school level, nor does it occupy any significant position at the tertiary level of education. Only about 27 higher institutions offer music as a course of study in Nigeria[47] and there is also a dearth of private music conservatories that specialize in specific areas of music production. At the moment, only the Peter King School of Music in Lagos seem to be making a bold and consistent attempt at training youths interested in professional musicianship. Aisha, the top-rated Nigerian female musician whose record *Asa* is currently making waves around the world is one of such products. The music industry has enormous potential for a sustainable youth development and empowerment programme which in my view, is currently under tapped.

POPULAR MUSIC AND YOUTH EMPOWERMENT: FROM KRIS OKOTIE TO D BANJ

Kris Okotie and D Banj represent, in this paper, two significant and generational demarcations along a historical continuum in popular music practice in Nigeria. Okotie's historic appearance on the music scene in Nigeria with two smash hits 'I Need Someone' and 'Just For You' between 1979 and 1981 blazed a new musical economic and social trail on which so many Nigerian 'musical youths' have walked or are struggling to walk since 1980. Musically, Okotie's emergence in the popular music scene heralded a new era of part-time/solo musicians who were not necessarily or needed to be professionals. In other words, it could be argued that Kris Okotie was the youth who championed the 'solo artiste' syndrome in Nigeria, beginning with his release of his 1979 album 'I Need Someone.'[48] The financial success of Kris Okotie's 'I Need Someone' and 'Just for You' albums, his sell-out concerts, the social elevation that he received through extensive air play and media publicity, not to mention the social status of being an undergraduate law student at that time, re-defined the Nigerian musician in new economic and social terms.

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46 Oral interview held at NDE office, Ilorin, Kwara State on the 22nd of April, 2008.

47 Idolor, 2001, pp 135-149.

48 Emielu, 2005.

The long chain of solo musicians since the era of Kris Okotie is inexhaustible. Among these in the 1980s were Jide Obi, Gbubemi Amas, Dora Ifudu, Felix Liberty, Oby Onyioha, Lemmy Jackson, Evi Edna Ogholi, Majek Fashek, Mike Okri, Ed Jatto, Tony Okoroji, Nkono Teles, Emma Ogosi, the Mandators. Then in the 1990s there were (Lorine Okotie, Idris Abdulkareem, Tony Tetula, Tu Face, Black Face, Blakky, Zakky, Felix and Moses, Andy Shuman, Orits Wiliki, Ras Kimono. And in the 2000s we have 9nice, D Banj, Olu Maintain, Durella, 2short, Stereo Man and Adaz. Although the social content and context of performance, as well as mode of expression keep changing from one historical period to another, popular music practice has shown great potentials for youth empowerment in Nigeria as testified to by the increasing involvement and financial gains of youthful artistes.

However, one disturbing phenomenon in the popular music scene in Nigeria is the high rate at which these musicians 'rise and fall'. While Nigerian popular musicians like Kris Okotie, Mike Okri, Evi Edna Ogholi, Tu Face, Orits Wiliki, Ras Kimono and many others have shown tremendous musical talents, others may have stumbled on music as a means of economic survival in a country where seven out of every ten people live on less than one United States dollar (US$1) a day.[49] Early in this millennium the Punch Newspaper had a series of write-ups on how many Nigerian popular musicians have 'retired' pre-maturely and unceremoniously from active practice. In 2008 the Glo mobile show, 'Glo Moment'[50] gave a prelude to a growing list of Nigerian musicians who have gone into obscurity abroad. Notable among them are Mike Okri, Felix Liberty and Ras Kimono. From my involvement in the popular music industry in Nigeria over the last three decades I can also add other names: Evi Edna Ogholi, Peterside Ottong, Oby Onyioha, Lorine Okotie, Felix and Moses, Blakky, Alex O, Alex Zitto. We cannot also forget such great producers and instrumentalists who have gone into some forms of obscurity like Fortune O'Tega (with whom I worked in Lagos between 1989-1992), Lemmy Jackson, Berkley Ike Jones, Nkono Teles (with whom I worked in Lagos in 1983), Laolu Akins, Odion Iruoje, Emma Ogosi, Majek Fashek and Amos Mcroy, just to mention a few.

Reacting to his disappearance from active musical life in Nigeria, reggae musician, Ras Kimono explained that 'when I left, the music industry has become very frustrating for us who play pop music…..there was nothing for us then.'[51] This statement coming on the heels of his seemingly outstanding success in Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa before leaving for the United States where he currently resides with his family, highlights the problem of career sustainability among urban popular musicians in Nigeria. It also stresses the need for empowerment of musicians beyond rhetoric or political propaganda.

Another critical issue which is at the heart of critics of popular music and musicians is the morality issue. Based on the flamboyant and sometimes reckless lifestyles of pop musicians, as well as the hedonistic texts and themes of most pop songs, the encouragement of popular music as a means of youth empowerment may imply promoting immorality, especially given the seemingly 'religious morality' status of Nigerian society. As important as the above concern is, however, it is my contention that a professionalized and institutionalized music industry will stipulate codes of conduct, a degree of censorship and also maintain institutional standards which

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49 NEEDS Document, 2004

50 Glo Moment is a weekly television entertainment show sponsored by Glo Mobile Telecommunications Ltd.

51 Bucknor, 2008, p. 56

may include morality issues and respect for cultural sensibilities. These will enforce a degree of discipline and surveillance in the popular music industry in Nigeria, instead of the present situation of 'every man to himself' and 'God for us all.'

POTENTIALS OF THE POPULAR MUSIC INDUSTRY IN NIGERIA

The popular music industry in Nigeria, as in most parts of the world, hold great economic potentials. In Nigeria, this is testified to by increasing record sales which seems to defy Nigeria's unstable economy over the years. For example, statistics of record sales in Nigeria shows that in 1981, 4.5 million records were sold; in 1986 5.5 million; in 1991 8.5 million and in 1995 12 million records were sold nationwide.[52] In 2000 a World Bank estimate of 'world music' sales around the world stood at 6 billion dollars per year. A quarter of this estimate ($1.5 billion dollars), is said to be derived from African music, especially the popular music genre. Because of the huge potential of the music industry in Africa, the World Bank has agreed in principle to divert a substantial part of its annual $300 million dollars allocation for culture to six African countries.[53] Senegal was the first African country to receive the first installment of $15 million dollars towards the development of the music industry in that country and stimulate international sales of World Music from this country. There is therefore a huge economic potential in the popular music industry which, if fully tapped, can partially replace crude oil as the mainstay of Nigeria's economy. It is the thesis of this paper that if Nigeria can tap into this huge potential and seek an economic lifeline from the World Bank, this will in concrete terms translate into actual and sustainable youth empowerment.

Popular music is a great income earner and a catalyst for job and wealth creation and poverty alleviation. The various sectors involved include song writers and lyricists, music publishers, composers, arrangers, producers, music recording and marketing companies, printing companies, cassette, CD, VCD and DVD manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers of musical recordings, dealers on musical instruments, studio and stage sound engineers, musicians, singers, dancers, promoters, talent scouts, entertainment writers and showbiz consultants, stage designers, lighting engineers, structural engineers, advertising practitioners, media houses and many more. Income generation and distribution in the popular music industry is therefore broad-based and far reaching. Furthermore it generates monies accruing to government through various taxes across professional lines.

In terms of tourism, a well developed, professionalized and institutionalized music industry will boost tourism potentials in Nigeria. In the 2008 edition of the African Cup of Nations in Ghana, popular music was a major tourist attraction. In my hotel room along Kumasi road, in Accra[54], one could not but admire the broad landscape of Ghanaian popular music and musicians aired on an almost an hourly basis on radio and television, as well as those played on mobile trucks on the streets. All these were no doubt partly aimed at promoting Ghanaian music to visiting tourists. In the Nigerian experience many popular musicians like the late Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Sunny Ade,

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52 Gronov and Saunio, 1997

53 Collins, 2002

54 This writer was on a field trip to Ghana from the 9th to 13th of February 2008.

Lagbaja, I.K Dairo, Ebenezer Obey, Sunny Neji, Kris Okotie, Onyeka Onwenu, Mike Okri, Dare Alade, Olu Maintain, D Banj, P Square and others have attracted world attention to Nigerian popular music, and most of them achieved this feat as youths. Most top-rated hotels in Nigeria, especially in Lagos and Abuja to which most tourist are attracted, also have in-house popular music bands as part of their tourist package. This is why it is being suggested in this paper that popular music should be included in the broad spectrum of youth empowerment programmes in Nigeria.

Since popular music is ideological, with its ideology embedded in the texts of the songs, coupled with the fact that popular music is the most listened-to category of music in Nigeria (and Africa generally), popular music can be used as a instrument for ideological change and mass re-orientation. Popular music can also be put to a variety of uses, in product advertisement, promoting government programmes and policies and also in becoming a social voice for the 'voiceless' oppressed and deprived masses, as we can find in the case of Fela's Afro-Beat. Finally, the massive entry of the young women into popular music in contemporary times represents another form of women empowerment which has been a major pre-occupation of feminist activist in government, academia and women rights organization in recent history.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY MAKING AND STRATEGIC PLANNING
The effects of over three centuries of slave trade and almost a century of colonial rule in Africa have had great implications for the economic, social and cultural frameworks of the new nation states on the continent. However, one must acknowledge the efforts of past governments in Nigeria in trying to revive and sustain indigenous arts and culture significantly. Some examples are through Nigeria's hoisting of the 2nd Festival of Arts and Culture in 1977 (which featured about 150 dance and music shows by Black artistes from around the world); the setting up of the National Theatre in Lagos; the establishment of various Councils for Arts and Culture in the 36 states of the Federation; the setting up of the Centre for Black and African Civilization in Lagos and the listing of certain cultural sites like the Osun Osogbo Grove as UNESCO World Heritage sites. I also wish to acknowledge the efforts of the immediate past governor of Cross River state, Donald Duke, who has made the Calabar Carnival an annual musical event, attracting tourists and musicians from all around the world.

However, the music business with its enormous potentials, lie conspicuously outside the government strategic approach to poverty alleviation and capacity building in Nigeria. I therefore in this paper draw attention to the fact that the popular music industry represents a new form of youth empowerment in contemporary Nigeria, and in most parts of Africa.

So far in Nigeria most popular musicians who reach the lime-light do so through severe economic hardships, despite obvious musical endowment. Most musicians that I have worked with in Nigeria not only have to compose their own songs, but must also own the means of production, promotion and marketing, if their works are to see the light of day. Those that are able to overcome these hurdles of combining artistry with entrepreneurship, are usually not able to sustain their careers for long. In the live performance scene there has also been the astronomical price of musical instruments, especially since the advent of 'American Pentecostalism' in Nigeria, where churches compete between themselves in the acquisition of state-of-the-art musical and sound reinforcement equipment. The 'powerlessness' of the popular

musician become all the more pronounced in this capitalistic and deterministic economy. This is why I suggest professionalism and institutionalization of the music industry as the much-needed engine that will power youth development through popular music in Nigeria.

Since the music industry is a multi-sector enterprise, there is an overriding need for specialization along well defined lines of creativity. The starting point for this will be professional and systematic training, either formal or informal. The current situation where anybody can wake up and enter the studio for recording and become a 'star' overnight does not represent a sustainable form of empowerment. If the industry is institutionalized then youths can be trained to specialize in the specific areas. These are song writing, arrangement and production, music marketing and promotion, artiste management, studio engineering, band management, film music/jingles production, performance, music journalism and dance/choreography. As can be appreciated from this list, the involvement in the popular music industry will not necessarily be in the area of performance or making records as it is mostly today. The emphasis will be on training and acquisition of relevant skills for empowerment along specific lines of interest and capabilities. These trained ones will then constitute a solid human resources base which will be self-sustaining through a network of 'masters' or 'specialists' who are already empowered, and 'trainees' who are going through the process of empowerment. Coupled with the above, is the need to evolve professional bodies within the industry which will standardize and regulate practice, as well as serve as agents for re-tooling and upgrading of skills.

There is also the need for government/private partnership because of the enormous benefits that will accrue to government and corporate organizations. Right now the only form of government involvement in popular music is through the dance bands of the various military and para-military organizations, like the Army Band, the Navy Band and the Police Band which are based in various formations across the country. These organizations seem to be only ones that have standardized and systematic training and recruitment procedures which guarantee a form of empowerment for Nigerian youths interested in music. But again, as a government agency, admittance must reflect the countries federal character, which restricts the number of people recruited from time to time. It is my suggestion therefore, that the government should extend para-military bands to the Nigerian Customs Service, The Nigerian Prison Service, The Federal Road Safety Corps, the Nigerian Civil Defense Corps and the Nigerian Immigration Service among others.

While one may also acknowledge corporate participation in the popular music industry through the pioneering efforts of Benson and Hedges cigarette company, MTN, Glo Mobile, Nigerian Breweries and others, the music 'stars' produced by these efforts are not only few in number but also lack 'staying power', as we can see from the growing list of musicians falling by the way side. Much still needs to be done in this regard. Corporate involvement should not just be to promote company products and brand names, or to build 'stars' through massive publicity, it should also involve imparting needed skills that ensure career sustainability, all-round artiste management and financings, as well as a deliberate attempt to explore the rich musical traditions of the Nigerian people.
On the academic side, there is the need to seriously revise and 'decolonize' the music curriculum at all levels of education. After all, the content of education should reflect the immediate needs

of the society. It is therefore recommended that popular music studies should form an integral part of the school curriculum. The colonial/church bias of the school music curriculum should be de-emphasized for a more socially responsive course content, which should include also music entrepreneurship. This may be the much-needed pull factor for youths interested in music to be properly trained and empowered.

CONCLUSION

This paper has highlighted the enormous potentials of the music industry in Nigeria. I am therefore strongly stressing, the need to include popular music practice within the broad framework of youth empowerment and poverty alleviation programmes by the government in Nigeria. I will conclude by saying that popular music practice represents a new form of economic empowerment in contemporary Nigeria. This is testified to by increasing practice and patronage of popular music across the social, political, religious and economic strata of Nigerian society. However, it is my contention that the process of empowerment should begin with training, which will lead to professionalism and career sustainability. A professionalized music industry will midwife the institutionalization of specialized sectors, which in turn will become the engine for growth, development and empowerment for youths with interest in the music industry.

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WORLD MUSIC: A STIMULUS TO GHANAIAN TOURISM, EDUCATION AND 'CROSS-OVER' MUSICAL COLLABORATIONS

by
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ABSTRACT
This article is based on a paper read at a Colloquium on Globalisation and the Humanities, Faculty of Arts University of Ghana, Legon, 5-6th May, 2004. It looks at the reasons for the growth of international interest in African music since the 1980s – as part of the emergence of the so-called 'World Music' phenomenon. It then turns specifically to Ghana and presents ways these developments positively impact on the local tourist industry, the educational sector and in the area of cross-over musical collaborations between Ghanaian and foreign artists.

Many people talk of the negative impact of globalization on the cultures of Developing Nations: cultural imperialism, cultural homogenization, cultural 'grey-out' and so on. However in this paper I want to examine how the globalization of African music is opening up opportunities in Ghana in areas as diverse as tourism, education and artistic opportunities.

The massive globalization of African music really began in the mid 1980s when a sector of the international recording trade known as 'World Music' emerged as a distinct music marketing category. It began with the growing interest in the African popular dance music of sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1980s. These included Nigerian Juju-music and Afro-beat, South African Township Jazz, Central African Soukous or Congo Jazz - and of course Ghanaian Highlife. The word 'World Music' itself was coined by a group of independent recording companies and music journalists in London in 1986 and 1987 to broaden the marketing potential of the popular music of Africa ('Afro-pop') and other emerging nations.[55]

Although World Music includes other categories of music such as Cuban, Latin-American, Arabic, eastern European and Asian popular music styles, African popular music was the engine that created and still drives the World Music market. In fact, the African popular music component makes up about one quarter of the annual six billion dollars generated in sales and royalties of World Music.

This estimate of 1.5 million dollars for the 'Afro-pop' component of annual World Music sales was put together by me from research I did for a meeting of the World Bank in Washington DC that I attended in June 2000, to discuss assisting the music industries of six African countries, including Ghana. Since then World Bank monies have already been released in Senegal and some years ago there was a proposal for a 10 million dollar assistance package to the Ghanaian music industry (See World Bank 2000 in the bibliography)

It should be noted that prior to the 1980s Afro-pop and World Music did not exist as distinct

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55 I was at the second of these meetings and opposed the change of name from 'Afro pop' to what I thought was the too vague a term 'world music'.

commercial components of the international recording market and sales of African music–were limited to a small number of specialists shops and records companies (like Folkways, Nonesuch and so on) that catered for ethnomusicologists, foreigners who had visited Africa, or African students living abroad. In short, in the twenty-five years from the early 1980s the revenue from the Afro-Pop component of World Music has shot up from almost zero to 1.5 billion dollars per year.

At this point I would like to turn to some of the main reasons for the commercial success of Afro-Pop on the international market since the early 1980s.

FIRST: WORLD MUSIC AS A LOGICAL EXTENSION OF THE GLOBALIZATION   OF BLACK AMERICAN DANCE-MUSIC.   This began in the late 19th century: from ragtime, jazz, blues and the samba right up to today's reggae, rap and salsa. Put the other way round, the gradual internationalization of the black popular music of the Americas ultimately paved the way for the popular music of Africa itself going global.

SECONDLY: AFRO-POP IS INTRINSICALLY INTERNATIONAL. Unlike traditional ethnic African music that is usually located in a specific local culture, contemporary African popular music is a fusion of African, Western, Black American and in some cases Arabic and even Indian influences. It is therefore intrinsically an international idiom suitable for an international audience.

THIRDLY: A GROWING INTEREST IN AFRICAN MUSIC BY JAZZ AND ROCK STARS. From the 1960s modern jazz musicians such as John Coltrane, Max Roach, Sun Ra and Randy Weston   became interested in African music. The residency in the United States of Ghana's Kofi Ghanaba (Guy Warren) and Nigeria's Babatunde Olutunji played an important role in this development. From the seventies British and American rock stars also began visiting Africa like the drummer Ginger Baker and Paul McCartney of the Beatles. In the 1980s the rock drummer Mick Fleetwood and rock composer Brian Eno both came to Ghana[56], whilst Sting and Stuart Coplan of the American band Police visited Africa. Then there was Paul Simon who went to South Africa and released his African influenced 1986 smash-hit album 'Gracelands' that sold fourteen million copies. In the 1990s Jamie Cato and Duncan Bridgeman of the English pop band 'One Giant Leap' came to Ghana[57] and more recently Damon Albarn of the Gorrillaz and Blur bands and also the American rock guitarist Robert Plant travelled to Sahelian West Africa.

FOURTHLY: JAMAICAN REGGAE   AS A STEPPING-STONE BACK TO AFRICA. The Rastafarian and back-to-African theme in Jamaican reggae since the seventies encouraged many West Indian and white reggae bands to look towards African music for inspiration. Some artists actually visited Africa: Jimmy Cliff, Greg Isaacs, Misty and Roots, Musical Youth and Bob Marley. When Bob Marley died in 1981, his record company, Island Records, decided to look for their next super-star in Africa rather than the Caribbean. In 1983 this independent reggae label chose to promote Nigeria's top juju-music star, Sunny Ade, whose subsequent successful international tours and releases were an important trigger for the current interest in World Music by foreign music fans. Island Records success was followed by the appearance of other World Music oriented independent record labels such as Sterns, Earthworks, Peter Gabriel's Real World

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56 At one point Eno stayed with me at my Bokoor House during the Christmas of 1980.

57 I arranged an interaction between them and some of our students at the Music Department in 1999.

and Globestyle in the UK, as well as Syllart and Celluloid of France and Shanachie and Putumayo in the United States.

After the emergence of these British French and American independent African and World Music record labels, the big record companies such as HMV, EMI and Virgin Records also began to move into African music. Another was Warner Brothers who released Paul Simon's 1986 Gracelands album. Subsequently the big distributors began to set up World Music sections in their mega-music stores - and as they say the rest is history.

From what has been discussed it is obvious that the rise of World Music over the last twenty years is creating new opportunities for Ghana - and besides tapping into the lucrative annual 1.5 billion dollar international trade in African music I will focus here on three particular areas of positive development for Ghana, the first being that of the tourist industry.

FIRSTLY: THE BENEFICIAL IMPACT OF WORLD MUSIC ON GHANAIAN TOURISM

Thirty-five years ago tourism in Ghana was literally at a standstill largely due to political instability, the problems of artificial exchange rates and resulting black market, and shortages of even basic commodities. But particularly after the IMF initiated Structural Adjustment Policy of the late 1980s tourism dramatically increased in Ghana - so that between 1992 and 2002 the number of tourists entering the country each year doubled. In 2000 foreign tourism generated 350 million dollars for Ghana – and in 2004 $800 million[58] - making tourism the third largest foreign exchange earner for the country after gold and timber. The figures have continued to rise and according to the Ghana Tourist Board in 2009 just over 800,000 tourists came to Ghana bringing in $1,615 million.[59]

Of course there are many types of tourist. There are eco-tourists interested in wildlife sanctuaries, cultural tourists interested in local customs, adventure tourists going on safari and African-American tourists tracing their African roots. Whatever the type of tourist, it has been estimated   that ten percent of the foreign exchange that international tourists actually spend is on recreation and entertainment[60] – and this brings us to the topic of a new and growing sector for Ghanaian tourism. This is the impact of what might be called 'World Music tourists' who come to Ghana for its popular night-club music and its traditional and folkloric groups that perform at local festivals and ceremonies and onstage at hotels and beach resorts. Some of these World Music tourists, as I will mention in a moment, also come to academically study local music and dance.

World Music fans enjoy live performances of bands with a strong indigenous African flavour, and so any increase in the number of live bands and night-clubs that cater for them will obviously attract more of these World Music tourists to the country and thus boost the tourist trade in general. A very positive development in connection with this was the move in 2004 by the Ghanaian government to drastically lower the import duties on musical band instruments and

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58 In 2003 tourism generated $600 million (550,000 visitors and 180,000 jobs created) and in 2004 $800 million (650,000 visitors) according to the Heritage newspaper 28th Feb. 2005, page 5.

59 See ghanaweb.com Business News 23rd June 2010.

60 See for instance   Jacob Oti-Awere's article in the Graphic Showbiz of December 7-13th , 2001.

equipment – thus making it cheaper for musicians and night club owners to acquire them.[61] Furthermore and as a response to the growing revenues from tourism and potential world music sales, in 2005 the Ghanaian government included the entertainment sector in its Poverty Reduction Strategy.

SECONDLY: THE POSITIVE IMPACT OF WORLD MUSIC ON EDUCATION

Many of the World Music tourists coming to Ghana not only want to watch and listen to Ghanaian music – but also want to learn to play and dance to it. Some come to do this at Ghana's universities: like the scores of foreign students, musicians and dancers who come now each year to the School of Performing Arts of the University of Ghana at Legon. Others come to the dozens of private drumming culture centres, music archives and traditional-music schools that have proliferated since the late 1980s: such as the African Academy of Music and Arts at Kokrobite, the Dagbe Drum School in the Volta Region, Koo Nimo's Adadan Cultural Resource Centre in Kumasi and the Gramophone Museum in Cape Coast to name a few. Some others are the Kasapa and Aklowa beach resort schools, Professor Nketia's International Centre for African Music and Dance at Legon, the BAPMAF Popular Music Archives at South Ofankor, the late Ghanaba's African Heritage Library and Bernard Woma Dagara Music and Arts Centre both at Medie,   and Kwese Asare's African Cultural Centre at Larteh. Some of the folkloric or neo-traditional groups that cater for foreign visitors also double up as teaching outfits like Odehe, Hewale, Suade, Djembe, the late Richard Danquah's Kusum Gboo and Nii Tettey's Kusun Ensemble.

Conversely, the interest in African and World Music has led to many Ghanaian musicians travelling or residing abroad to teach African drumming and dancing in foreign colleges and schools. Some examples of such musicians in the US and Europe include Obo Addy, Kobla and C.K. Ladzekpo, Kwarshi Amuvor, the late C.K. Ganyoh and Godwin Agbeli, Gideon Foli, Kwasi Baidoo, George Dzikunu, Lord Eric and Ben Baddo.

THIRDLY: WORLD MUSIC   IS ENHANCING COLLABORATIONS   BETWEEN FOREIGN MUSICIANS AND GHANAIAN ARTISTS

Let us first turn to the visits and collaborations by western musicians and bands coming to Ghana. An early example that took place even before the emergence of World Music was the Soul to Soul concert in Accra in1971 that featured Tina Turner, Wilson Pickett, Santana and the brilliant Afro-jazz fusion of Les Harris and McCann with the Frafra musician Amoah Azangeo. Incidentally the original 1971 film of this event was recently re-released on DVD in the US[62] - and a   documentary on the event called 'The Story of Soul to Soul' produced by Kwese Owusu's Creative Storm company was broadcast on BBC Channel Four in 2004.

However due to the economic collapse and political upheavals of Ghana during the 1970s and early 1980s very few further musical collaborations occurred. Two exceptions occurred in 1980 when two English rock musicians came to Ghana: the previously mentioned drummer Mick Fleetwood who released a film called The Visitor, and Brian Eno who worked with the local Edikanfo Band.

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61 The letter asking President Kuffour to lower these import duties came from the Ghana Musicians Union MUSIGA and the final draft was written by Sidiku Buari and myself.

62 the 1971 Soul to Soul film was released by the Nigram Corporation and Aura Productions, and then re-released as a DVD in 2004 by the Reelin' In The Years Productions, a part of Warner Brothers.

But generally speaking during the 1980s things remained difficult for foreign visitors and artists coming to Ghana – although there were some notable collaborations between Ghanaian and western music stars working abroad. For instance in 1988 Nana Danso's Pan African Orchestras worked in the UK with the rock musician Peter Gabriel and released the World Music hit record 'Opus One'. And in 1989 the bass player Kofi Electric (and Cameroonian guitarist Vincent Nguni) worked in the US with Paul Simon on his record album 'Rhythms of the Saints' in which he re-worked the old highlife song 'Yaa Amponsah' into 'Spirit Voices'.

By the early 1990s the effects of the liberalisation of the economy led to an increasing number of foreign visitors coming to Ghana, - including musicians who played in Ghana and/or teamed up with Ghanaian artists. Furthermore, in 1991 the first of a series of PANAFEST or Pan African Festivals was initiated by the government that over the years has brought in many thousands of African-American tourists: including musicians like Stevie Wonder, Public Enemy, Dionne Warwick, Isaac Hayes, and Rita and Ziggi Marley. During the 1990s many jazz musicians also came to Ghana such as Randy Weston, Max Roach and Robin Schulkowsky: the two latter working with the Ghanaian master drummer Kofi Ghanaba.[63] Musicians that came to Ghana from the Caribbean, the United States and Britain include Greg Isaacs, Kassav, Musical Youth, Misty and Roots, Culture, Soul 2 Soul, Jermain Jackson, Shaggy, One Giant Leap and the Black British jazz artist Courtney Pine. Bob Marley's wife, Rita Marley actually settled in Ghana and has built a recording-studio in the Aburi Hills near Accra.

Besides foreign bands and artists coming to Ghana since the 1990s, a number of Ghanaian artists and bands have toured North America, Europe, Japan and Australia. Some examples include Mac Tonto's Kete Warrriors, Kofi Ghanaba[64], the Pan African Orchestra, Kwabena Nyama, Koo Nimo, Rocky Dawuni, the Western Diamonds, George Darko and Kakraba Lobi.[65]

Some of these have actually settled abroad as African and World Music bandsmen, solo artists, recording-session musicians or members of cross-over bands. The list is long but a sampling of these include Okyerema Asante, Afro Moses, Sloopy Mike Gyamfi, Obo Addy, Nana Tsiboe, Kofi Ayivor, Eddie Quansah, Bibie Brew[66], Rex Gyamfi, Atongo Zimba   and Alfred Bannerman.[67]

The list is quite long as some of these Ghanaian artists settled abroad during the late 1970s and 80s when things were difficult in Ghana. Indeed when I was on the Executive of the Ghana musicians Union (MUSIGA) in 1979 we estimated that one quarter of our members were already out of the country at the time. Though this was Ghana's loss, these artists abroad have made an input into the emerging international World Music explosion of the last twenty-five years or so. Furthermore, many of these musicians have since returned to Ghana setting up bands and

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[63] Some others who came to Ghana were the African-American jazz musicians George Cables, Nathan Davis, Idris Muhammad, Milton Mustapha, Clark Terry, Joe Williams, James Branch 'Plunky' and the South African jazz trumpeter Hugh Masekela.

[64] Ghanaba, as well the Pan African Orchestra and George Dzikunu's London based Adzido Dance Company, was involved with the 'Yaa Asantewaa: Warrior Queen' musical written by Margaret Busby (Nana Akua Akan) that toured the UK in 2001.

[65] Others include the City Boys, Ameyke Dede, Kojo Antwi, Blay Ambolley, Local Dimension, Pat Thomas, Papa Yankson, Jewel Ackah, Daddy Lumba, C.K. Mann, A.B Crentsil, the African Brothers and Kente.

[66] This singer who rose to fame in France is now back in Ghana running her Morning Star Club in Tesano.

[67] Some other are: NORTH AMERICA Yacub Addy (Odadaa Band), Alfred Schall (Wanaa Wazuri Band), Nana Yaw Boakye (Nakupenda), Bishop Okele (Officials). EUROPE Henry Soloman (Zebra), Kwabena Oduro Kwarteng (Highlife Internationals), Kofi Edu, Charles Tetteh (Sankofa),Bob Fiscian, Allan Cosmos Adu, McGod, Lee Duodu. AUSTRALIA Little Noah (Kotoka Mma), Aweke Glyman, Kojo Ashakan.

recording studios in Ghana and bringing in new styles of music with them: such as disco influenced 'burger' highlife and rap influenced hiplife (i.e. hip-hop highlife).

Although Ghanaian music does not have as high a profile on the World Music market as say the music of Mali, Senegal, Nigeria and South Africa, it is still considerable. And since the success of the Pan African Orchestra's 'Opus One' release in 1988 a considerable amount of old-time and new Ghanaian material has found its way onto the World Music shelves in America, Europe and Japan. I will name just a few of these artists as I have provided more details as an appendix. They include the old music of E.T. Mensah, King Bruce, Kofi Ghanaba, Onyina, Kwabena Nyama and the 1928 recordings of the Kumasi Trio – and newer materials from Nat Brew, Rex Omar, Eric Egyeman, T.O. Jazz, George Darko, Blay Ambolley, the Sweet Talks, F. Kenya, Alhaji Frempong, Nana Ampadu and Alex Konadu.

CONCLUSION

 It can be seen that the globalisation of African Music has proven beneficial to Ghana in the three specific areas discussed. Firstly it has enhanced the Ghanaian cultural tourist industry and has resulted in   proliferation of local cultural centres and neo-traditional groups that cater for foreign visitors and World Music fans. Secondly, the international appeal of African music is bringing numbers of foreign performance students to the country who stimulate and financially help local educational institutions. Thirdly, the global rise of African music has dramatically increased the density and frequency of musical exchanges and collaborations going on between Ghanaian and foreign artists. This not only presents opportunities for Ghanaian artists at home and abroad, but in the light of the enormous revenues generated by World Music sales has very positive implications for Ghana's foreign exchange earnings.

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APPENDIX: SOME GHANAIAN WORLD MUSIC RELEASES COMPILED IN THE MID 2000s AND AVALIABLE IN EUROPEAN RECORD SHOPS

E.T. Mensah: Day by Day & All For You (Sterns UK). King Bruce And The Black Beats & Guy Warren – Ghanaba (RetroAfric, UK). Rough Guide to Highlife (Rough Guide Music, UK). Afro-Rock (Kona Records UK). George Aingo: The Roots of Highlife & The Kumasi Trio 1928 (Heritage UK). Music in Ghana (Pamap Germany). Mustapha Tettey Addy: Secret Rhythm & Come And Drum (WeltWunder, Germany). Pan African Orchestra: Opus One (WOMAD/Realworld, UK). Ghana Soundz (Soundway UK). Koo Nimo: Osabarima (Asasa and Sterns UK). The Guitar and Gun Highlife Compilation (Stern's/Earthworks, UK). Highlife All Stars (Network Germany). Akom: Art Of Spirit Possession (Village Park). Vintage Palmwine & Kofi Ayivor: Rhythmology (Otrabanda Records, Holland). Electric Highlife (Naxos, USA/Hong Kong). Kwabena Nyama: Ghana Palm Wine Music (Buda Music, Paris). Popular Music Ghana 1931-57 (Disques Arion Paris). Okyerema Asante and the Uhuru Band: Crabs In A Bucket (Asante/Oyigbo label,USA).   Rocky Dawuni: Crusade & Awakening (Aquarian Records, Ghana/USA). Local Dimension: N'Yong (Disques Arion, Paris). Mac Tonto: Kete Warriors (UK). Afro Moses: Makoloa & O'Jah (Riddimtrax Records/GMF Label Denmark). Sloopy Mike Gyamfi: Telephone Nkomo & Asem Kakra (Holland). Nat Brew: Wogbe (Amanazeba Productions). The Shrine: Afrobeat (Ocho UK).The Highlife All Stars (Network Germany). Eric Egyeman: Ghana Gold: (Music and Words, Holland). Smilin Osei: Alarm Blo (Dakar Sounds, Holland). Nana Tsiboe's Supa Hilife Band: Ahom & Asem Ni (Tuntumi,UK). Amartey Hedzoleh (Millenium Anthem Productions, USA). Obo Addy: Afieye Okropong & Wonche Bi (Akula Records, USA). One Giant Leap (Ghanaian/African/UK collaboration, Palm Pictures, UK).

REVIEW OF THE ROOTS OF AFRICAN JAZZ CONFERENCE: A MULTICULTURAL CHALLENGE

By: Richard L. Tietze, Marymount Manhattan College, USA

ABSTRACT

The article reviews a workshop convened through the New York University Faculty Resource Network by Prof. John Collins of the University of Ghana and the African American trumpeter Prof. Michael White of Xavier University, New Orleans, in 8-12 June 2009, on 'The African Roots of Jazz'. This article extends their unique multicultural perspective to include other collaborative scholars, including the author's work exploring the complex relationship between Jazz and American Identity.

INTRODUCTION

The 5-day workshop in New York took the form of a Trans-Atlantic dialogue between the two presenters and the audience of professional educators, and offered an original perspective on the development of the American Blues and Jazz as the result of several centuries of cultural exchange across both sides of the Atlantic, fertilizing a rich, multicultural artistic collaboration. This not only contributed to American Blues & Jazz, but to popular music in West Africa, such as the Ghanaian musical popular theatre known as the "concert party" (described later).

This complex view counters a more traditional linear and stereotyped view of cultural exchange that parallels racist beliefs that culture was given from Western colonial cultures to 'primitive' African cultures. Confounding another stereotype, sailors served to promote much of this exchange, especially among the lower and working classes. African seamen provided an "unofficial" cultural transmission agency and Professor John Collins called them the "glue, or cement" of early globalized music. Sailors also developed Pidgin English as a lingua franca of the working classes throughout Africa, to ease commerce and communication among the continent's more than 2000 different languages. To conclude this review, I will discuss some of the connections between the workshop and explanatory research in my professional field of Psychology, including my own research on American music and identity, both individual and multicultural.

SUMMARY OF THEMES DISCUSSED

It should be noted that this workshop was not the first time such cross-fertilization paradigms have been used. Earlier researchers like Alan Lomax (1968), Melville Herskovits (1958/1941) and J. Lovell (1931) described the cultural roots (e.g. folk songs) of this exchange through their explorations of West Africa's influence on the Americas. As Prof. Collins pointed out, a cultural "resonance" is also important, perhaps described as a readiness to be willing to accept new ideas. The extension of this perspective into a multicultural exchange over time reflects a recent trend in the exploration of cultural processes by researchers in many fields; among others, the cultural history of Prof. Collins, the musicology of Prof White, and psychology of Cohen (2009) and Schwartz et al, (2010). Throughout the 5-day workshop, each convener introduced themes from alternative perspectives, each using a dialogue model, including discussions of research literature

(Collins, 1987, 2006; White, 2001, 2002) film and playing recorded as well as live music to develop details and invite the audience to share in the discussions. This generated a lively learning process, and the present report attempts to summarize the issues presented.

MONDAY African musical retention in New Orleans and the circular trans-Atlantic relationship between the performing arts of Africa and the Black Americas
Prof. Collins began the discussion, here summarized. Music is viewed differently and has different roles among the many cultures involved in the trans-Atlantic exchange, for instance the cultures of Western Europe and those of West Africa from where slaves originally came. Most European cultures focus on aesthetics that divide the arts from everyday life and usually separate the various forms of art in specialities. West African art forms on the other hand are functionally embedded within the activities of daily life and are also often combined and used together.

 The Concert Party tradition, which developed in Ghana and Togo during the 20th Century is a good example. The closest parallel with Western ideas is that of early Opera, with its amalgamation of music drama, dance and other art forms. But the similarities of the Concert Party with jazz in style are also unmistakable, especially, "the innovative, hybrid, opportunistic mode of expression in which the incorporation and containment of novelty is a constitutive feature" (Barber, Collins & Richard, 1997: xii), and the engagement of the audience, who, "make suggestions and pass comments,(and) supply the oxygen of public approval to new improvisations" (Barber, et al, 1997:.xv). Concert Parties combined music, dancing and theatre into through an entire 4 or 5 hour evening. The itinerant concert party troupe put together long and convoluted comic morality and developed a loose improvisational script that included elements of the village or town where they were playing, or even world events. So it was a different show each night. John Collins was a performing musician during this time ("The Jaguar Jokers", in Barber, et al., 1997), and later became an historian of cultural traditions in African music. As an amalgamated popular art form, concert parties helped to maintain culture during the political upheaval of independence (Collins,1976; 1985). Art helps maintain values and offer catharsis, as in the case s as in the case of American popular music " a way to rid oneself of the blues" (to quote Stanley Crouch, in O'Meally 1998:158). The psychologist C.G. Jung (1964) would call this transcendence – the integration of life's complex and conflicting themes to achieve wholeness. Other examples of cross-cultural exchange provided by Prof. Collins and White were:

1. The banjo (or "banjar") was the gift of the West African Sahel (grassland) countries such as Senegal where the first U.S. slaves came from.[68] In the Sahel many instruments are made of gourds and the American banjo was a descendant from Sahelian cultures. Furthermore, the banjo came across the Atlantic with an African type playing styles such as "claw hammer". Prof. White also mentioned many Afro-American musicians preferred the fiddle, as without frets, musicians could stretch and bend notes to work within both Western and African musical forms. Here was a case of adapting an available instrument to new techniques.

2. The square goombay drum presents the earliest documented example of reverse cultural exchange in the early 19th century, from the West Indies (Jamaica) to Africa. One sits on

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68 About 70 % of the 400,000 slaves brought to the U.S, between 1611 and 1808 came from West Africa.

it to play and uses the feet to modify its sound. Later, the history of this cultural exchange was lost, and this Jamaican frame drum became the epitome of an "African" drum and was assumed to have been created as part of the historic culture of Africa. However its Pan African nature is confirmed by the fact that was found in the Caribbean from the 18th century and spread to seventeen West African countries in the 19th and 20th centuries. (Collins, 2007).

3. "Pattin' juba", the "hand jive" and "tap dancing" were also African contributions, indicating there was no artistic separation of mind and body, as in the West. These were also creative alternative responses to the threat posed by "talking drums". Colonial powers forbade the use of such drums, for fear of communicating revolt. Conseq uently, Black American slaves had to put their African rhythms into their bodies.

4. An example of dance providing an example of cultural differences norms is cited by Prof. Collins. For Africans hip-shaking is often the norm. This scandalized Europeans for whom dancing in ballroom fashion "cheek-to-cheek" was the norm. But when western ballroom dancing was introduced to Ghanaian villages in the early 20th century through early forms of local highlife music, this in turn upset traditionalist Africans for whom "hugging" in public was considered too erotic.

Michael White, our second convener, calls New Orleans "the most African city in the Americas"; not so much in terms of content of the music, but in the style. The music has a social as well as aesthetic purpose, representing the cohesive forces keeping the community together, Also the New Orleans brass band "second-line" street parades are extensions of the traditional "ring shout" offering respite to the "second-class" poor black citizens. He described that people in these "second line" parades and funeral processions achieved rhythmic and spiritual "trance" analogous to Maslow's "peak experience" (Schustack, 2008). Prof. White, who is also himself a brass band musician, also shared his own spiritual journey through the traditions of New Orleans music, balancing personal and cultural experience including the impact of Hurricane Katrina that so disrupted life in New Orleans (White, 2005; 2007).

19th century New Orleans (and later Chicago and New York), were multi-cultural urban environments fertile for the development of Jazz. Among the New Orleans contributions were:

1. Congo Square. From 1734-1857 and on a smaller scale up to 1887, New Orleans was the only U.S city where African music and dance was allowed. One was the "Ring Shout that involves two concentric rings of dancers. The outside moved counter-clockwise in a shuffling dance without lifting the feet. Inside the clockwise ring, wild improvisation reigned, sometimes with "spirit possession" and also "signifyin" (improvised personal commentaries). Prof. White views the "ring shout" evolved after Emancipation (of slaves) into the "second line" of modern New Orleans parades. He described the African elements in New Orleans music parades as it being a social ritual, a therapeutic commentary on life and a communal ceremonial activity that involved call-and- response and audience participation.

2. <u>Mardi Gras Indians</u>. Another element of the New Orleans multi-cultural environment is the two dozen Mardi Gras Indian "tribes" who dance in brass band music parades and whose costumes are a mix of Native American Indian and Carnival colors. These "tribes" are also social clubs, that fight for social rights and pay homage to the Native American tradition of resistance - and so symbolize freedom, positive identity, equality and spiritual life. In older days these Mardi Gras Indian clubs were gangs that would fight. Today they compete through dances and beautiful costumes that they renew each year.

3. <u>"Blues" notes, "high" notes and "dirty" tones</u>. West African traditions such as the pentatonic scales resulted in the blues scale of Louisiana and the southern US in which two notes (flattened 3rd and 7th) were added to the five African notes. In addition, Prof. Collins mentioned that in the West high-pitched instruments are considered most important for soloing (e.g. right hand of piano),   probably reflecting the impact of ancient Greek thinking related to the "Music of the Spheres", where higher pitches are closer to the heavens. This musical   indoctrination never occurred in traditional Africa where the high pitched bells and rattles and small support drums supply basic patterns, whilst it is the low-pitched drums that are used for soloing by master drummers. The western classical   Prof. Collins also mentioned that for many African traditions, the ancestors are heard through "buzzing" sounds that come from rattles, beads, or spider-webs added to instruments such as hand-pianos, drums and xylophones. In America these became the so-called "dirty" tones of early jazz horns-men,   which s westerners considered impure. But originally in the African tradition these "distortions" to notes introduced a spiritual element.

4. <u>"Happy Death".</u> This is an African concept adapted into the New Orleans Funeral. From the view of the marchers we must mourn, but from the perspective of the deceased the troubles of this life are over. "Didn't He Ramble" by the New Orleans early jazzman Jelly Roll Morton and his Red Hot Peppers, is a good example. This jazz march was played at the end of what Morton called "the end of a perfect death", which included music and a shared meal/party afterwards for the marchers and mourners. At first, the mourners of the deceased moved to the cemetery to a slow dirge to respect sadness of loss. But they came back with an up-tempo march (i.e. the jazz 'second line') celebrating the victory over life's pains, worries and dependency on material possessions. Now the deceased was free of these troubles of life and has s passed on to a spiritually free dimension, where s/he can be "free, proud, angry and equal" which, as Prof. White put it, "most poor folks couldn't be in life".

TUESDAY –Historical Background: 19th century British colonial history in West Africa and the founding and development of New Orleans

In the morning session Prof. Collins described how during the late 19th Century, West Indian military bands were brought to Africa, presumably to present the might of Colonial civilization. They played military marches but off-duty they played calypsos in addition to. This music influenced the coastal Fantis of Ghana in an unexpected way. The idea that local recreational music could be played on military instruments was a creative surprise. Prof. Collins called this

expansion of music-making as "hijacking" the most important symbol of colonial power (i.e. the military). The imported West Indians also introduced to the Fantis their own cultural practices, such as carnival and masked parades (Collins, 1985). Later, in the 20th Century, brass bands played an important part in the independence movement in Africa (Collins, 2004).

Prof. Collins demonstrated the amazing continuity of rhythms over time and place, and of the drums creating those rhythms. He played many songs demonstrating basic rhythms that were modified as they traveled to different countries, but retained recognizable characteristics. He likened it to language transmission – when people emigrate and form a community in another country, they maintain and preserve their old language as a "view of home". However, in the home country itself, language continues to evolve actively. Consequently, after time, the expatriate population do not understood the language of their home country, and are seen there to speak an "outdated" or "fossilised" version of the language.

In much African music, the major beat is not played by the musicians but rather by the dancing feet, or is implied and hidden and "heard" internally by players and listeners alike.[69]
To quote Prof. Collins, "the more important the rhythm, the less pronounced its statement" This parallels the idea that "the master drummer is not a virtuoso, but a listener – he doesn't play much, but keeps the music organized and balanced."

The British governing tradition in Africa developed so that their colonies were run by local Africans who were educated and trained by the British, who themselves only lived on the coast and usually did not last more than two years in the malaria-infested environment. When quinine became commercially available in the 1880s, the British began to move into the hinterlands and manage their African colonies though local chiefs through a policy known as "indirect rule". Consequently local middle men and educated were pushed out of institutions. As a result these thwarted elites went onto to create the first wave of independent African churches (including their vernacular hymns) and set up the first modern nationalist political parties. Turning to more recent years there has been a tremendous increase in separatist Christian churches and sects. In Ghana these could number around 4,000 and they have been accompanied by the appearance of local 'gospel highlife' dance music since the 1970s that today constitutes around 60% of Ghana's commercial output of locally produced music.

During the afternoon session Prof. Michael White presented a brief history of New Orleans as both a unique American-International city and the most African of American cities. It was founded in 1718 as a French port. Napoleon populated the city a century later with outcasts, prisoners, prostitutes, and so life was difficult from the beginning. Hot, low-lying, regularly flooded, plagued with insects - all made for a high mortality rate. But is also fostered an attitude that "Life is short and precious, so live for today", or "Laissez les bontemps roulez!" Partying became a way of life and a reluctance to being on time, all contributed to a more Caribbean style of life. Blacks had access to privileges accorded nowhere else in the USA, and New Orleans had and still has, a black majority population and great cultural diversity. As a major seaport at the Southern end of the Mississippi River, New Orleans was the first Southern city to be captured by the North during the Civil War, in 1862. General Butler ruled leniently as military governor, and invited another musical influence, the brass band tradition, which also contributed to a new

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69 This is what Richard Waterman called the "metronome sense" of African and African American musicians.

music, later called "Jazz". Jazz in New Orleans was formed by the integration of two musical and cultural traditions. There were the Creoles, who were often educated musicians and formed a third class of mixed blood, usually French. Then there were the American blacks who were usually uneducated and lower class slaves or freedmen. Also, the French placage tradition allowed French men to have a colored mistress, and raise a second family with her, sometimes sending their mixed marriage   children to France for education. They also adopted and modified the French "Salon" tradition, as in New Orleans' notorious red-light Storyville district where "whorehouses: were also places of discussion and musical entertainment, often by a Creole "Professor" like the previously mentioned Jelly Roll Morton.[70]With the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court Plessy vs. Ferguson case New Orleans privileged multicultural tradition was over and the ultra-racist "Jim Crow" era began. One drop of black blood defined your race[71] and so Creoles and African-Americans therefore had to join together – but as result created Jazz.

Other musical sources of jazz were work songs and prison songs which coordinated workers' efforts; for example, the hammer was often used as a ground beat, along with the African effects of bending notes for emotional expression and communication. Field hollers became street-vendor calls in the cities. Work and prison song became levee and railroad building songs as well laying the basis for the blues (Gioia, 2007). Another source of jazz and blues were the Spirituals of African American church that involved a high degree of emotional expression.

WEDNESDAY - 20th Century African music history and independence.

During colonial times early comparative musicologists considered 'pure', 'authentic' 'tribal' African folk music was valuable, but popular music was a "adulterated " and hybrid and therefore useless to preserve. John Collins rather suggested that the African popular music rather integrated African Western and Black American idioms (like ragtime, jazz etc) and became positive expression of black identity amongst the urban masses and cash-crop farmers of Africa.

For instance, American blackface minstrel and ragtime music was borrowed by Africans without their racist trappings. Infact in Africa the blackface attire simply became the uniform of ragtime, as music that was rapidly taken up and developed by African musicians in the early 1900s (Collins, 1981). A 'native 'record industry also involved in the   1930's based on rural "palmwine" guitar music. Farmers were able to afford records and wind-up gramophones, as villages were then often financially wealthy due to profits from cocoa farming and other cash crops. It was only the rapid urbanization, urban migration and military coups following independence that they became the impoverished villages of today. Moreover, back in the 1940s and 50s African popular music became involved with the emerging independence movement. For instance Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast), was the first to achieve independence in 1957 and Nkrumah promoted the arts, including popular performance, as a Pan-African cultural tool. he established many state sponsored highlife band and in the case of Concert Parties he also insisted that women enter the profession.

Not only was gender equality a part of the policy of many progressive African leaders of the 1950s and 60s but Afro-American women Jazz figures, such as Ella Fitzgerald were powerful models for African women taking an assertive place in society. One was Miriam Makeba, who

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70 Jelly Roll Morton was a talented pianist and composer who claimed to have "invented" Jazz in the New Orleans red-light district of Storyville. See Tietze, 2006.

71 Jerome Kern's American musical-drama, "Showboat" uses this theme to illustrate both the letter of the racist law and the spirit of love.

became the first Pan-Cultural woman musician in Africa. She began her career as a jazz singer with the South African Manhattan Brothers dance band and then began exploring her cultural roots when she went to US and was mentored by Harry Belafonte.

THURSDAY - Highlife History and the New Orleans Brass Band Tradition.

Collins presented a timeline for the development of "Highlife" history. Military-regimental band influenced local Adaha music which began around 1880 and like jazz represents a black "hijacking" of western marching music. The early 1900s saw the appearance of "palm-wine" and "Akan blues" guitar band music. Ghanaian high-class dance orchestras also developed in the early 1900s and the name "Highlife" was coined in that context around 1925.   However it was only the name that was invented in this elite context, not the genre itself, that was invented by the rural and particularly the urban poor.

In Ghana, a local vaudeville shows began in the early 1900s as a "copy-cat" of American and European traditions. Then in the 1930s Bob Johnson brought the genre and its music (usually ragtime) out to the local villages where it transmuted into the Ghanaian Concert Party popular theatre art-form. After WWII the ragtime music of earlier Concert Parties was replaced with guitar-band highlife music by E.K. Nyame and others - and between the 1950s and the late 1970s, about 250 of these itinerant troupes were active in Ghana. Basic characters included a gentleman, and a trickster-comic called a 'Bob' and a female impersonator as it was then judged difficult for women to move with at band that was always on the road. They performed each night in a different village and slept on the floor after putting on a four hour long show. These shows involved music for dancing, comedy sketches and a play with practical advice about life: the problems of greed, loyalty, city life, and the theme of the breakup of the extended families often expressed through the "orphan" character .

During Woeld War II, about 300,000 West African troops fought with the Allies against the Japanese in of which about 40,000 were Ghanaians. Conversely Americans and British troops were stationed in Ghana and brought with them jazz-swing music. This music was subsequently Africanised by artists like E.T. Mensah and Guy Warren (Kofi Ghanaba), whose Tempos pioneered the highlife dance-band format that dominated in the 1950s and 60s. It was Ghanaba who introduced Afro-Cuban percussion to their Tempos band, after working with a Cu-bop band in the UK. He was very political; a journalist and promoter of African independence. In the 1950s and 60s he developed his own style of Afro-jazz and an African drum-kit. He also promoted a spiritual message that all gods and religions shared an orientation toward life which was greater than their individual traditions, beliefs and practices. "God in any color or language is the same." Another jazz influence on the Tempos was through Louis Armstrong and his All Stars that visited Africa in 1956 and 1960 (Collins, 1985).

In the afternoon Prof. White spoke about brass bands as training a ground for jazz musicians, and that the emergence of these bands involved a cultural exchange across the Atlantic (White, 2007). The French first introduced them to New Orleans for military functions. they were then used during the 1860-5 American Civil War and afterwards thousands of brass bands and 'Souza bands sprang up in the U.S. African American also took up this style and they introduced to it improvisation and the   "second line" of marchers who accompanied the uniformed

musicians[72]. The improvised and passionate nature of the "second line" evolved from the traditional African derived "ring shout", particularly the inner ring of dancers that, as mentioned earlier, was typified by wild improvisation and spirit possession. As a result the "second line" parade dancers moved as the rhythms moved them. This added a creative improvisatory element to the traditional parades that had begun with black social or religious groups who needed a form of "death insurance", to be sure one was honored with a burial. So the parade mirrors the duality of New Orleans in terms of order and chaos: the organized rhythm of the march and the spontaneity of "second line" dancing: the collective social function, and the individual values and interpretations.

Another African-influenced element of black parades is the colorful and often clashing costumes. These represented both collective clubs but also individual creative talent – the view being that the individual colors may clash, but collective view of many colors makes an artistic whole. Another ingredient of these New Orleans carnival parades were the previously mentioned Indian Societies or Clubs that represented the mixed origins of many who were termed "black" by Jim Crow standards. These Indian Societies also comment on the mistreatment of Native Americans, an unfairness that people of color can identify with.

The elements of African style in the brass band music itself was call-and- response, growls and other vocal tones and bent notes. Another was polyrhythms - and the clarinet became important in the "second line" parades as it usually "dances around the melody" and also often represented the wailing widow in mourning. These bands played at church & social club parades and "jazz funerals". Indeed, brass bands were often the training ground for New Orleans jazz musicians such as the pioneering jazz hornsman Buddy Bolden. He brought in more African influences to popular music by making "the music speak", by personalizing it with vocal sounds and loose rhythms. As a result people could hear and recognize the unique "signature" of the particular player. Like handwriting and facial features, music is considered to be part of identity. This also seems to represent the "talking book" metaphor developed by Henry Louis Gates (1988) to explain the hybrid mixture of oral African traditions with written Western European cultural traditions.

In 1908, a diaspora of New Orleans musicians began due to increased job migration to the North during WWI and after, and this consequently spread the New Orleans Jazz . King Oliver left for Chicago in 1919 and brought Louis Armstrong up a few years later. Then in the 1940s Bunk Johnson and George Lewis began the Revival of Traditional Jazz which helped spread New Orleans music around the world.

FRIDAY – The impact of 1960's Pop-music in Africa and the Revival of Brass Band music in New Orleans.
Prof. Collins began by discussing the strong influence on Ghana of rock, soul, funk and reggae as it appealed to the young generation. In 1971 there was a "Soul to Soul" festival in Accra which brought bands like Ike and Tina Turner and Wilson Picket that played soul and Santana that bridged the gap between Rock and Afro-Latin music. Then soul singer James Brown visited Nigeria in 1970 with his 'Say it Loud I'm Black and Proud message. At first the African youth copied these foreign idioms. But by the early 1970s they had mastered them and created

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72 Late 19th century black uniformed marching band sprang from the 200,000 African Americans recruited into the Union Army during the American Civil War - editor.

Afro-rock (Ghana's Osibisa band) and also Afro-soul, re-named Afro-beat by Fela Anikulapo-Kuti the Nigerian music and culture hero. The transition from American soul to Afro-beat was enhanced due to the fact that the African youth who were copying Black American musicians also copied their "Afro" fashions and Afro-centric message. Consequently these young musicians turned back to their own African resources. The Rastafarian reggae of Bob Marley was label was another important influence on turning young African pop musicians to their roots.

 During a series of Ghanaian military governments in the late 1970s and 80s live local popular music almost died out in Ghana. When music revived in 1990s, the young audience shifted away from live bands more towards   local techno-pop. One such Ghanaian form   modeled on American Hip Hop was 'hiplife' (i.e hip hop highlife) in which the artist rapped in a local language and which provided the youth with a social commentary and a new communication channel. A film called 'Living the Hiplife' made by the American researcher Jesse Shipley was also shown and discussed.

In the afternoon Michael White talked about the changes in New Orleans Brass Bands music. The earliest brass band recordings were not made until the late 1950s. Likewise, brass bands were not used commercially at sporting and tourist events, conventions, TV ads, concerts and so on until the 1960s For instance Prof. White mentioned that Preservation Hall was opened in 1961 for brass bands to to play for tourists. Then in the late 1970s there was a brass band revival or revolution that went against many old traditions, as it wanted a new identity to appeal to young audiences. The bands became smaller, the repertoires shrank, more improvisation was added and members wore colorful costumes rather than uniforms. Also they played at Jazz Brunches in hotels & restaurants rather than for parades. One such group that Prof White played trumpet with, called the Dirty Dozen Brass Band, got many recording contracts and achieved some international success.

CONCLUSION

The complex process described by Professors Collins and White presents a larger perspective that challenges the modern world. Rapid communication allows many viewpoints to be immediately accessible. But so much information can be overwhelming, which demands establishing meaning through making individual choices within a vast array of possibilities. As art attempts to offer balance and wholeness to individual and cultural meaning and identity, the multicultural perspective becomes more relevant, more valid, and also far more complex. A poetic version of this idea is expressed by Walt Whitman, "…do I contradict myself? very well, then, I contradict myself" (quoted in Small, 1987). Small also refers to "an important aspect of African musicking…the musician responds to the dynamics of the human situation as it develops around him (sic)" (Small, 1987:295). Psychologically, this can be seen as an analogue to the reciprocal process of individuals creating identity within this multicultural world and throughout adult development, as we attempt to maintain continuity of self while coping with change over the life span (Erikson, 1997; Tietze, 2006).

The importance of culture in understanding identity has become a critical issue among psychologists and has shaped their ethical guidelines for clinical treatment since 2002. This has grown from a uni-dimensional model, similar to the "melting pot" view of U.S. immigrant cultures (eliminating old cultural influences in order to more effectively acculturate the new) to a

broader model of adopting or identifying with multiple cultural influences (Schwartz, et al, 2010). Today "an implication of studying more forms of culture is that there are many forms of multiculturalism and that all people are in fact multicultural" (Cohen, 2009: 200). Appreciating the complexity of a multicultural viewpoint has also become an important stimulus toward research and understanding in psychology (Powers and Davidov, 2006; Tietze, 2008)

 I believe Profs. Collins and White are in good company. Alex Ross (2007) and William Appel (2002) are cultural scholars willing to explore multicultural sources of 20th century Western music, to uncover the importance of improvisation, individual interpretation and the multi-cultural exchange process. Early 20th century European painters found new inspiration and energy in African "tribal" art that supplied them with archetypal symbols to embody, express and renew life energy (Appel,2002; Jung,1957). Then from the European Classical tradition, American jazz and 20th century African cultures, musicians "were exploring how to reflect the experience of the modern world, to contain it, make sense of it", and help to develop the coping strategies that art offers. As Alex Ross describes (2007:84), European composers were searching for ways to join music with life as a "metaphor for wholeness." Dissonance, as both an element of modern life and modern art, pushed the boundaries of acceptable and meaningful experience. Since Jazz is so focused on improvisation, it moved through this process more quickly, with fewer established boundaries to break through, forming an analogue to Prof Collins' (2005) description of 20th century African popular music

 Ross describes (2007:76-77) the challenge facing Western composers as follows.
> For much of the 19th Century, music had been a theater of the mind; now composers would create a music of the body. Melodies would follow the patterns of speech; rhythms would match the energy of dance; musical forms would be more concise and clear; sonorities would have the hardness of life as it is really lived…the real break came with the First World War.

Cocteau, spokesman for the Parisian modern composers called, "Les Six", put it that "we need music on the earth, music for everyday …I want someone to make music that I can live in, like a house." (ibid: 100). Perhaps seeking this modern relevant mode through pitch and melody echoes the challenge jazz musicians were facing in their search for a universal "jazz consciousness" that Austerlitz, talks about (2005) in reflecting the complexity of human experience. As Ross says (2007: 92) many 20th Century European composers were excited by jazz;
> If other composers went further in revolutionizing harmony, none rivaled
> Stravinsky in the realm of rhythm… "Une musique negre", Debussy called
> the "Rite (of Spring)". There is no evidence that Stravinsky knew African music
> …But his notion of a "great fusion" in the "Rite" might ultimately be widened
> to mean something more than a thorough-going assimilation of folk motifs and
> modern music. These rhythms were global in reach, and at the time they were
> global in their impact. Jazz musicians sat up in their seats when Stravinsky's
> music started playing; he was speaking something close to their language.

 Appel shares a famous anecdote to illustrate how Jazz "evolved naturally into a multicultural art" (2002:41); Stravinsky went to hear Charlie Parker play and when "Bird quoted Stravinsky's

'Firebird Suite' in the middle of his jazz piece 'Koko' – Stravinsky roared with laughter!" (Ibid:60).

Prof. Collins often presented this type of cultural exchange, known in Jazz as "quoting", as an acknowledgement or tribute to another's music. Much 20th century African popular music began as "copycat" versions of American music, such as jazz or ragtime, blended with African elements – but soon developed into new cultural models. This syncretism (see Herskovits, 1967) represents one of the most creative and cooperative exchanges, offering a positive model for the mutual multicultural understanding, both of human similarities and differences in cultural experience (Tietze, 2006). Gerald Early describes the importance of cultural syncretism in the development of American jazz when he described Paul Whiteman as the white father who popularized jazz, while Louis Armstrong was the black artist who fathered its creation (see O'Meally, 1988). John Storm Roberts (1999) adds to the multicultural perspective with his explorations of "The Latin Tinge" that arose out of the exchanges between African and Latino cultures in the Americas.

So 20th Century musicians on both sides of the Atlantic were exploring new means of cross-cultural expression that modernized old archetypes and offered holistic meaning. Ross (2007:122) explains the contribution of Leonard Bernstein to this multiculturalism.

> Black music is so intertwined with the wider history of American music that the story of one is to a great extent the story of the other…Everything runs along the color line, as W.E.B. Du Bois wrote in *The Souls of Black Folk*. Still, it's worth asking why the music of 10% of the population should have had such influence… Leonard Bernstein tried to give an answer…Great music in the European tradition…had grown organically from national sources, both in a 'material' sense (folk tunes serving as sources for composition) and in a 'spiritual' sense (folkish music speaking for the ethos of a place). Bernstein's two-tiered conception, which acknowledges in equal measure music's autonomy and its social function, makes a good stab at explaining why black music conquered the more open-minded precincts of white America. First, it made a phenomenal sound. The characteristic devices of African-American musicking – the bending and breaking of diatonic scales, the distortion of instrumental timbre, the layering of rhythms, the blurring of the distinction between verbal and non-verbal sound – opened new dimensions in musical space, a realm beyond the written notes. Second, black music compelled attention as a document of spiritual crisis and renewal. It memorialized the wound at the heart of the national experience – the crime of slavery – and it transcended that suffering with acts of individual self-expression and collective affirmation. Thus, black music fulfilled Bernstein's demand for a 'common American musical material'.

Psychology has something to offer this exploration as well. Freud saw the emotional power of the unconscious in conflict with our conscious ability to repress emotional trauma. He also saw the value of art:-

> Psychoanalysis as Freud conceived it stresses the value of the social function of art, its communication of mind with mind and psyche with psyche. This involves the transmission of the artist's ideas and psychic

states by the use of symbols capable of carrying both conscious and unconscious stimuli which, together, evoke in the appreciator a combined intellectual and emotional response. (Fraiberg, pp. 44-45).

Overturning the older hierarchical model separating cognitive and emotional information, modern neuro-imaging studies support a more complex view of the human brain; processing both intellectual and emotional information simultaneously in any neural response (cited in Tietze, 2006). Freud also saw perception and projection as a continuum. The limited willingness or ability to perceive complex issues, such as individual and cultural differences, causes us to project our unresolved and unconscious emotions onto those we label as "others", whom we see as unlike us, and sometimes less human than we are (Tietze, 2006). After WWI and during the period between the Great Wars, when he was writing many of his cultural applications of psychoanalysis, Freud didn't see much hope for the future of human development. The balance, as he viewed it, was tipped too far in the direction of projection, with too few willing to do the work involved with perception and making meaning of human differences.

A modern challenge might be to what extent we are willing to open perception, and accept Freud's complexity of ambivalence, i.e. many emotional responses are possible almost simultaneously in a given situation. With this we can move from the old model of the "American Melting Pot" toward a view that can appreciate cultural diversity and attempt to explain how people retain memory of their cultural origins, whilst simultaneously striving to integrate their experience and identity within a multicultural world (Tietze, 2008).

Fraiberg (1960:107), in his application of psychoanalysis to art and American literary criticism describes the contribution of Ernst Kris, one of the leaders of Ego Psychology who is especially concerned with the meaningfulness of art,

By focusing on the ego, Kris emphasizes the higher mental nature of creativity. Art is a function…of that which makes us human; it does not come from our isolated selves, but from that part of us which reaches out to the rest of humanity. It expresses not only our relationship with the world as it is but also to the world as we wish it to be, and thus opens the way to limitless human aspirations.

Other than just by Freud's basic sublimation (re-channelling) of the sub-conscious id's impulses by the conscious ego, how does the ego transform these subconscious creative impulses into a work of art? Improvisation and imagination would seem to fit this idea clearly as we reach toward the goal of self-understanding. Jung (1964) calls the striving for adult self-awareness as "individuation" or "active imagination" .This involves the updating of timeless universal themes which Jung believed also often appear in artistic works that link individual experience to the specific socio-historical environments. Derek Bailey's work (1992:44) on musical improvisation offers a helpful explanation of the creative process both at the individual and social (or socio-historical) level.

Improvisation's responsiveness to its environment puts the performance in a position to be directly influenced by the audience…So, (they) have a power no other audience has, and a degree of intimacy with the music that is not achieved in any other situation.

The cultural critic John Simon (2005:4) describes music creation in almost Jungian terms when he states that:

> the composer could be surprised by his own work, discover in it things he was not aware of having put there. This is one of the great insights of modern art: the creator's unconscious is greater than his conscious. When the maker joins the critic and the audience, he is no longer in a privileged position, but must approach the work he created with the same humility, the same openness as the next person.

Jung would agree with both the importance and the dysfunctional aspect of projecting unacceptable feelings, as well as parts of the self, onto "the other". He also saw conflict as a natural part of human existence; in some ways previewing our new understanding of the human brain's complexity through the discoveries of neuroscience and through the importance of recognizing emotion in information-processing. Life choices, then, become a continuous process of balancing opposing forces.

As a psychologist, I can therefore also view the trans-Atlantic musical and cultural exchange as perhaps a way to help balance the negative results of slavery with a multicultural contribution. W.E.B. DuBois' idea of the "dual consciousness"[73] of Black Americans may in fact be the more accurate reality of the modern world, for it presents a challenge to identity with and integrate the "other" within the holistic self. "Dual consciousness" therefore seems to have been an early way to describe the psychological meaning of a multicultural artistic perspective – which in the United States produced jazz and the blues. So art once again has crucial relevance for the human psyche and the achievement of individual and artistic wholeness.

The multicultural perspective seems to be approachable from several vantage points, both for individual pychological development and paralleling this in the wider social world, the cultural syncretism of Herskovits. At the individual level William James, (who was an early inspiration to duBois at Harvard) thought that individuals who had been exposed to evil in the world needed to be "twice-born", as a way to integrate a more complex self within the social world (see Austerlitz, 2005). Likewise there is Jung's description (1964) of adult development or "individuation" as a process of attempting to integrate the perspective of the "other" into the self. This is a challenge for all modern people and I believe it a positive sign that recent research (e.g. by Crisp and Turner, 2009) has used virtual imaginative methods to reduce prejudice and open possible alternatives for experiencing the "other" as one voice within the multicultural (or polyphonic) mix.

Multiculturalism can also be seen in terms the social processes like syncretism. In my college Liberal Arts course "Jazz and American Identity", this popular music is used as a metaphor for openness, listening to one another and sharing experiences within the multicultural and syncretic perspective that jazz itself developed from (see Tietze, 2006; 2008). Indeed, the musician-scholar Paul Austerlitz (2005) has coined this multi-cultural sensibility "Jazz Consciousness".

Concepts and ideas are powerful tools for greater understanding, but stories embody the ideas in human experience, and this review concludes with two jazz samples. One example of the

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73 That is the tension of African Americans having to deal with both black and white mind-sets and cultures – editor.

syncretistic ideal in jazz is the title "King of Swing" applied to the white clarinetist Benny Goodman after his success in popularizing jazz. The title was not based on talent and improvisory skills alone (there were several others worthy on that score) but on commercial interests. So there was much criticism for not naming black musicians who first developed the music. However, syncretism helped both black and white jazz musicians break some of the racist elements, and establish jazz as an American rather than black or white music. In fact and to be fair to Benny Goodman he only reluctantly it seems (prompted by producer John Hammond) accepted the title. However, he lived up to the obligation implied in the title, by forming the first integrated jazz band in 1936 that included the supremely talented African American musicians Teddy Wilson, Lionel Hampton and Charlie Christian. This set up an inclusive American model for integrated and cooperative artistic performance, eleven years before another talented black man, Jackie Robinson, integrated American baseball.

A somewhat different jazz story that involves interpersonal integration is represented by the partnership between Duke Ellington and Billy Strayhorn, whom Duke referred to as "my other hand" (see Tietze, 2006). Two supremely talented musicians, the shy, warmly affectionate, musically-trained "Strays" and the self-taught sophisticate and brash showman, Duke, balanced one another within a band - that became a kind of live-together family. This partnership that artistically united opposite personalities was so successful that it lasted more than thirty years, during which time they formed the material for more than 2000 original jazz compositions.

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SECTION FOUR
THE PERFORMING ARTS AND
GOVERNMENT/EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

ANALYSING THE TRADITIONAL DANCE ON STAGE WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY: IN CLOSE REFERENCE TO OPOKU'S LEGACY

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INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF MAWERE OPOKU

As the topic suggests the aim of this paper is to trace the traditional dance in the university School of Performing Arts (SPA) , its place on the proscenium stage and what Mawere Opoku did with these dances. Albert Mawere Opoku was one of the canons in the Institute of African Studies (IAS) of the University of Ghana and instrumental in the formation of its School of Music and Dance in 1962. For more than three decades Opoku dedicated both his private and social life to teaching and researching dance in the university. This is not surprising when the very night he passed away; it was reported that the professor had been dancing earlier in the day. His strong background as a dancer was because he hails from a "family of dancers". However, Opoku was a professional artist before he entered the field of dance and had been teaching art and painting at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, (KNUST).

The traditional dance for many years prior to its introduction to the university was mainly seen and performed in village squares, lorry parks and market places or any open space within the society or the community. The performance in the communities involved a lot of performers and also audiences who could join the performance if they so wished. In Adinku's 2002 article in the "Dance Chronicle", he states that "role playing is very easy to practice within the traditional system. One seldom finds a performer exhibiting one particular role, rather due to the interrelations between music and dance, one finds that the dancer is also a music–maker". It is therefore very easy to see a musician changing roles to become a dancer, while an audience or an onlooker can easily become a musician or a dancer.

BRIEF DEFINITIONS

Traditional dance, has been observed as a dance that belong to a group of people who share common ideas and understand the norms, sanctions and the belief systems that are embodied in the society (Oh! Nii Sowah, Personal interview). Going contrary to these principles of traditional dance is considered a taboo and against the laws of the traditional people. In Adinku's account in the Dance Chronicle journal his asserts that the study of traditional dance "reveals the experiences, sensation, meaning, and movement activity that lead to an understanding and appreciation of the behavior and attitudes of the people and their societies". However traditional dance, as it is called, does not just belong to the traditional people and has relevance to the wider society.

This paper will therefore address the teaching of traditional dance within the University of Ghana and examine how Mawere Opoku incorporated these ideas from traditional society into the classroom and for the staged dance performances he arranged for the Ghana Dance Ensemble.
In examining the place of dance in the society Opoku (1966) says:

> To us life, with its rhythms and cycles is dance. The dance is life expressed in dramatic terms. To us the dance is a language, a mode of expression, which addresses itself to the mind, through which have their basic counterparts in our everyday activities, to express special and real life experiences in rhythmic sequences to musical and poetic stimuli
> .

This statement by Opoku, in practical terms, defines how traditional dance exists in all facets of human endeavor. Thus Gerald Jones (1992) sees traditional dance as

> the power, pleasure and art of movement to which an African might add as an expression of the historical, sociological, spiritual emotional and philosophical manifestation of individual and corporate lives of the people within their background and experiences.

Jones therefore agrees with Opoku's statements in which they both describe traditional dance "as life", the essence of these statement shows how the culture of a people is embodied in their dance and the way the people accept this as part of their life. The dance assumes different functions and plays different roles in the traditional societies in Ghana. As Jones later suggests, dance thus becomes a vehicle by which social norms, attitude and roles are conveyed.

Moreover and according to Ranger (1975:6) the study of dance offers many advantages to researchers who wish to use the dance to trace the cultural history of their people. This is why the cliché says that "getting to know the people, one must learn about their culture". To learn about the culture one would be required to also study the dance and in so doing one gets accustomed to the aspects of the peoples' life.

The traditional dance, therefore to us Ghanaians, perhaps goes beyond just the movement of the body amidst singing and drumming. I cannot but agree with Ranger (ibid) in observing that "the study of the living dance forms in their own cultural context is the only way to acquire knowledge of the dance. Moreover, dance can be seen in almost all aspects of human activities in traditional societies, like farming, fishing, hunting, weaving, singing, etc. Even though the dance for the traditional people, according to Doudu (1994), is an art form or entertainment, the dance is found in the following functional situations.

(i)   Social life styles
(ii)   Occupational or working places
(iii)   Religious and worship activities
(iv)   Ceremonial and festive occasion.

The presentation of traditional dance by Opoku on the stage has generated significant interest among students and audience for several reasons. Firstly, Opoku arranged most of the dance in certain sequential and systematic order. Secondly, it is based on the form he created decades ago to transform traditional dance performance from the open space into a more restricted space, of the theatre and the university school system.

Traditional dance has travelled a long distance, from the various traditional societies to the establishment of the Institute of African Studies (IAS) through to the formation of the Ghana Dance Ensemble and presently the Department of Dance studies. Credits go to the founding fathers of both the IAS and the SPA are Mawere Opoku and J. H. K. Nketia, who thought it wise to establish a dance school as well as a dance company within the university system to help in the development and promotion of the arts and culture in the country. It is in view of this that Opoku begun to experiment his ideas with Ghana Dance Ensemble (GDE) of the IAS. One cannot underestimate the bold step Mawere Opoku took some thirty years back with his interpretation of traditional dances when he began to experiment and introduce the dances to the stage and at the same time changing the form of the dance in terms of artistic presentation. That is why today Opoku's own arrangements are still being performed and competing with other dance forms, like the Guinea ballet from Guinea, the Manipuri from Japan and other dance types and forms from other parts of the world in various theatres around the world (Quaye, 2006).

ANALYSIS

From 1962 to 1976 Mawere Opoku was the sole choreographer and artistic director of the Ghana Dance Ensemble and Head of the dance section of the School of Music, Dance and Drama within the IAS. so it was he who arranged most of the traditional dance models for the stage and classroom within the university system. (Adinku,2002:63). It is for this reason that Adinku states that for:-

> anyone who wants to succeed in giving a good analysis of the forms of dance within the African context must first acquire an understanding of cultural forms of the society in which the dance originates.

One of Opoku's aims could be to give the student a total understanding of his or her traditional values through learning of traditional dance. Therefore according to Adinku "the existence of Ghana Dance Ensemble was a way of transmitting ideas which have been discovered about in the society in artistic form" made operational for the classroom situation in the School Performing Arts. Based on this view, one realizes that Opoku did not "mince words" when he started re-arranging and choreographing the traditional dances for the stage and the classroom. Even though Opoku succeeded in transforming most of the traditional dances like Bawa, Adzogbo, Kundum, Agbekor, Sikyi, Kpanlogo, Adowa, Sohu, and Nagla on to the stage and the classroom, it does not mean that Opoku did not face any problems in his work. In moving the traditional dance to the stage, one is bound to have problems. The most common is that the stage is limited in time and space. According to Peggy Harper in her article "Dance In a Changing Society" (unpublished), when a traditional dance is being moved from the society to the theatrical situation the dance is:-

> consciously designed, or deliberately organized, at a particular time by an individual director for the entertainment of a general impersonal audience to whom all the elements of the dance are not necessary familiar.

It is in this context that Opoku re-arranged the traditional dances to suit both academia and the stage. One other reason for Opoku's re-arrangements of these dances may be due to the fact that being an artistic director of a dance company (i.e. the Ghana Dance Ensemble or GDE) he had to experiment with performing traditional dances on the proscenium stage. Opoku tried arranging traditional circular patterns into linear, diagonal and other designs to make the dance aesthetically pleasing. In the 'Bawa' dance of the Dagomba of Northern Ghana, for example, the dance is performed with a leader holding a fly whisk and a whistle at the mouth. The dance moves in circular patterns. The dance is also performed with xylophone music. In doing this Opoku was very much careful not to destroy the content and the context of the dance but to present them in a more artistic setting. Mawere Opoku being a choreographer himself understood the meaning of the movement and gestures, therefore addition and subtraction of movements were done with much care, so as not to change the dance and its meaning (Quaye, 2006).

Within the university system where Opoku found himself, I believe he was faced with dual purpose. These were trying to excite his audience in the theatre whilst creating an identity for himself through his particular style of arranging traditional dances. One of the reasons for Opoku's introduction of the traditional dance to the stage and the classroom was, maybe, to give the student the ability to make an informed judgment about the nature of African traditional dances as well as a theatrical system and aesthetic appeal. Opoku also had the challenge of imparting the knowledge behind the traditional dances to his students. It was due to this that today in the school of Performing Arts and especially the Department of Dance Studies both men and women learn both male and female dances. In a typical traditional setting there are certain dances that are reserved for males or females. An example is the manly Agbekor dance of the Volta Region. However Opoku insisted both men and women learn both male or female dances and gestures together. I therefore agree with Adinku (2002:58) when he ascribes to the view that the university performance of women in the Agbekor dance is purely meant for entertainment, and must be noted that it is traditionally a domain purely restricted to men who showed bravery during the wars, including those fought by their forefathers.

WHY TRADITIONAL DANCE

Traditional dance according to Oh! Nii Sowah[74] belongs to a group of people who understand the norms and sanctions of the people and adhere to taboos governing their society. (Personal interview, 2005).

However, traditional dance can also be used to equip the student both academically and physically. Furthermore Opoku experimented by dividing the Agbekor dance into five segments and as mentioned we have ladies performing the Agbekor repertoire dances - and credit must be given to Opoku for breaking tradition and introducing ladies into the dance solely reserved for men. Not only did Opoku change the Agbekor dance but also re-choreographed traditional dances like Bawa from Nandom in the Northern Region and Sikyi from Brong Ahafo Region (see Adinku, 1994). This experimentation agrees with the fact that traditional dance itself undergoes transformation.

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Diagram: typical dance performance stage set up by Opoku

PROSCENIUM STAGE PERFORMANCE

MUSICIANS

PERFORMANCE SPACE

DANCERS
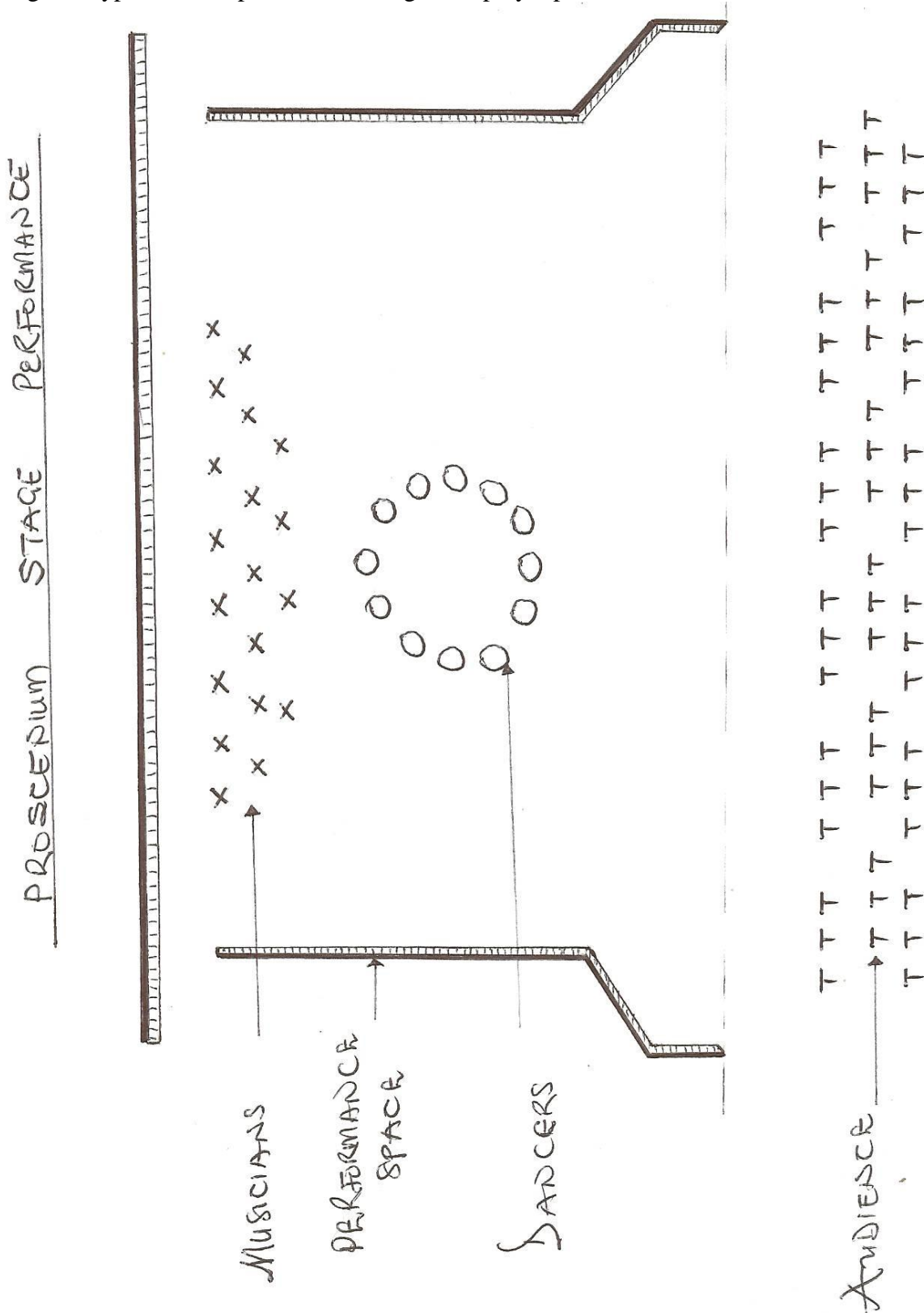
AUDIENCE

What Opoku did with the traditional dance was to give it an academic and theatrical touch. Within the traditional set up everyone, even audiences, can be performers. But in the theatre Opoku gave it a clear distinction between audience and the performers. Moreover, in a university dance class learning of dance was done by the instructor or lecturer holistically whilst in a presentation the student becomes a performer whiles the instructor or lecturer becomes an audience or examiner.

With regards to the university system, a student is expected to perform at the end of every semester with, as mentioned, the teacher becoming the audience and the student the performer. Here there is no entertainment as compared with performances on the proscenium stage. The student performs with tension trying hard to exhibit and execute movements accurately for grades and marks. On the other hand the teacher watches with an eagle eye, not for the sake of entertaining himself or herself, but rather looking at how best the students performs what has been taught the semester. The traditional dance in the University has therefore become mechanical in teaching, learning and performance. The dance looses spontaneity in the relationship between the dancer and the musician (drummer). Where the dance is taught in sequential order, that is following certain format in terms of arrangements, design and style, the student will find himself or herself many a time trying hard to use the "chew and pour"[75] method to learn, instead of developing the art of listening and understanding the rhythm patterns of the dance. Therefore when a particular dance is not taught in this sequential and orderly manner the students begin to complain that the dance is too difficult, because he or she cannot "chew and pour" it like the sequential dances.

This notwithstanding, the dance is supposed to be assimilated by the student and so they should understand the movements and gestures well. The student should not become scared or get intimidated by the dance he or she is learning in the class. In Adinku's, assessment (2002:59) a good performer is a dancer who is able to dance and express himself or her feelings and ideas freely. Such a performance is considered a mark of showmanship. This is unlike the classroom performance where a person acquires movement skills without much dancing ability. Adinku calls this as "petrepetre", meaning his or her dance is not smooth or fluent but jerky.

Opoku's creation of the traditional dances has caught up with everybody and has influenced many dance practitioners. His dance arrangements and choreographies are sometimes performed in the villages the dances originate from; Bawa, Adzogbo, Agbekor and Sikyi are typical examples. However Opoku's arrangements may have negative effects on the younger generations to come as to what exactly the traditional dance movements may be, as through his particular arrangements later generations may lose the original dance movements.

There are two schools of thought on this. One school argues that Opoku's arrangements are choreographies whilst another school thinks they are more of re-arrangements of the traditional dances. There are differences between choreographed and traditional dance. Choreography is developed through concepts and ideas and the movements and its presentation are carefully selected, designed and projected on stage. Also elaborate costuming, designed lighting and stage setting are used and constructed. The traditional dance does not have these features. The

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75 Learning by rote

movements are not carefully selected for aesthetics purposes. What one can say, however, is that elements, qualities and principles of choreography are found within traditional dance.

CONCLUSION

Dance as a discipline and a profession was new in the country and needed time and much experimentation to mold it into an acceptable academic activity within the university school system. Opoku has therefore actually helped us to understand dance performance better and to know that there is more we need to learn from tradition. He cannot be blamed totally for his works, since he operated in an environment in which he was the only dance scholar trying to project the Ghanaian dances onto the world map. Today we have thousands of dance scholars who have been influenced by what Opoku did and are coming out with new ideas, and therefore trying to move Opoku's works forward.

In conclusion, it is my view that not all the traditional dances can be subjected to the stage for aesthetics presentation either in the theatre or the classroom system in the University. This is because certain ritual dances like Akom and Koku have characteristics accompanying the dance that cannot be put on the stage or the classroom (Quaye 2006).The nature of these dances is such that they have the tendency of getting an audience or student possessed in the auditorium and the classroom respectively. Even though Opoku successfully succeeded in putting the Akom ritual dance on stage, yet the performing of it becomes a little worrisome due to the possession and the gods or spirits that accompany the dance. Traditionally, this dance cannot be performed without going through certain rituals. Even though Opoku craftly re-arranged the dance so as to not include many of these rituals, yet there is still the danger of audiences or students getting possessed within the auditorium or classroom just by hearing the music alone.

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<u>THE NATIONAL TROUPE OF NIGERIA: CHOREOGRAPHIC AND PERFORMANCE STYLES</u>

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INTRODUCTION:

Nigeria occupies a landmass of 923,768 square kilometers and according to recent census figures has a population of about one hundred and twenty million people (Nigeria Cultural and Tourism sites, 2005). Presently it has a political structure of thirty-six states including a Federal Capital Territory. Before Western colonization between the 16th – 19th centuries, the area presently known as Nigeria was occupied by very powerful kingdoms and empires that included the Oyo Empire, Benin Empire, Nupe Empire, Kanem Bornu Empire and Igbo Kingdom. By 1914 the Northern and Southern Protectorates, which were colonial creations, were amalgamated to constitute the present nation–state called Nigeria, thereby merging the kingdoms and Empires that consisted of different nationalities.

Nigeria is said to have over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups with each of these having its own distinct cultural practices and language. It is therefore a highly heterogeneous society with diverse linguistic and cultural norms and values. Despite the devastating influence of colonialism and western culture, the traditions of the different nationalities still flourish, although some are fast giving way to modern civilization. The heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian nation–state therefore makes it inevitable for the existence of diverse cultural practices even in present day Nigerian society. Before the emergence of a modern Nigeria different traditional festivals and ceremonies in dance, music, song, masquerade and other dramatic forms abounded in the different traditional societies. It is these that have given room for the existence of multicultural forms of theatrical performances.

By 1960 when Nigeria gained her independence from the British, the clamour for cultural revival heightened. There was a call for the re-awakening of traditional cultural practices through the staging of festivals of arts and culture at Federal, State and Local Government levels. This helped to promote and propagate the diverse cultures of the different ethnic groups. Typically the Nigerian performance arts, composed principally of the dance and music art forms, were promoted. The staging of festivals of arts and culture gave rise to the emergence 'cultural troupes' in the villages and cities, and these became the structures under which the contemporary dance and music traditions of the people were promoted. The Federal Government took advantage of the existence of these groups to enter into bilateral cultural exchange and agreement programs with other nations of the world. Consequently most of the groups that excelled in the various local arts and culture festivals of were used to represent the country at international cultural events. Some of these groups were the Korotso Dance Group from Kano State, the Atta Dabai Dancers from Katsina State, the Nkpokiti and Atilogwu Dance Groups from Anambra State, the Imole Oloba Dance Group from Ondo State, the Edo Cultural Group from Edo State

and the Bata Dancers from Oyo State. The Ogunde Dance Company was also used on many occasions.

The use of cultural dance groups continued until after the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Cultural hosted by Nigeria in 1977 (FESTAC '77). Immediately after this festival scholars and culture activists saw the need for a National Dance Company, since many African countries including Guinea, Senegal, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ghana had dance companies that were doing very well, especially in promoting the image of their countries abroad. As a result, in 1986 a National Symposium on Dance was organized by the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) which recommended, amongst other things, the establishment of a National Dance Troupe. Moreover, a National Theatre had been built in 1977 to host the FESTAC '77. These among other factors gave rise to the establishment of the National Troupe of Nigeria (NTN).

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL TROUPE OF NIGERIA (NTN):

The National Troupe of Nigeria (NTN) formally came into existence in September 1989, although the decree setting it up was not promulgated until October 1991[76]. However, the journey towards the establishment of the National Troupe goes back to 1986 when the Federal Ministry of Culture received an invitation to participate in the Commonwealth Festival of Arts as part of the Commonwealth Games held in Edinburgh, Scotland. The then Minister of Culture requested one of Nigeria's foremost theatre practitioner's, Chief Hubert Adedeji Ogunde, whose troupe, the Ogunde Dance Company, had represented Nigeria in many International Dance events in the past, to raise a dance troupe that would represent Nigeria at the festival.

Chief Ogunde was informed that the troupe was to form the nucleus of a proposed National Troupe (Igwe, 1996:11) which Ogunde saw as a challenge and the work of destiny. He then extended invitation to some prominent cultural groups across the country that he had been collaborating with. They included the Obitum Dancers from Ondo State, the Ilorin Acrobats from Kwara State, the Atilogwu Dancers from Anambra State, the Nkpokiti dancers also from Anambra State, the Medaka dance troupe from the then Delta State, the Uyia-Asian Dance Group from Cross Rivers State, the Mardo and Marijuwa troupes from Niger and Kaduna States and the popular Kwag-hir puppet theatre troupe from Benue State. By the 30th of April 1986 all the dancers had reported to Chief Ogunde's country home at Ososa in Ogun State. Also invited were some officials of the Federal Department of Culture and Archives and the National Theatre who were to assist him. They included Peter Abilogu who was to serve as Assistant Director I, Samson Adekoya as Technical Director, George Ufot as Stage Manager and Dan Awodoye as Programme Co-ordinator. The artistes also included five members of Hubert Ogunde Dance Company with his wife, Risikatu Adeite, serving as Assistant Artistic Director II. The troupe was forty-five in number, with Chief Hubert Ogunde as Consultant and Artistic Director. The rehearsals and training lasted for about ten weeks and by July 10th the production "Destiny", which was a re-working of Ogunde's earlier 1970 work "Ayanmo", was ready for the festival that begin from July 15th - 4th August 1986.

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76 National Theatre and National Troupe of Nigeria Management Board Decree 47, October, 1991

Unfortunately the troupe never made the trip, as the Federal Government of Nigeria withdrew from the Festival/Games as a sign of protest over the British Government's support for the then apartheid regime in South Africa. However, on July 15th 1986 a command performance of "Destiny" was staged for President Ibrahim Babangida at the National Theatre, Iganmu-Lagos. At the end of the performance the President directed a nation-wide tour for the troupe and also gave approval for the troupe to constitute the base for the proposed National Troupe of Nigeria.

The troupe soon travelled to Burkina Faso and Morocco to fulfil the nation's cultural exchange programme. On their return, they undertook a tour of fourteen out of the then nineteen states of Nigeria. After this nation-wide tour the troupe was disbanded to make way for the proper take-off of a truly National Troupe that would reflect Nigeria's Federal character, especially its cultural and ethnic diversity. According to Ola (1990:12) the Troupe had as its objectives:-

(1)   To encourage creativity in order to achieve excellence in performing Arts.
(2)   To encourage discovery and development of talents in the performing Arts.
(3)   To achieve high artistic productions specifically designed for national and international tours.
(4)   To ensure that its productions were geared towards national aspirations.
(5)   To encourage the development of children's theatre.
(6)   To ensure preservation of the repertoire of the troupe.

The proposed National Troupe was to "reflect a truly African culture and run as a viable commercial project" (Igwe,1996:11). Ogunde's idea was to model the troupe after that of Guinea, which had a local and an international troupe called the Guinea Ballet Africaine. By 25th January 1988 Chief Ogunde organised a recruiting team that included the music director Steve Rhodes and six instructors from the disbanded troupe (first Ososa experiment); these being Tajudeen Gbadamosi, Oku Ita, Terfa Aundo, Eme Martins, Anefiok Akong and Daniel Paiko. These, together with some of drummers and officials from the Ministry of Culture set out on a nation-wide recruitment tour of artistes for the new National Troupe of Nigeria. At the end of the audition over six thousand artistes, dancers and musicians had been auditioned, out of which seven hundred and seventy five were invited for a formal screening and selection at Ososa.

By February 1989, four hundred and seventy three artistes actually reported for the screening process out of which one hundred and twenty five were selected. The selected artistes, who formed what became known as the second Ososa experiment, reported to Ososa in September 1989. This was when the National Troupe of Nigeria (NTN) actually came into being with Chief Ogunde as Consultant and Artistic Director. Between September and December 1989, Ogunde had worked on seven new dances: the Fishermen's Dance, the Sango Dance, The Aissien Efik dance, a Party (i.e. Social) Dance and some others.

Sadly, Chief Hubert Ogunde's work with the National Troupe of Nigeria was short-lived as he died on 4th April 1990 whilst still laying the foundations for the establishment of the National Troupe. There were no formal administrative structures before his death, as the Troupe was centered around the personality of Ogunde under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Culture. As a result Bayo Oduneye was appointed Artistic Director in October 1991 and his eight year tenure expired in July 2000. Presently Dr. Ahmad Yerimah, a former Drama Lecturer from

Ahmadu Bello University, Zaira, is the Artistic Director as well as General Manager of the National Troupe of Nigeria.

PERFORMANCE/CHOREOGRAPHIC STYLE OF NTN:

A critical appraisal of the performance and choreographic style of the National Troupe of Nigeria since its inception in 1986 to date reveals the artistic inclinations and identity of the pioneer artistic director Chief Hubert Ogunde. Despite the fact that Chief Ogunde had vacated the scene by 1990 we still, seventeen years after his death, find traces of his production style. Ogunde's dance production style, even before he was given the mandate to set up the National Troupe, can rightly be claimed to have provided the canons for the development of a modern Nigerian dance theatre. He is a pioneer choreographer who not only established the National Troupe of Nigeria (NTN) but won many national honours as well. His production style and choreographic techniques easily lends itself to forging a new approach to dance theatre creation and inventing a national dance tradition.

The Ogunde production style indeed has a national flavour. It is deep-rooted in the traditional African festival theatre aesthetics. This form can be said to be socially functional because of the elements that it employs in its performance mode. The form gives room to the integration of the arts of the community as well as the people who created it. It is characterized by great festivity and celebrations that provide an avenue for the spirit of the ancestors to emerge and be re-enacted in masquerade performance form.

The Ogunde dance theatre tradition employs diverse movement, forms, gestures and styles in a medley drawn from the diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria. Not only does it make use of tradition, but Ogunde's theatre also integrates and blends it with the modern by using an eclectic and syncretic production style. In his dance productions, Ogunde introduces themes which are sometimes mythical and at other times topical; one important theme being that of national unity.

Music, dance, mime and masquerade performances are central to the interpretation of the subject matter, thereby giving the production style an integrative and creative improvisational approach. The form integrates a multi-media of events, episodes and designs as collaboration is encouraged between choreographer, dancers musicians and designers.

The structure of the productions is usually loose and fragmented and the movement quality is deliberately fast, as acrobatic and masquerade dance movements combined with the glamorous and elaborate costume design are employed to lift the movements to the level of magic and spectacle. The set design in the form of a backdrop that can easily be moved gives a fluid approach to the production style and helps to locate the different scenes and sequences. The backdrops are usually naturalistic in design. Ogunde also makes use of musical interludes in his productions to give the dancers room to effect costume changes and also to provide a moment of rest from the vigorous and energy sapping dance movements. The production style is entertainment driven and all resources are mobilized to achieve this goal, especially in terms of the choice of dance movements.

One of Ogunde's favourite dances was the "Fisherman's Dance" that has remained in the repertory of the National Troupe of Nigeria (NTN) even seventeen years after his exit from the troupe: and we shall attempt to use this dance to illustrate some of the issues discussed above.

The Fishermen's Dance (Ijo-Eleja) was created between 1966 and 1967 immediately after the formation of the Ogunde Dance Company (ODC). It came out of Ogunde's deep and extensive research and experimentation with different Nigerian traditional dance forms and styles. Ijo-Eleja is a synthesis, integration and distillation of different ethnic styles of dance from the Nigerian cultural environment, but expanded and highlighted to suit modern staging conventions

Ijo-Eleja is a dance of celebration, like most of the dances in the repertory of the National Troupe of Nigeria dance piece. It lasts about five minutes and twenty seconds and It is divided into two sections of seven sequences that overlap into one another. Ijo-Eleja is an occupational dance of fishermen and women fish sellers and captures the fishing activity of fishermen who return from a fishing expedition and are being awaited by women fish sellers. In Ijo-Eleja one can find evidence of movements distilled from the Sango dance of the Yorubas, the Atilogwu dance of the Igbos, the Atta Dabai dance of the Hausas: the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria. The sharp, angular, torso and waist twisting movements is characteristic of Yoruba dances; the shoulder and torso movements are from the Igbos; and the jumps, strides and free use of space are Hausa. We also find the acrobatic movements like swift kicks, turns, whirlings and somersaults that are typical of the Igbabonelimin dance of the Ishan people of Edo State and the Ilorin acrobats of Kwara State. The "Fishermen's Dance" or "Ijo-Eleja" also has a musical interlude of complex drum rhythms, typical of most of Ogunde's dances.

CONCLUSION

Dance is not only a carrier of cultural signs and symbols, it also reflects individual and group identity. The dances of a people therefore have been a potent medium through which information can be deciphered regarding the geographical, political, philosophical, religious, environmental and social life-styles of a people. This is because the human body, which is the basic tool and medium of a dancer, can potentially produce, ascribe and express meanings during a dance performance. This is apart from the other theatrical elements used in a dance production like costumes, props, music and cultural signs and icons.

Also, dance as a social events exhibit a system of beliefs, knowledge, social behaviour and the aesthetic norms and values that carry symbols of national or group identity. It is through such group or an individual identity construction that national styles of theatrical productions can be produced. Chris Baker (2000:197) suggests that national culture is a snapshot of the symbols and practices which have been produced for particular purposes at specific historical conjunctures by distinct groups of people. Baker further points out that national identity is a form of imaginative identity with involves symbols and discourses concerning the nation-state, which itself is a way of unifying cultural diversity.

As can be seen from this paper, the National Troupe of Nigeria (NTN) has helped forge a national dance culture for Nigeria. Indeed, one of its objectives is to ensure that its productions are geared towards national aspirations which, to a large extent, revolves around the unification

of the diverse ethnic groups of Nigeria. Consequently Hubert Ogunde himself, through the National Troupe of Nigeria, has provided a platform for experimentation in multiculturalism tailored towards synthesising the diverse cultures and movement styles within the Nigerian nation-state. This is the challenge for contemporary Nigerian choreographers. Indeed this challenge must start with the research into developing a dance technique that takes into cognisance the heterogeneous nature of the Nigerian cultural environment. The foundation that Ogunde has laid down will then be perfected to give way to an authentic national dance tradition.

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CONCEPT FOR GHANA TOURISM: ENCOUNTER WITH THE PAST - THE USE OF DRAMA AT HERITAGE SITES.

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(From a paper presented at the First National Congress of Artists and Cultural Workers 'Harnessing the Potential of the Arts and Culture for National Development',   held at National Theatre Accra 6-8ᵗʰ October 2004)

ABSTRACT
Given the increasing use made of interactive theatre as a form of communication in today's world, drama at heritage sites should provide an exciting form of education
for internal tourists, school-children and foreign visitor coming to Ghana. The aims of this project are as follows. To create a 'Living history' of the site and a drama associated with the story of the heritage site. To develop a lively and distinct way in which we think about the past history of the nation. To develop a school's program at heritage sites that brings history to life in order to develop pupils' social education and provide the chance for them to participate in the dramas of the past. To create a new and artistic type of employment that will preserve the culture of the many ethnic groups in Ghana.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION
In Anthony Jackson's report on Research in Drama Education (2000) he quoted from 'What's the Catch'[77] which says the following:

> A museum education director offered a salutary warning that museums are not theatre. Visitors are not audiences. History is not Drama. Character interpretation in museums is not acting.

In spite of this notion, interactive theatre is now increasingly used in a variety of ways at heritage sites and museums in Britain, Europe, America and North Africa. The action takes place in and around original historic buildings, and in reconstructed historic locations. Sometimes they are performed on open sites or housed in large dedicated museum buildings and are used for many purposes: education, publicity, marketing and entertainment. The repertoire ranges from short plays and promenade theatre to specially designed theatrical events; for instance for school children who take part as people from a historical period in both costume and in role.

THE GHANAIAN PROPOSAL
Drama has a way of bringing events of the past and present to life. For instance see Kirhenblatt-Gimblett (1998) who provides a wide range of American perspectives on the interrelationship of

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[77] 'What's The Catch' paper read by Jane Malcolm-Davies at The Theatre and Museums Conference, Liverpool, 1991.

art, culture tourism and museums. In Ghana drama can be used as artistic or cultural expression that can be related to current tourism and to the past preserved in museums and heritage sites. In the Ghanaian case one needs to deal with a group of indigenous people of the specific area of a heritage site; then train some of them in the techniques of drama and allow them to perform at the actual site itself.

This should involve research into historical data and, where possible, gathering some oral history from chiefs and elders. From this data, stories associated with the heritage area can be used. The possibility of using various Ghanaian languages in some areas in addition to English should also be explored. Music and dance should be included to give a holistic view of the Ghanaian cultural experience. Furthermore, authentic costumes of the period should be researched and used to provide the right aesthetics, colour and flavour of the period. Local school children should be invited to the site to identify with the historical characters as a means of educating them to gain an understanding of the social history of that time and the place.

GHANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S INVOLVEMENT

The Ghana Historical Society should be seen as one of the major resource areas for this tourism project. Although the Society should be engaged in order to give real historical data, they should avoid any interpretation that would question the dramatic side of the program. Rather this program should be treated as a national project and so a small committee should be organized that would be made up of historians from the Ghana History Society as well as other stakeholders, to ensure that what is finally presented meets the national aspiration and spirit for which the project is intended.

The main consultant dramatist should also engage other writers to supply a variety of dramas that would give the visitor an understanding of the past. The dramas should also generate a spirit of curiosity, enquiry and engagement that points out the differences and similarities between the present and past, and show that history is as much about lived experience as it is about dates, buildings and artifacts.

DRAMA IN EDUCATION (DIE) AND THEATRE IN EDUCATION (TIE) GROUPS FOR FUTURE PROGRESS

As school children will be involved in such a venture and the fact that tourists will come to these sites the program needs to be sustainable and have some degree of professionalism. Therefore a professional drama group must also be involved. In the West TIE (Theatre in Education) companies are funded to devise specific presentations at historic sites. These companies include the Young National Trust Theatre of the UK and at the Plymouth Plantation of the USA. With regards to the UK based one, their programs are non-site specific and tour a variety of historic sites. They adapt to each location so as to maximize the sense of place and make it integral to the story being told. However in the case of the Plymouth Plantation in the US a whole village is reconstructed to depict the exact place as it was in 1627, with the same type of language, costumes and every-day living activities of the past inhabitants. The Young National Trust Theatre Company is more theatre based, whilst the Plymouth experience encourages the visitor

to engage with a community as it existed in 1627. The duration of these programs is usually ninety minutes.

THE ADVANTAGES OF USING TIE & DIE COMPANIES & EXPERIENTIAL LEARNING

The reasons why there is a professional approach in the UK and USA is that tourism has its high periods and low ones. It is when the season is not so vibrant that schools programs are organised that give the patronage and money required to keep the sites running. These historical projects involve the visiting school children entering a past world, meeting and conversing with historic characters as though they were real. As a result in the UK case the teachers and pupils, alike, universally agreed on the value of taking part in such projects. According to Jackson (2000) they stated clearly the following. 'It had strong motivational effects. At this event the engagement was totally different from classroom learning. The school children also claimed that they got to know more about the period than they would have done from conventional teaching.' The heritage site exerted a powerful influence over the British children's responses, their level of belief, their sense of authenticity of place and action and what life might have then been like.

If this type of theatre at historic sites is adopted in Ghana then it can only be handled by trained actors or companies. It is important to note that TIE & DIE companies are normally made up of trained drama teachers whose job is to use drama in education,. Once again research in the UK about ways of teaching history in schools proves that trips to historic sites were an important and valuable resource for teaching history. Research also showed that the pupils' social education improved. It gave them an incentive for cooperative work and decision making which made them articulate and self confident.

Drama at heritage sites should be adopted because the advantages are invaluable. John Fines (2000), one time president of the British Historical Association, was noted to have said the following. 'Drama is in many ways very close to what historian's do. They say "what if?" and "how come?". Maybe we got it wrong. Let's put it another way and see "how it looks"'. Similarly in Jackson's report on research in drama education (2000) with regards to heritage sites he argues that 'historical knowledge per se is not of the slightest use, it is when we apply it that it becomes valuable'. He goes on to say drama at heritage sites provides a 'real education' as although in past times people may respond in ways that today at 'strike us as strange' this can teach students 'to learn to respect diversity'

EXPECTED OUTCOME
- Ghanaians love to watch conflict and since historical dramas often depicts conflict this type of drama will pull crowds.
- The majority of the population cannot or do not go to libraries to read about history. Therefore the dramatisation of history at heritage sites will enhance the education of both the literate and non-literates.
- It will also add to the oral knowledge of history which has been passed down from parents and the elders.

- Heritage drama will promote internal tourism as people will not only go to their villages for funerals and festivals but also visit heritage sites dramas in their areas as a form of entertainment.
- Drama at historic sites has the potential draw parallels between the past and modernity which will teach people to appreciate what is good in Ghanaian culture. It will also teach us about one another's culture through visits to different historic sites.
- In the fifties and sixties Dr. Kwame Nkrumah tried to bond together the peoples of Ghana that consist of several ethnic groups. Since then little has been done to bring about unity. Perhaps these dramas depicting the history and culture of various groupings may serve as a way of bridging the gaps between ethnic groups.
- This venture will generate income and employment to the population in various ways.
- It can be used as 'Theatre for Conflict Resolution.' by highlighting human right issues.
- Heritage drama may cultivate our lost cultural respect for elders and help in social education by allowing Ghanaians to regain what is good and valuable in culture.

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TOPIC: EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION: A BASIS FOR POPULAR EDUCATION

by
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SOME FORMS OF COMMUNICATION

Communication is the act of imparting information and new ideas, emotions, feelings and the like. It can come in a verbal form as in speech, songs, stories, proverbs, idioms etc. or non-verbal form as in sign language, letters, mails, art work, symbols, gestures, body language, etc. It is however important to note that nonverbal communication reveals a very important aspect of the African culture.

Communication is part of our daily activities and symbols on soft or hard surfaces like bamboo, walls, cloth, and the like communicate a great deal, both in the past and today. Can we say, from time immemorial until today that the bamboo, for instance, can be marked with secret codes and when both ends are sharpened, it is said to represent a very serious quarrel difficult to settle. But when only one end is sharpened, it indicates the possibility that though the quarrel may be serious, there is room for an amicable settlement. One cannot imagine how a small bamboo stick can communicate so effectively but that is how rich our oral traditions can be. According to James W. Gibson et al (1992):

> Understanding human activity means understanding the processes of
> human communication. The unique activity that distinguishes us from
> other members in the animal kingdom is our ability to develop and
> utilize symbols. Our symbol systems are both verbal and non-verbal
> and they transmit meaning and stimulate reaction from those who
> receive them.

The self sounding instruments, which serve as attention directing devices, of which the talking drum, the gongon, bells and rattles are common examples, are used in many parts of Ghana. The talking drum in the Volta Region for example gives special messages from the chief to his subjects. When disaster occurs the drum language communicates this effectively to the community who have to assemble for the necessary action to be taken. The bell is an instrument that forces its presence on its audience. It cannot be said to be typical of any specific society since it is used the world over. Until today the bell is still used in most schools and rung from churches belfries. It communicates multiple messages, the time of the day and depending on the circumstance or the gravity of what is to be communicated, the bell is either tolled or rung. Music is also part of the everyday life of the Africans and for that matter the Ghanaians and since these societies traditionally did not have any written languages, messages were sent through songs. Indeed, some folk songs were even banned in villages because people get irritated or offended when they were sung.

A specific example of the communication of ideas through the use of inanimate things is the

presentation of a dish "ewotsi" of water mixed with flied corn flour, also known as "Tom Brown". This has a special significance to the Ewes in the Volta Region of Ghana and the first time I noticed this was in the late 1970s, when a helicopter landed for the first time in my village. The old ladies in the community brought "ewotsi" to the crew. In fact, I did not understand this until recently, when our class made an excursion to Anloga during the Hogbetsotso Festival. There the kingmakers explained to us that this act connotes a warm welcome, hospitality and acceptance.

Sometimes different forms of clothing and general comportment may communicate a lot. For instance, different colours signify different meanings; where red expresses danger and spirituality, black signifies death or mourning, brown is the colour of the earth, green is nature and white portrays good news. Yellow is a fearful colour to some societies because it is associated with the deadly disease 'Yellow fever', while in Ghana it positively represents our mineral wealth. It should therefore be noted that this colour communication has different connotations in different parts of the world.

Some kind of communication is believed to take place between the living and the dead. It is possible to evoke spiritual feelings during these occasions. At religious festivals and funerals, incantations, chants, rituals, prayers, sacrifices, invocation, libations, conjurations and exorcisms are done for various purposes..

WHAT DOES COMMUNICATION MEAN TO MANY PEOPLE
To many people, communication depicts an image of a speaker addressing an audience. Some also think, it is a lively discussion among colleagues at a meeting, or an exchange of glances between lovers. However, others associate the term communication primarily with the mass media; newspapers, TV, magazines, radio, books, computers and telephones. As Croley and Heyer rightly put it (1991:218) "all languages are mass media. The new mass media being film, radio, T.V. are only new languages which codify reality differently and conceal a unique metaphysics"

Many schools of thought have it that, it is possible to say anything in any language if you use enough words or images. However, since there is rarely enough time to fulfill this, it is additionally worth using signs or body language which also communicate as effectively as the verbal language. It is therefore important to note at this point that much as verbal codes are essential for our communication, non-verbal codes also play a very important role. Sometimes appearance, gestures, touch and exchange of glances are sources of non-verbal language. Appearance for instance plays an important role in interpersonal communication, particularly the face that provides a central clue to one's emotional state. Thus, the important role of one's countenance in communication. According to Brent D. Ruben (1984:5-9),

> communication is a debate between students, a sermon at a church, a
> memorable night at a theatre or the efforts of a child striving to
> conquer stuttering or the term may be used to refer to a code, a
> roadside sign, signal flags or even a uniform…. a thoughtful work on
> the beach at sunset, a tear, an outstretched arm, a knowing smile, a

sign language of a deaf mute, a kiss, a four-letter word scrawled on a
rest room wall and even silence.

One types of communication sometimes referred to as 'natural'' type is the unconscious talking and listening that is a routine part of our daily affairs. "Natural Communication" is engaged in by everyone and needs minimal training or expertise. Highly purposeful and conscious activities engaged by professionals in counseling, speech, advertising, public relations, marketing, journalism and management are, on the other hand, termed "professional communication," and may require technical skills which are usually acquired through specialized training. Technological innovations such as microphones and computers also open up new forms of communication

INTERPERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Although different types of media can be used for expressing ideas, feelings or giving out information, it is undisputed that interpersonal communication is still the main medium up to today. As Ansu Kyeremeh (1998:30-36) rightly puts it.

> To go beyond the narrow description of media, beyond the technology-based communication systems, is to include indigenous communication channels. Any form of indigenous communication system, by virtue of its origin and integration into specific culture requires the utilization of the values, symbols, institutions and ethos of the host culture through its unique qualities and attributes.

A very important aspect of interpersonal communication is the feedback facility that exists between the communicator and the recipient. Indigenous communication channels, by virtue of their intimacy, flexibility and immediacy are democratic due to their face-to-face approach. For instance, the traditional communication patterns of Ghanaians are very influential in fashioning social, cultural and political attitudes and behaviour but also includes a personal "give and take" that fosters our relationships with one another; I call this 'effective communication', which should be the basis for popular education, whether it is formal or informal .

WHAT IS POPULAR EDUCATION?

Education for many schools of thought is the means by which people acquire knowledge, either through formal or informal, for fending for themselves immediately or in the future. To others education is the transfer of knowledge from one generation to another. However, popular education is a community based system that places emphasis on behavioral change, instills a sense of motivation and involves a high degree participation by the people. It is therefore an empowering process which is free to use every facility available;

The most important characteristic of this type of indigenous communication therefore, is the facilitation of corrective feedback, which most popular education activists yearn for. Therefore whenever we talk of communication channels, the culture of the people must not be relegated to the background. For it is this culture that makes use of the people's language, values, symbols,

myths, rituals, festivals, totems, proverbs, stories and dramas in mobilizing and empowering and uniting them.

If education then is used as a means of opening up opportunities for people to lead productive lives, then advocates for popular education (including popular theatre practitioners and Drama in Education advocates) must merge the top-down and bottom-up approaches to suit all, including the underprivileged and the down-trodden.

Education can therefore not thrive only as one way communication from top to bottom. Without feedback there is no communication as this provides a form of reaction or response from the recipients. This may not always come verbally. Sometimes even dragging of the feet on the floor, murmuring, frowning, silence and any other body language can be considered as feedback. Applause as a communication reaction also cannot be ruled out. Most often, when we are communicating, the speaker's disposition and composure affects the message. In other words mixed messages are produced if you are laughing while saying something very serious, smiling while giving a stern caution or frowning when sending a romantic message. Also if, you are counseling someone with a problem and afterwards you bluntly say "you deserve it, or you are at fault, or you are a cheat" the counselee may lose confidence in you and you will end up not getting the right message across. In other words, if you appear judgmental it will affect the message and the feedback. The message should come with the right facial expression, body posture, gesture, emotions, mood and emphasis.

The level of language is very important when you are communicating and talking to children, in which case you have to speak the children's language. If it is the house help then use the house helps language. One cannot always use the same language for two very different people. Infact we must consider the following when we are communicating the message: the channel, the recipient, feedback, interference and the situation. In explaining situation, for instance, one can say that when you are delivering an important message, you have to consider so many other things, including the mood, the countenance and state in which the person is, before the message is delivered. Otherwise, the person's situation will affect the message.

Communication is a two-way affair of give and take and the feedback component is very crucial. Therefore, people should always make sure that the received message is understood, and that there must be an agreement to implement what has been said. This is where popular education places its emphasis.

At this juncture, I want to emphasize that popular education as a community based intervention requires the use of effective media to educate people in real life situations. The facilitator does not solve the peoples' problems, rather, he/she initiates, oversees, motivates, guides and organizes the people to solve their own problems and transform themselves. In strategizing, the facilitator must ensure that the culture of the people is taken seriously as it promotes active involvement, self reliance, participation and critical thinking. Credibility is often assured because there is instant verification of facts, through gestures, queries, contributions and comments. Even any ensuing arguments will be of a healthy nature and at the end of the day help solve the problems.

But the question is should we, as popular education practitioners, conclude that only the indigenous communication channels are exclusively effective, and therefore not adopt the communication-technology of ICT and the mass media. I think that popular education advocates must always desire to see a marriage between the indigenous and the modern communication patterns. That for me is the way we can make a great impact when we talk of effective communication for all. This is not to say that we will only swallow the cultural eroding power of ICT and other mass communication formats that come from abroad - and relegate our own rich traditions to the background. I believe in this saying that goes "whoever would teach eloquence must do it chiefly by example" This means that we popular education advocates must practice what we say and yearn to communicate effectively, using all the facilities available.

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SECTION FIVE
FEATURES AND ROLES OF GOSPEL MUSIC

DISCOURSE ON ILLNESS AND HEALING IN SELECTED GOSPEL SONGS IN SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the discourse on themes of illness and healing in gospel music in Southwestern Nigeria since the early 1980s. It also identified factors responsible for the regular occurrence of these themes in Nigerian gospel music recordings. Adopting contextual, cultural–hermeneutical, musicological and discographical approaches this study carried out a textual analysis of recordings of selected gospel musicians from the Southwestern part of Nigeria. Interviews were also conducted with some gospel musicians to obtain information about the theology underpinning their songs, and their perceptions of what they considered as illness and healing. Lastly, secondary sources such as books, articles in journals, newspaper articles, and internet sources were consulted. As will be demonstrated the findings show that gospel musicians perceived illness not only as a state of physical but also as a spiritual, social and even political disorder that all needed to be restored to optimum functionality

INTRODUCTION

Gospel music is one of the musical types that have developed over the years in Nigeria and it has become popular, engaging various themes and discussing relevant contemporary issues as they affect the lives of Nigerians. There is a continuous adaptation of gospel music to the changing circumstances of the performers and the audience within a historical milieu.[78] The popularity of musicians has become so much that several of them are household names and are commonly featured on Nigerian radio, television stations and print media.

An examination of the content of the music as performed by these gospel musicians reveals the treatment of various themes and issues determined by a number of factors, such as the prevailing political, economic and social situation in the country as well as the personal experiences of the musicians. The religious belief of gospel musicians is rooted in the Bible and their music refer often to the social, political and economic disorders in the Nigerian society as 'sickness', and so put in place of systems and structures to remedy and 'heal' these disorders.

 According to Akpabot (1986:1) one of the chief characteristics of African music is its association with social and ritual ceremonies that reflector the cultural beliefs and traditions of people. A strong aspect of such ceremonies is that types of music are used to heighten the meaning and importance of such ceremonies. Adrian Hastings (1976), discussing patterns of healing in Africa says that African concepts of health and sickness were an absolutely integral part of the social and religious structure or mesh within which people unhesitatingly operated.

Today gospel musicians can be found at the length and breadth of the country, but it is observed that the contribution to the gospel music industry is greater from the Southwestern part of the country. This is evident in the number of musicians and the volume of recordings produced by

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78 Matthews A. Ojo, "Indigenous Gospel Music and Social Reconstruction in Modern Nigeria" Missionalia 26:2 (August 1998) pp. 210 - 231

these musicians. The concentration of the early recording studios in this part of the country and the early exposure of the people to Christianity and consequently to Western forms of music could be responsible for this high visibility. Many scholars, like to Femi Adedeji[79], have traced the growth of gospel music in Nigeria to the 1930s choral and church music in the Southwestern part of the country. Adedeji also says that it was only in the 1980s that gospel music spread to the North. However, the preponderance of gospel musicians in the Southwestern part of the country since the 1970s is the reason for the concentration of this study on this part of Nigeria.

Existing literature have dealt extensively with the subject of illness and healing and how they affect the society in various ways, but none have specifically dealt with the subject with particular reference to the gospel musicians' perception of the subject . This paper therefore embarks on content analysis of some Nigerian gospel songs in order to discuss the manifestations of illness and healing as presented in song.

<u>ILLNESS AND HEALING AMONG THE YORUBA</u>

The World Health Organization defines health as a state of complete physical, mental, spiritual and social well-being, and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity.[80] Health according to the New World Encyclopedia is a term that refers to a combination of the absence of illness, the ability to manage stress effectively, good nutrition, physical fitness and a high quality of life. The World Health Organization's definition of health has been criticized as being too idealistic, as some argue that health cannot be defined as a state at all, but must be seen as a process of continuous adjustment to the changing demands of living.

On the other hand the causes of diseases among the Yoruba were customarily attributed to several factors which Ade Dopamu[81] classified under three broad categories. Diseases can be explained in terms of natural or physical causation; secondly supernatural causation; and thirdly mystical causation. Consequently, the remedies to diseases have to be related to the beliefs about their causes. Scholars of African traditional religion as well as Islam and Christianity, generally agree that illness have both physical and metaphysical causations. A harmonious relationship with God maintains a balance and wellness in the society, while his wrath can result in both physical and social disorder with attendant consequences of sickness and infirmity. One remains healthy in a holistic sense, only by living in harmony with the whole creation. Effective healing therefore involves reconciliation with the entire cosmos.[82] Each of the religions has in it is own provisions for individual and societal health and wellbeing.

<u>THEMES OF ILLNESS AND HEALING IN NIGERIAN GOSPEL SONGS</u>

The presentations of themes about illness and healing in Nigerian gospel songs is done directly by reference to sickness as it affects the physical body, and also indirectly through the use of symbolic representations and satires as to how it affects the spiritual, social, economic, political

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79 Femi Adedeji, "Pitch and Tonality in Contemporary African Music: Nigerian Gospel Music as a Case Study". Research Review NS 21.1 (2005) 1-10

80 World Health Organization. Basic documents. 39th ed. (Geneva:WHO, 1992)

81 P. Ade Dopamu, "Yoruba Magic and Medicine and their Relevance for Today". Religions: A Journal of the Nigerian Association for the Study of Religion Vol. 4, Dec. 1979

82 Andrew A. Kyomo, "The Environmental Crisis as a Pastoral Challenge in Africa". J.N.K Mugunbi and Mika Vahakanga (Eds), Christian Theology and Environmental Responsibility Nairobi, Action Publishers, 2001, p.58.

aspects of life. Illness is perceived by the Nigerian gospel musicians as either a temporary or permanent damage that has been caused to individuals or the country as a result of personal carelessness, leadership selfishness, individual godlessness and national sinfulness. One can conclude that in the mind of the gospel musicians illness is not only considered in terms of a loss of physical health that requires medical attention, but also in terms of things not working as they should; such as disorder, hardship, suffering, chaos and poverty. The phenomena of illness are therefore applicable to all spheres of human life, and healing is simply the restoration, repair, or recovery through divine intervention that brings relief from the pains illness.

Evangelist Bola Are is one of the leading female gospel musicians in Nigeria and in the song excerpt below gives insight into the meaning of illness and healing.

SÙGBÓN KAN Ń BE LÁYÉ MI [83]　　　　　　**TRANSLATION**

Chorus:

Sùgbón kan ń be láyé mi	There is a predicament in my life
Èmi kò fé e mó látòní lo	I do not want it from today henceforth
Oba tó wo sùgbón Jábésì	The king who healed Jabesh's but
Wo sùgbón ayé mi	heal the predicament in my life

Solo:

Àìlówó lówó, sùgbón ni	Poverty is a predicament
Àìrómo bí, sùgbon	childlessness is a predicament
Gbèsè àti àgbàná, sùgbón ni	Debt and waste
Àìtegbé ń kó?	not measuring up to one's equal
Àìréni-boni-lásìrí	not getting help
Ìsòro àtodúmódún	Persistent problems
O ń sisé bí erin	Working like an elephant
Ò ń jèje ìlírí	but eating like a tiny ant
Àìlóko gidi	Not having a responsible husband
Àìláya rere	Not having a good wife
Àìlówó lówó,	*Not* having money
Èmí èsè nínú ayé re	The spirit of sin in your life
Àìnísé lówó sugbon ni	joblessness
Àì tégbé ńkó	not measuring up to one's equal
Ó je tàárò kò sí talé	eating breakfast and unable to eat dinner
Àìlálàáfìà ń kó?	not having good health
Àìkólé ńkó	inability to build a house
Jésù jòwó ràn mí lówó	Jesus please help me
Kójú ó t'elégàn mi láyé	let my mockers be put to shame
Oba tó wo sùgbón Jábésì	The king who healed Jabesh's predicament
Wo sùgbón ayé mi	heal the predicament in my life

The above song by Evangelist Bola Are is based on the Biblical story of Jabesh (1 Chronicles 4:9-10) who was named a child of sorrow because of the circumstances surrounding his birth: but after he prayed to God everything was turned around positively for him. Bola Are is based in Ibadan, Oyo State and is known for her unique style of praise and prayer songs. She used figurative and symbolic expression in this song to paint the picture of illness and healing. "*Sugbon*" which literally means "but" is a symbolic representation of predicament referred to in

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[83] From her album titled Network News Ibadan: Okiki Jesu Record OJLP 28 Vol.28, 1990.

this song as a question mark, limitation or inadequacy in a person's life that has to be healed by God. The illness which can manifest in form of poverty, hunger, joblessness, barrenness, and difficulty in getting a wife or husband is being presented in form of a prayer to God. Reference to healing in this song is specifically in the last two lines of the chorus, even though all those predicaments listed as "Sugbon" (but), i.e things for which healing is required. For instance in the line *"Oba to wo sugbon Jabesi, wo sugbon aiye mi"*, the king (i.e. God) healed Jabesh's: "but" (predicament) he should also heal the "but" (predicament) in my life. *"Wo"* in this song means heal and in the Yoruba context of traditional medicine "wo" can also literally mean to look after or take care of, all in the context of healing and restoration. [84]

A song by late Bayo Adegboyega also gives us insight into the gospel musicians' concept of illness and healing. An excerpt is cited below:

IRE OWÓ, OMO, ÀLÁÁFÍÀ[85]

TRANSLATION

Chorus:

Má fi kan gbà kan lówó mi	Do not give one and take another. I want
Ire owó, omo, àlááfìà ni mò ń fé o	the blessings of money, children health
Solo: Bówó bá ti dé, kómo má mà kú	My child should not die when I become rich
Bówó bá ti wà, ká lálàáfìà	When I have children let me have sound health
Báfinisùn bá fejó mi sùn ó	When the accuser reports me to you
Bàbá mímó má se gbó o	holy father do not listen
Kókóró olá, kókóró ìyè	Key to wealth, key to life
owó Olórun lo mà wà	are in the hand of God
Èdá, yéé lérí mo nígbà tí Olórun ti jù ó lo	The creature should stop bragging because God is greater than you
Alèpara-má-lè-pokàn mi ò gbára lé o mó	I no longer trust one who can kill the body and cannot kill the soul
Nípa ìgbàgbó o, olúwa yóó sèyí tó dára	By faith God will do that which is good
All: Repeat Chorus	
Solo: Wàhálà, ìdààmú, ìpónjú,	Problems, troubles and tribulation
mo mà ń fé kó dópin	should come to an end
Àseèrí, àsedànù, àgbàná,	Fruitless labour, wasteful efforts and
kó dohùn ìgbàgbé	spending should be a thing of the past.
Àránsí, àsàsí ayé ò, kélérù kó forí gbé	the wicked one should bear his wickedness

The importance of good health and the need for its sustenance is emphasized in the above song by the late Bayo Adegboyega. The song rendered in form of a prayer suggests three blessings that humans hope they can receive from God: "Owo" (money or wealth); "Omo" (Children) and "Alafia" (good health). These three things are considered very important and anyone who lacks any of these is considered incomplete, deficient, afflicted or cursed. The prayer request in the song is that none of these three will be missing in one's life. "Alafia" (good health) among the Yoruba is described as "Baale oro" (chief of wealth or riches) or "Ipekun oro" (the height of

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84 "Wo" is related to the Yoruba word "iwosan" (healing) or "wosan" (heal).

85 From the record album 'Oro Aiye n'fe Adura', Lagos: SAACO/LP/001 1986

wealth or riches), meaning that one is unable to enjoy any other form of wealth if "Alafia" (good health) is missing. In the second verse of the song, reference is made to specific problems that can befall a man for which healing has to be sought. "Wahala" (troubles), "Idamu" (chaos), "Iponju" (tribulation), "Ase iri" (fruitless labour),"Asedanu" (wasteful efforts), "Agbana" (wasteful spending). Hence, the prayer in the song that "Baba je ko dopin" or 'Father let it come to an end'.

The above songs by Bola Are and Bayo Adegboyega gives us insight into the gospel musicians' perception of illness as a state of disorder, inadequacy, lack, limitation, sinfulness, suffering, poverty as well as physical ailments, And their perception of healing is the removal, redress or restoration of abnormal situations. This agrees with D. Mechanic's (1968) definition of disease as some deviation from normal functioning that produces personal discomfort or adversely affects the individual's future health. One may then draw a conclusion that any unusual or abnormal situation, whether temporary or permanent, that brings discomfort, disgrace, hindrances, limitations or other undesirable consequences in the life of a person, group or nation is a form of illness. Healing is simply a restoration of the abnormal situation to normalcy.

SPECIFIC AREAS OF ILLNESS AND HEALING MENTIONED IN NIGERIAN GOSPEL SONGS

Analysis of some recordings of gospel songs reveals that the subject of illness and healing is related to specific areas of individual and social life. The following five areas are identified:

ONE: Physical Illness and Healing

Physical illness and healing are expressed in the concern and prayer for deliverance and healing from sicknesses of all sorts. References are made to "Arun" (infection) and "Aisan" (illness) in gospel songs. Physical illnesses and infirmities mentioned include malaria which is common in Nigeria and other diseases like diabetes, hypertension, stroke, sickle cell anemia, HIV and AIDS. The reality of physical illness and the need for physical healing is illustrated in the song by the Good Women Choir cited below:

ARA MI YÓÒ YÁ GÁGÁ[86]   **TRANSLATION**

Chorus:

Bí mo bá fowó kan ìsétí aso rè (x3)	If I touch the helm of his garment
Ara mi yóò yá gaga	I will be made whole
Ìgbàgó la fi ń ríre gba lówó baba	We receive good things from God by faith
Sá fìgbàgbó rò méni tó lè gbà ó arakùnrin	Brother hang on to the one that can help you
Fìgbàgbó rò méni tó lè gbà ó arabìnrin	Sister hang on the one that can help you
Ìgbà tí gbì ayé bá yí lù ó sá gbékè lé e	When the storms of life turn at you just trust him

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86 From the Good Women Choir's (C.A.C Ibadan led by Mrs D.A Fasoyin) album 'Odun nlo Sopin' Ibukun Orison Iye Records MOLPS 66. 1979.

Kó gbogbo àníyàn re lólúwa sá ti gbàgbó	and cast all your cares on God
Obinrin onisun eje to f'igbagbo to Jesu wa	The woman with the issue of blood who came to Jesus with faith
Níbè ló ríre gbà, ìsun èjè sì dúró láí	There she was blessed, The issue of blood ceased
Torí pó gbàgbó, ara rè sì yá gágá x 2	because she had faith her body was made whole
Námànì fìgbàgbó we nínú omi, ó daségun	Naman washed in the water by faith and he became victorious
Solo: *Ìwo arákùnrin*	You brother
All: *Sá ti fìgbàgbó rò mólúwa*	Just hold on to God by faith
Solo: *Ìwo arábìnrin*	You sister
All: *Sa ti fìgbàgbó rò mólúwa…*	Just hold on to God by faith

This song is a declaration of faith that gives Biblical examples of people who were healed from sicknesses and delivered from situations that are considered unusual or abnormal. The song encourages people to demonstrate their faith in order to get healed as did the people mentioned in the song. The chorus and the first verse are based on the Biblical story of the woman with the issue of blood (as recorded in Matthew.9:20-21) who was miraculously healed by Jesus by touching his garment. "Ara mi yio ya gaga" (my body will be made whole) refers to expectation for physical healing after touching Jesus. "Ara" refers to the part of the body that is usually affected or infected with diseases, "ya" means healed while "gaga" implies the totality or perfection of the healing. Other references in the song are to Naaman who was healed of leprosy (2 Kings. 5:9 – 14) and Hannah who was healed of barrenness (1 Samuel.1:9 – 20).

TWO: Spiritual Illness and Healing
Reference to spiritual illness is in respect to the subject of sin which is believed to be responsible for many forms of illnesses. Sin involves insensitivity to the things of God, worldliness, a lack of zeal for the things of God, fighting in the church and disobedience of all sorts. Spiritual illness is evident in the moral decadence in the society, unrighteousness in the nation and a lack of faith which makes people, even Christians, to trust in other gods or idols for help. It is believed that it is because there is spiritual sickness that things have gone wrong in the nation as well as with individuals. Healing from spiritual sickness as found in gospel songs is by accepting Jesus Christ as Savior who will help individuals and the nation to live righteously and run away from the vices. The state of the Christian church is generally assessed by the quality of the lives of individuals that make up the church, and this is usually cited as a reflection of the spiritual state of the nation. The misdeeds, misconducts and shortcomings found in the church and in the lives of professed Christians are considered to be spiritual illnesses and repentance is believed to bring about the required healing. An examination of the next song by Evangelist Bola Are gives a clearer picture of what the gospel musicians perceive as spiritual illness.

NÀÌJÍRÍÀ PADÀ WÁLÉ[87]   **TRANSLATION**

Nàìjíríà padà walé o ojó ń lo   Nigeria return home, time is going
Nàìjíríà padà walé o baba re ń retí re   Nigeria return home your father is
                                                                       expecting you

Epo tá a gbójú lé ti tán   The crude oil you trust in is exhausted
Kòkó, obì, òpe, kofí   Cocoa, kolanut, palm trees, coffee
Kò mà mú èso wá mó-òn   no longer yield fruits
E rántí pé nígbà tómo onínàákúnàá parí ogún   Remember that when the prodigal son
                                                                       exhausted his inheritance he ran back

Ó sá padà wálé baba rè   to his father's house
Nàìjíríà ronú kó o pìwàdà lónìí o   Nigeria, think and repent today
Nàìjíríà padà wálé o, baba re ń réti re   Nigeria return home your father's expecting
                                                                       you

Ìwo ilè Nàìjíríà, gbórò olúwa   Land of Nigeria, hear the word of the Lord
Ìwo èdá inú rè, gbórò olúwa   All creatures in it, hear the word of the Lord
Ó tó géé kí o yí padà sí Olórun tó sèpìlè re   It is time for you to turn to the Lord
                                                                       your maker

Alámò tó mo Nàìjíríà ló ń pè é kó padà wá sílé   The potter who formed Nigeria is
                                                                       calling her to return home

Kó má baà tú ká yángá…   so that it will not scatter
Ìrànlówó Nàìjíríà kò sí lówó ènìyàn rárá   Nigeria's help is not in the hand of humans
Bí kò se lówó Olórun oba   It is in the hand of God the king
E tètè wá Olórun kásìkò tó pé jù o…   Quickly seek the Lord before it is too late

From the above song we can infer that spiritual illness is perceived to be turning away from God by individuals or a nation towards wealth. Nigeria trusted in crude oil and other agricultural produce which brought her wealth. As in 1986, when the song was released, Nigeria was going through an economic recession. It was a time when natural resources failed to sustain its economy. Nigeria in this song is likened to the biblical "prodigal son" (in Luke.15:11 – 32) who getting his inheritance from his father spent it lavishly in riotous living, that rendered him so destitute that at a point he had to serve as a slave in another man's farm. Wandering away from God brings suffering upon the nation and its citizens such as poverty, joblessness and other calamities. The song therefore calls Nigerians to return to God who is waiting, like a father, for his prodigal son. The song writers' call can be summarized in the words of Ijiomah J.N when he said there is an inner voice speaking to humanity that something is fundamentally wrong with mankind. Man, the crown of God's creation, needs to rethink, retract his steps, and take careful inventory of his whole life.[88] A call for 'rethink' or repentance is made in the words "*Nigeria ronu ko piwada loni o*". According to this song by Bola Are, spiritual illness is also manifested in disunity among the Christian churches and religious leaders, hence the call for unity.

THREE: Social Illness and Healing
Society is said to be sick when because its wellbeing is threatened by such vices as cultism, drugs, rubbery and laziness. The social structures are also referred to as being sick when water, electricity, good roads and shelter are not readily available or functioning optimally. The concerned citizens express this through various means, one being some of the songs of the gospel

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87 From the record album 'Nigeria Pada wa'le', Lagos: Polygram Records, OJLP 22. 1986

88 Ijiomah J.N. "A Biblical Response to Globalization" in Ogbomoso Journal of Theology. Number 10, December, 2005, pp. 50-56

musicians. They also indirectly use satirical stories in their songs that present solutions.   One of the issues commonly raised by gospel musicians as a social illness is penury. This may lead to sickness through expensive health services, the inability to pay house rents or build one's own house, and pupils dropping out of school which breeds miscreants in society. When poverty plagues the people it is believed by the gospel musicians that this is the work of the devil which must be put to an end by God.

Issues about relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children also form part of the sociological issues raised in Nigerian gospel music. Appeals are made for good relationships between husbands and wives, and parents are encouraged to raise their children in a godly way. Calls are often made for unity, understanding and togetherness between the various ethnic groups in the country. When there is problem of relationship in the home and in society, this is regarded as a social illness and healing occurs through the restoration of good relationship. Example of this is seen in songs by the late Bayo Adegboyega such as "*Oko nse bebe*"[89] and "*Ife laarin toko taya*"[90] "*Ododo ni ngborile ede leke*"[91] In the following song Bayo Adegboyega paints a picture of what was wrong with Nigeria as a nation in different spheres of her life namely: economic, political and spiritual.

ÀÌRÍNÁ, ÀÌRÍLÒ OLÚWA JÉ KÓ DÓPIN[92]   **TRANSLATION**

Chorus: *Ipá èsù gbogbo kó dópin x 2*   All of Satan's power should cease

      Àìríná, àìrílò tó wà nígboro   Poverty and lack is prevalent in the town

      Àìríse, àìríje tó gbayé kan   Joblessness, hunger that has overtaken the world

      Èmí òkùnkùn tí ń gbéraga níwájú ìmólè   The spirit of darkness that brags before the light

      Isé èsù ni, a fé kó dópin   It's Satan's work we want to cease

All: Repeat Chorus

Solo: *Gbogbo agbára láyé àtòrun ń be lówó Jésù*   All power on earth and in heaven is in the hand of Jesus

All: *Ki Jesu yara wa o bawa t'aye se*   Jesus come quickly to restore the world

Solo: *Ilè tó ń sàn fún wàrà àti fún oyin ni Nigeria*   Nigeria is a country flowing with milk and   honey

All: *Sùgbón àwon jegúdújerá*   But the destroyers (spendthrifts)
    Won ti solè yìí dahoro   have made the rich house desolate

Solo: *Bóbá ayé kò mú won,*   If the earthly king does not catch them
    Won ò le bó lówó oba òrun   they cannot escape the king of heaven

All: *Orí aláìsè tó ń ìyà lówólówó á dá won léjó*   The head of the sinless who is suffering will judge them

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89 From Bayo Adegboyega's record album 'Ilu le koko', Lagos: Ibukun Orisun Iye Records, SAACO/LP/002 1987

90 Ibid.

91 Ibid.

92 From the record album 'Oro aiye n'fe adura', Lagos: SAACO/LP/001 1986

Solo:	*Ni asiko yi t'oro aje wa o se dede*	This time that our economy is not doing well
All:	*Ki gbogbo Nigeria ka tera mo se agbe*	Let all Nigerians work hard farming
Solo:	*Ní àsìkò yìí tí owó epo ń se ségesège*	This time that crude oil price is unstable
All:	*Kí joba Nàìjíríà ko mú ìwúrí bá isé àgbè o*	the Nigerian government should encourage farming
All:	Repeat Chorus	
Solo:	*Eni bá létí kó fi gbó*	Whoever has ears should hear
	Eni bá lógbón kó gba x 2	Whosoever is wise should accept what
	Ohun tí èmí Olórun ń wí fún Nàìjíríà...	the spirit of God is saying to Nigeria

The first part of the song makes direct reference to the negative predicaments of citizens and the writer prays for divine intervention because he saw these things as the work of Satan. The predicaments listed in the song include "Airina" (poverty); "Airilo" (lack); "Airise" (joblessness); "Airije" (hunger). This was the situation in Nigeria in 1986 when late Bayo Adegboyega released the album. It was a time when the military ruled the country and things were really difficult for the citizens, mainly because of the dictatorial style of the military and also the sanctions placed on the country by other countries as a protest against military rule. The song also discussed the political situation of the country and particularly the financial recklessness of the leaders who more or less ruined the economy of the nation. This is presented in the phrase *"Ile to nsan fun wara ati fun oyin ni Nigeria, Sugbon awon jegudujera won ti so'le yi dahoro"* meaning 'Nigeria is a blessed country flowing with milk and honey but the destroyers or wasters have turned it to a desolate country'. "*Wara*" (milk) and "*Oyin*" (honey) are symbolic objects signifying blessing and abundant resources with which the country Nigeria is blessed, but these resources are not enjoyed by the citizens because of the corrupt leaders who embezzle and mismanage them. These leaders are referred to as "Jegudujera" which translated literally means one who eats without leaving a trace. "Won ti so'le ola d'ahoro" is a description of the extent of destruction done to the economy of the nation by the leadership of that time. When the country is ill, relationships are affected, social amenities are inadequate, citizens live with suspicion and social vices increase. No wonder the song writer prayed for healing and that the evil that plagued the society should "Ko do pin", or come to an end.

FOUR: Political Illness and Healing
The political situation of Nigeria is plagued by many vices, which make not only the gospel musicians but every citizen say that the Nigerian political system is sick due to tribalism, thuggery and other negativities. A.U. Iwara defined this situation as 'identity politics'. According to him, it is a situation in which considerations of ethnicity, cultural and religious affinity predominates and influences decision-making, in terms of political appointments and the type and location of government projects to be executed. He further states that identity politics refers particularly to the political system in this country in which politicians campaigning for votes tend to rely, not so much on the strength of their political ideas and programs, but primarily on their ethnic, religious and social affiliations and connections[93]. Nigerian politics could be described as being plagued by corruption, killings, bad leadership, embezzlement, rigged elections not fulfilling election promises and insensitivity to the needs of the citizens and so on. 'God

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93 Iwara A.U. "Identity Politics, Globalization and Socio-Political Engineering in Nigeria" in Duro Oni, Suman Gupta and others (Eds) Nigeria and Globalization Discourses on Identity Politics and Social Conflict. Lagos: Centre for Black and African Arts and Civilization. pp. 19–36 (2004)

fatherism' or when that people get to power without the necessary qualifications is another bane in Nigeria's politics today. All of these have grave consequences on the citizens and are criticized by gospel musicians. Bola Are's song "Nigeria Pada Wa'le" and Bayo Adegboyega's "Airina, Airilo, Oluwa je ko dopin" cited earlier for instance s gives us insight to the gospel musician's perception of political illness.

FIVE : Economic Illness and Healing

Economic crisis breeds poverty in the nation and is a major subject of concern for the gospel musicians. When the economy is not doing well it is said to be ill, and needs healing in form of a positive turn-around of the economy. Economic illness is manifested in the citizen's inability to make ends meet or get the basic comforts of life. It is also evident in the collapse of people's business and joblessness. One aspect of economic illness is the inflation that is prevalent in the country and the weakness of the Nigerian currency when compared to international countrys. This is illustrated in the excerpt from a song titled "Ilu le Koko" by Bayo Adegboyega[94]

ÌLÚ LE KOKO	**TRANSLATION**
Chorus:	
Ìlú le koko o, Olórun wá sòlú dèrò	The country is very hard, God come and soften it
Ká rí je, ká rí mu, ká rí ná, ká rí lò	Let's have enough to eat, drink, spend, use
Ká rówó fi sìn ó	Let us have money to serve you
Olórun wá sòlú dèrò	God come and soften the country
Solo:	
Ìlú o déédé le, àwon aráabí ni e bi	The country is not just hard, ask these people
Àwon jegúdújerá, àwon aráabí ni e bi	Those who eat and finish everything
Àwon àfèmi, àfèmi, àwon aráabí ni e bi	Those who knows only about themselves
Àwon bó-ti-le-rí-ó-rí, àwon aráabí ni e bi	Those who don't care what happens
Gbogbo àwon ajunilo, àwon araábí ni e bi	all those who are big
Àwon kénimánìí, àwon aráabí ni e b	Those who don't want others to have
Àwon igi dá, eye fò, àwon aráabí ni e bi	Those who fly when the tree brakes
Ìlú le débi wí pé	the country is hard to the point that
Baba ò le bi omo bóyá ó ti yó	A father cannot ask if the child is filled
Àyàfi bóyá ó ti jeun	but whether he has eaten
A ò lè jehun tó wù wá mó,	We can no longer eat what we desire
Ohun tí a rí là ń je	We eat what we find
A ò lè sisé tó wù wá mó,	We can no longer have a job that we desire
Ohun tí a rí là ń se	We do whatever job we find
A ò le gun mótò tó wù wá,	We can no longer ride the car of our desire
Okò tí a rí la ń gùn o	We ride whatever car we find
A ò lè woso tó wù wá mó,	We can no longer wear clothes that we desire
aso tí a rí là ń wò o	We put on whatever clothes we find
A ò lè gbélé tó ù wá mó,	We can no longer live in the house that we desire
Ilé tí a rí là ń gbé o	We live in any house that we find

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94 From the album 'Ilu Le Koko'. Lagos: Ibukun Orisun Iye Records, SAACO/LP/002 1987

116

Oluwa wá pàgbà yìí dà x 2　　　　　　　Lord come and change this season
Kó o bá wa múgbà tó dùn wá　　　　　　　 bring to us a good season
Baba bojú wolè , dákun wá pàse ìtura　　　 Father look down, please command a
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　refreshing time to us

In the above song Bayo Adegboyega sings about the poor state of the Nigeria economy in 1987 and the attendant effects on the citizens manifesting in joblessness, hardships and financial constrains. He also talks about the cause of economic illness which fundamentally includes corrupt leadership and over-dependence on crude oil. He goes further to give suggestions of what he thinks are the way out. The song prays for healing of the economy by asking God to change the season of lack and poverty and bring in season that refreshes the country.

CONCLUSION

It has been observed that there are terms, descriptions and symbolic representations in the gospel songs of south-western Nigeria for illness and healing that are connected with the expressions used in the context of the culture and traditions within which the musicians grow. Ideas for compositions and issues raised in the Nigerian gospel music are drawn from the daily occurrences in the society and are reflections of the social, economic, political and religious realities of the country.

 It has therefore been observed that illness as reflected in gospel music refers not only to physical disability or ailments but also to sociological, economic, political and religious disorders. These phenomena are considered in gospel songs not only as they affect individuals, but also as they affect social groups, communities and the nation at large. The concepts of illness and healing in gospel songs reflect the realities as they are experienced by the musicians themselves and the general masses which they often represent. In short the study showed that gospel musicians perceived illness not only as a state of a physical ailment or dysfunction but also a social disorder.
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An attempt has also been made in this work to analyze the content of some gospel music recordings to bring out the manifestations of illness as perceived by the musicians who have evolved terms and expressions related to these states of health. Issues about illness in Nigerian gospel songs touch specific areas of human lives that are capable of being infected with one form of illness or the other: namely physical illness, spiritual illness, social illness, political illness and economic illness. However, gospel songs also centre on spiritual healing and resolution for both individual and of Nigeria as a nation. Nigerian gospel musician therefore not only use their music for as a tool for social commentary, but also in that it helps create an agenda for social reconstruction.

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BI AND TRI-LINGUALISM: A REFLECTION OF CODE MIXING AND SWITCHING IN CONTEMPORARY YORUBA CHRISTIAN GOSPEL AND ISLAMIZED MUSIC

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between music and language is primordial. Since the Renaissance Period of the European vocal music there had been a concerted effort towards "Word Painting," a phenomenon in which word or text was made to govern the music. The melodic contour of a vocal music was usually a reflection of the mood of its text. A keen observation of Yoruba Gospel and Islamized music scenes in contemporary times among reveals the fact that many innovations have been introduced into the use of languages of these musical genres. On one hand, this is evident in the use of the Arabic, Yoruba, and English languages by the musicians whose brand of music has become very popular among Yoruba Muslims. On the other hand, it has resulted in the use of Yoruba, English and occasionally other Nigerian language such as Hausa or Igbo by the brands of music has become very popular among the contemporary Yoruba Christians. In fact, you can hardly listen to any of such music now without noticing the creative use of these three languages - and sometimes also the Pidgin variety. The language effect on the rendition of Yoruba Gospel or Islamized music is what is referred to in this paper as "Bilingualism or Trilingualism". This paper attempts to critically examine the level of cultural relevance and national identity (if any) in this stylistic innovation and investigates the attendant implication(s) it portends in the cultural milieu.

INTRODUCTION

Music as a language and a mode of communication sometimes requires the use of language and dance to effectively communicate its ideals and meanings to its audience. The age-long relationship between music and language has made the tie between the two an inseparable entity. In actual fact, though music itself is a non-verbal medium of communication, the use of correct features of language enhances musical expression. There has been a lot of detailed discussion on this aspect of ethnomusicology from Seeger (1962) and Bright (1963) to date. Language has been identified as having a far-reaching influence especially on vocal music which has verbal texts to which songs are set. In African tradition, unlike in the European/Western world, songs are treated as though they were speech utterances. Even drum languages are usually surrogates from the language of the people.

According to Nettl (1964:281), interest in language-music interrelationships ranges from the very detailed and specific links between the words and the music of a song to philosophical speculation about the symbolic significance of musical elements and the primordial connection between music and language. The Renaissance period of the European music witnessed a phenomenon known as "Word Painting" among composers of the Madrigals and Motets. This was a deliberate act of depicting the mood of the texts in the melodic contour of the music. "Word Painting" reached its developed stage in the hands of the Baroque composers, especially

composers of genres such as the Opera, Oratorio, Madrigals and Cantata. In giving a graphic illustration of the use of "Word Painting" by Baroque composers, Kamien (1988:138) says *inter alia,*

> Heaven might be set to a high tone, and *hell* to a low one. Rising scales represented upward motion, descending scales depicted the reverse. Descending chromatic scales were associated with pain and grief. This descriptive musical language was quite standardized: a lament for a lost love might call forth the same descending chromatic scale used to depict suffering in the *Crucifixus* of the mass.

Also, since the said musical period, there has been a concerted and deliberate effort to accord superiority on vocal lines over instrumental accompaniment in any performance. This was reflected in the popular phrase among Baroque composers "Word must govern the music". This, in practical terms, means that even if a thousand-piece orchestra is performing with a solo voice, the orchestra is only playing an accompaniment role, hence its volume should not in any way overshadow the audibility and clarity of the vocal line and texts.

In Islamized music, the connection between music and language is especially close partly because a great deal of the music is vocal. Another reason is because to the majority of Muslims tunes are regarded as "good", "beautiful" or '*halam'* when the text is based on lawful thoughts, while tunes become "bad" or "ugly" or '*haram'* when the text exhibits indecency. Therefore, music in Islamic settings does not follow the conventional aesthetic for judging music alone as "good" or "bad", but relies on the text and context of rendition, no matter how many people find it beautiful. This implies that creativity in the use of language is more vital to music-making than any other musical considerations. Hence, the empathy for vocal music over that of instrumental counterpart in Islam.

The Yoruba Islamized music favours vocal medium for its rendition, albeit the place of instrumental accompaniment cannot be underrated. Beside the Arabic language which is dominant in the rendition of the music, other languages used for the performance include the Yoruba and English languages. The major languages for religious activities among the Yoruba Muslims are Arabic, Yoruba and English. These languages are freely code-mixed during performances of their music. Arabic is the indigenous language of Islam while Yoruba is the indigenous language (mother tongue) of the people, and English is the official language in the country. Music, as partly a model of man's experiences and activities, prominently exhibits the reflection of interaction (code-mixing) among these languages as a phenomenon in contemporary Yoruba Islamized music.

The data for this study is based on observation of some of the Yoruba Christian Gospel and Islamized musical performances. We also relied on lyrics, ditties and songs which pervade the electronic media when programmes on each of the religions of our focus are being aired. This method is premised on the assertion that activities other than musical designs could serve as characteristics of the manifestation of change and continuity in a musical practice. This is the theory on which this paper is hinged.

MUSIC AS LANGUAGE

Although music is not identical with language it resembles a language. The resemblance extends from the whole work, the temporal sequence and organized linking of significant sounds, right down to the single sound - the note as the threshold of merest presence, the pure vehicle of expression.

The analogy between music and language goes beyond the organized connection of sounds and extends materially to structures. The traditional musical theory of form employs such terms as sentence, phrase, segment, punctuation, exclamation and parenthesis. Subordinate phrases are ubiquitous; voices rise and fall, and all these terms of musical gesture are derived from speech. If there is disagreement as to what music expresses, there is at least general agreement that music is intended to and does – through its form, its content, or both – produce in us emotions, be they strictly musical or extra-musical. So, clearly music gives us stimulus and information. But that is hardly evidence of its being a language. Before proceeding further, it is necessary to establish a working definition of language.

Language is a set (vocabulary) of symbols (signifiers, to use the terminology of semiotics), each of which refers to (indicates, signifies) one or more concrete things or abstract concepts. These symbols are combined according to a more or less strict grammar of rules. The combination of the symbolic units in a specific grammatical structure produces new, further significance. This is the way in which verbal languages work, as well as such specialized written languages such as those of mathematics and computer programming.

Does music then conform to this definition of language? There have been attempts throughout history to answer in the affirmative - from Plato's "Republic" to the *musica reservata* of the sixteenth century, to the doctrine of "affections" of the eighteenth century to Cooke's "Language of Music". However , all these theoretical formulations of a "language of music" have either proved applicable only to a particular period and style, or have not been at all widely accepted as a significant system. However, there does exists purely functional communicative forms of music in a great many cultures and periods that use widely accepted sonic symbols, as found in language. Such symbols are a subset of musical sounds or phrases that are recognized as known musical objects which we usually term "clichés". A knowledge of these musical symbols and clichés, is essential to musical understanding, because they have musical or extra-musical significance in that particular society of time period.

In fact though, music made up entirely of sonic symbols is extremely rare. Symbols and other clichés are almost always merely a subset of the acceptable sounds of a musical culture or style, and that culture or style is in turn merely a subset of music. So, while music may contain discernible symbols, these are almost invariably only a small subset of any piece of music.

The conclusion one reaches, then, is that although a given style of music often includes linguistic elements like symbols and also may employ some type of logical rules or grammar of construction, music is not itself a language. It is even more untenable to say that music (independent of style) is a language, and completely untenable to say music is a "universal" language. Music is not a "universal language" any more than the sum total of all vocal sounds can be said to be a universal spoken language. Whatever linguistic elements music may possess

are dependent on explicit and implicit cultural associations, all of which are in turn dependent on the particular society the individual is situated. Even though media and telecommunications are increasing the awareness of the music of other cultures, most individuals are still no closer to knowing all music than they are to knowing all languages.

One must also bear in mind that symbolic representation is not the only means of expression. Music can, by its very form (that is, the abstractions we derive from its form), express abstract or visual concepts, or it may present a visceral, immediate appeal to our senses (our unconscious response). These are not modes of expression that depend upon language, yet few would deny their existence in music.

<u>LYRICOLOGY AND MUSICAL STYLISTICS</u>

Music is a key component in any kind of culture; it is a way to express the ideas and beliefs of that culture. Music has been a powerful force throughout history and has affected all aspects of people's lives. The ideas and attitudes people have toward their society can easily be seen in their music. Expression in music comes in every emotion; sad, happy, mellow, anger, peaceful and many others. Music, especially in today's society, brings about certain ways of life or attitudes about life. The key to the success of most music is however the lyrics or words of a song that are used to convey and perform the essence of music.

Some language experts would say that you can listen to someone speaking a language you do not understand yet still know whether the speaker is excited or tired, angry or delighted. In this case you would be making musical-like interpretations based upon speech patterns: loud or soft, high-pitched or low-pitched, rapid and bitten off, or slow and smooth. Although there is no general agreement as to exactly what music communicates many have believed that music possesses great powers of communication. Most ancient Greek philosophers believed that listening to music based on certain of the modes in use at the time was beneficial to the development of a young person's character, and warned that listening to music based on certain other modes would have harmful effects. For centuries, Chinese beliefs about music were influenced by the philosophy of Confucius, whose music was not to entertain but to purify one's thoughts.

These various perspectives on the role and influence of music have therefore led many scholars into studying music and its lyrics. One core idea is musical stylistics and the idea of choice. Sandu-Dediu (1997) says "the acceptance of style as deviation does not exclude the choice of one style, which other literary theorists operate with, thus explaining the option of the author within the elements provided by a given system." In corroboration of this idea, there is the musicological approach of Leonard B. Meyer (1990) which grounds the idea of choice in musical stylistics. He claims that "style is a replication of patterning, whether in human behaviour or in the artifacts produced by human behaviour, which results from a series of choices made within some set of constraints." In the context of language he is referring to the lexical, grammatical and syntactic choices in a given language, and from which the user makes a selection to suit the purpose of their discourse. This leads him on to the premise that the entire human behaviour (including music making) appears as a result of a choice. Consequently a stylistic analysis of music and musical texts must involve attention being paid to the various choices made by the lyricist towards a definition of the style inherent in the work.

We will proceed to this topic of choice and in respect to sociolinguistic code switching and mixing by current Yoruba performers of gospel and Islamic music. But I will first say something about the origins and nature of these two religious genres which were both influenced by foreign religions and popular music styles

YORUBA CHRISTIAN GOSPEL MUSIC: THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

The proliferation of churches especially among the so called "Pentecostal" Christian Fellowship Missions in Nigeria in the late 1980s is believed to have ushered in multifarious and multidimensional doctrines and styles of worship which, in all ramifications, are a departure from their orthodox counterparts. Among other things, Olatunji (2002) believes that the organ, which used to be the cynosure of the Orthodox Church, has now given way to a consortium of musical instruments from the popular music genres. Also, there now seems to be an end to the era of hymnody and psalmody as well as other types of music that used to form part of the liturgical proceedings in most of these denominations. These "modern" churches have in no small measure contributed to the growth and development of the genre known as the Gospel Music.

Scholars have come out with divergent views with regard to finding a definition for the genre known as Gospel Music. Adegbite (1994:18) defines it as "a new type of Church music brought about by the wave of religious fanaticism which has resulted in the proliferation of Christian churches in Nigerian society". But according to Robert (1973:17).

> Gospel music is the music addressed to the people as an   expression   of   personal testimony. Its purpose is to direct the mind inward to one's own experience and needs; to warn…us   of the consequences of sin and give us the promise of spiritual release.

Adedeji (2004:2) defines it as,

> a type of Christian music that preaches the "good news" of Jesus   Christ   and   made popular by public performances, the electronic media and Information Technology such as Radio, Television, the recording world and the Internet.

While we quite agree with Adegbite's submission that the proliferation of Christian churches in Nigeria is consequential to the growth and development of Gospel music, we want to disagree with the aspect of fanaticism brought into the discourse. Neither the Pentecostalism nor the Gospel music could be viewed as being fanatical in concept and mode of operation. In the same vein, since the scope of Gospel music transcends Evangelism and Sermonizing, we also disagree with the definitions of Robert and Adedeji in this regard.

There seems to be a consensus among the Nigerian scholars, however, on the origin of Gospel music in Nigeria as most of them traced the origin of the genre back to the church. According to Omibiyi-Obidike (1994:6),

gospel music originally was used in the church and was   performed at special festivals such as Harvest, Thanksgiving and so forth. However, with the electronic technology and the need for youths to have the type of music that caters for their
social interest, gospel music was taken out of the church.

This view was corroborated by Ojo (1998:215), when he asserts that,

> moreover, it soon became apparent that a different kind of Christian music was needed for festival occasions, for example, harvest rituals,   funeral   ceremonies,   births   and marriages. Initially, church choirs had provided music at such occasions.

From the foregoing, our definition of Gospel music is a type of Church music whose concept, content and context explicate Christianity; which performs both entertainment and evangelism functions; and which is performed both within and outside the church. It is interesting that most of its practitioners started from the church, yet despite their freelance nature, which makes them independent to perform at functions outside the church and also to record and release their music on audio and video tapes, they still keep contact with their respective home churches for identity and sometimes for inspiration.

YORUBA ISLAMIZED MUSIC IN CONTEMPORARY TIMES

The use of Yoruba language alongside with Arabic as part of musical medium for communicating Islamic religious ideas and practices can be traced to the inception of the religion among the Yoruba. The pioneers of Islam used the two languages simultaneously to impress the tenets of the religion on the converts. The method was a veritable means for carrying out *dawah* activities. According to Daramola (2008), Arabic was used in the reading of Quran and *Haddiths,* while interpretation in the native language (most often Yoruba) was usually done to ensure that the converts understand the discourse. At the emergence of Christianity and by extension, the introduction of Western education among the Yoruba, the English language and Latin which were languages of the new religion, came into the linguistic repertoire of the people. Thus, an average Yoruba Muslim who had the Western education became trilingual.

Any keen observer of Yoruba Islamized music scene in the contemporary time will readily agree with the fact that a lot of innovation has been introduced in the use of languages of rendition of musical genres, especially in the use of the Arabic, Yoruba, and English languages used by musicians who have become very popular among contemporary Yoruba Muslims, most especially, the youth. These musicians and entertainers have demonstrated creative ingenuity in the way they have blended these three languages. In fact, you can hardly listen to any of such music now without noticing the use of these three languages - and sometimes also Pidgin English. In some of these pieces of music, more than half of the songs are composed and sung in Arabic and Yoruba languages with either English or its Pidgin variety making up the rest. In some, the Yoruba language and English are mixed in equal proportion in composition and rendition of the music.

THE POPULAR MUSIC INPUT

The musical genres of our discourse, gospel and Islamic music belong to the music of the mass culture – Nigerian popular music. Popular music itself is the music produced for and sold to a broad audience. This includes jazz, film music, musicals, country-and-western music, soul music, rock music and rap. Popular music is mostly delivered to mass market in inexpensive formats, such as records and CDs. It is also characterized, at the initial stage, by shortness of songs and also by love themes. According to Daramola (2001), contemporary popular music yields to the demand and taste of the people as well as the changes in culture. It is shaped by social, religious, economic and technological forces; hence it most often mirrors the social and sometimes religious identity of its performers and audiences. As mentioned contemporariness in the Yoruba Islamized music of this century is not only marked by the dominance of Western musical instruments and styles, but also in the use of code switching or code mixing among the Arabic, Yoruba and English languages. The use of popular music instruments, and code switching is also found in Yoruba gospel music.

TYPES OF CODE-SWITCHING AND CODE-MIXING

Code-switching and code-mixing are sociolinguistic terms and are products of bi/ tri, or multi lingualism. This is because when languages are in contact, they are bound to influence each other in a number of ways. Notable among these ways are borrowing, code-switching/code-mixing, interference,negative or positive transfer and so on. Borrowing essentially involves the use of lexical items in the languages in question. But it must be noted that more often than not, it is the more prestigious of the languages (usually a foreign language) that has its vocabularies borrowed by the second language, which is almost invariably an underdog in terms of prestige.

These terms are used to describe the means of communication which involves a speaker alternating between one language and the other in communicating events. In other words, somebody who code-switches uses two languages (interlingua) or dialects (intralingua) interchangeably in a single communication. A communication which may involve a native tongue and a foreign language or two foreign languages or dialects of the same language can be initiated with one of the languages/dialects, and be concluded in other. e.g. starting a discussion in Yoruba and concluding it in English or vice versa.

Code-switching can be discussed from two different perspectives: the "functional type" perspective and the "formal type" perspective. The functional type of code-switching is divided into the *conversational*, *situational*, and *metaphorical*. In conversational code-switching the same speech act is involved, that is, the bi or tri- lingual is involved in the discussion of a particular topic depending on the number of languages being code-mixed. Such an individual may also be involved in a casual talk; and in an attempt to carry out the communication, the bilingual employs items from two different languages and tie them together by syntactic and semantic relations. Another characteristic of this switching is that participants are often unconscious of which language they are using at a point in time during the discussion. For instance if Hausa and Igbo are switched in a conversation, the co-participants may not be aware of who actually triggers the switch from one language to the other. The speakers are mainly concerned with the message content of the conversation and the mode of such conversation is always very difficult to recall in its entirety. Conversational code-switching is patterned much

the same way as if it were following the grammatical rule for a single language. Thus, a bilingual who does not understand the structure of the language in a code-switching event may find it difficult to switch accurately. In other words, an understanding of the syntactic structure of the languages involved is a necessary prerequisite for an individual to be able to code-switch efficiently.

In situational code-switching two different languages are assigned to two or more different situations; the setting, activity and participants in such situations remain the same. An individual may have knowledge of all the languages associated with different situations; however, conversation etiquette required the use of only one language at a time. Violation of the code of etiquette may invoke unintended reactions from others in that speech community. For instance, in an English lecture classroom where all the participants are bilingual in English and Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa, it would be out of place for the teacher or anyone of the students to use their native language whenever they are given a point that will benefit the rest of the class. The culture of the classroom setting demands that English must be used all the time.

In metaphorical code-switching, the situational factors such as setting, activity and participants remain the same as in situational code-switching. However, the two languages in switching serve as a metaphor representing a different situation. This may be due to a change of subject or new set of role relations set up. For instance, a visitor to a government establishment may discover that a public servant with whom he is to interact comes from the same clan with him. He thus plays down the use of English, the official language of the office and uses his mother tongue for the exchange of pleasantries, before coming back to English to transact the business he came for.

The formal type of code-switching refers to the linguistic switching from one language to the other and comes in three sub-types. They are:

1. **Code change** – This refers to a complete change from one language to another in a communication. This gives the impression that the utterance being produced is neither wholly in language 'A' or 'B'. There is instead a blend of the two codes of communication involved in the fusion of languages in a communicative process. An inter-sentential code change realizes a switch that takes place across sentences. For instance:

    Sanjo was at the party *onyere anyi nmaya*. After that, he introduced us to the celebrities *Obi toro ya n to*. [The switch is at the end of each sentence and we have a total change from one language to the other, i.e. English and Igbo].

2. **Intra-sentential code change**. This is the change which takes place within a sentence at major constituent boundaries such as noun phrases, verb phrases, or clauses e.g.

    Badejo *kàn fún mi ní* part of the money *tí ó je mí* and said *ìyókù di* next time. (Badejo gave me part of the money he owed me and promised to pay the rest next time)

126

3. **Code-mixing**, which is the third sub-type refers to a situation whereby two languages are used in a single sentence within major and minor constituent boundaries e.g.

Àwon girls *yen ló dè máa n* insult *àwon boys* (It is those girls that always insult the boys).

Code-switching and code-mixing are so much interrelated that the latter may trigger the former. It is always very difficult to separate the two. Indeed a speaker is not conscious of the fact that he is code mixing or code switching. It is a linguist that may distinguish the two in a given utterance. Code mixing or language juxtaposition is defined in this study as a deliberate combination of two or, in some occasions, three languages in the melodic line of a vocal music. Here, the language in which the song is composed remains as the anchor on which words, phrases or sentences from other languages are attached. It is very instructive and according to Olatunji (2001) for the effective performance of a song of this nature one should be at least bi-lingual. This means that one should have a good knowledge of one's mother tongue (in this case Yoruba) and the English language.

In their recent study of the use of code-switching in Nigerian hip-hop music, Babalola and Taiwo (2009: 3) note that:

> code-switching In naturally occurring conversation is different from code-switching in music. It is a deliberate style used by the artist who would have prepared and reflected upon the lyrics before the release of the songs. Artists are conscious of the possibility that their words may be received by people outside their immediate context of language use.

Though their focus in their data analysis is on Nigerian hip-hop artists, their conclusion as noted below is very significant for the present study:

> With this new wave of code-switching Nigerian musicians are stabilising unique identities for themselves and their music. As their music gains more fans at home, the continued global influence of the Yoruba language (particularly in the United States, Britain and Germany) has also made a positive impact on Nigerian hip-hop music, and this has encouraged hip-hoppers to improve in their creative efforts at blending the languages in their music.

For the purpose of this study the performance of translation of a song from its original language of composition to another is excluded. The reason behind this is that each version (either the original or translated version) can be sung independently. And this will definitely betray the concept of code mixing being portrayed in this study.

Yoruba Gospel Music

Igbo: Kpo ya Chukwu no ga za
                  Kpo ya Chukwu no ga za gi ekpere
                  Messaih onye obi oma
                  Kpo ya Chukwu no ga za

Yoruba: Ke pe Baba yoo si gbo
      Ke pe Baba yoo da o lohun
      Alagbawi eda
      Ke pe Baba yoo si gbo

Meaning:

      Call on the "Father" (Jesus) He will hear
      Call on the Father he will answer
      He is the solicitor for his creatures
      Call on the Father He will hear

Or:

Yoruba: Gbogbo enyan n so pe o dara
      O dara Jehovah, O dara
      Gbogbo eniyan n so pe o dara
      O dara Jehovah, O dara.

Igbo: Mmadu nile nasi Ebube
      Ebube Jehovah mmara nma
      Mmadu nile nasi Ebube
      Ebube Jehovah mmara nma.

Meaning: Everybody testifies, you are good
      You are good Jehovah, you are good
      Everybody testifies you are good
      You are good Jehovah you are good.

It is in the premises of the formal type of code-switching, as explained above, that this paper looks at the use of code-switching in Yoruba Gospel and Islamized music. This is because there is always a blend between the three codes of communication involved in the fusion of languages in the performance of the music. Be that as it may, we need to state that except in few occasions, the anchor language of most songs composed by musicians of the musical genres in this study is Yoruba. It is upon this language that words, phrases or sentences in English and or other language(s) employed are premised. For example:

     Oju ogun lobinrin wa, a fi k'Olohun sowa…
     Mama aburo e ku ewu, *congratulations* mo ki i yin…
     Biyawo bimo tan won a pe, ki lo bi…?
     Number one lokunrin wa, *number eight* ma lobinrin

In the above excerpt, the switch is both inter and intra-sentential but the communication is lucid and self-explanatory to an average Yoruba person either Muslim on non-Muslim. Other examples of this category run thus:

     Jesu loba
     The Great I am

The one that is more than enough
My everything
My all in all
I will lift to praise your name
Gbogbo aye e wa bami gbe ga) 4 times
You are the everlasting God
Who reigns over all the earth
Ogo ati iyin laso ibora re
Mo fi gbogbo o□kàn mi gbé o ga.

Or:

Jesu, Oluwa mi o,
I don't wana *sise*
Baba ma je n sise

All the above listed are lyrics sung during the time of Praise and Worship in the church. One main feature or attribute of this type of songs is its short duration. Therefore, it is sung over and over before changing to another song. Another set of songs are those of longer duration.

Chorus : Ko S'oba bii re
Ko si ko si
Ko s'oba bii re
Ko si ko si
Laye yi ati lorun
Ko s'oba bii re.

Lead Singer: Your love is so great
You are merciful and gracious
You redeemed my soul
From every destruction
I will sing your praise
I will dance and lift you high
You mean so much to me, Jesus
No one like you

Or:

Ko soba bii re
Ko si Baba bii re
Ko ma s'Olorun bii re,
Igwe (x4 times)
E bami gb'Oluwa to bi
Oba nla oba to ga
E gb'Olorun tobi
Edumare oba to ga.
Igwe (x4 times)
Eze ndi Eze
Idi egwu

> Onye na bi a ozo
> Idi egwu
> Onye di ka gi
> Onye di ka Chukwu
> Omalicha…

However, a few others are anchored in English language upon which Yoruba is attached. These include:

> We just want to thank you, Jesus
> Thank you Jesus, thank you Jesus
> Thank you) 2ce
> *Àwa mà dúpé oore àná*
> *Oore òni, oore re lójoojúmó) 2ce*
> *Oore re lójó gbogbo*.

Or:

> Forget about yourself
> Let us praise the Lord
> Forget about yourself
> Let us worship the Lord…
> We call Him *Kábíyèsí*
> *Oba tó joba lo…*

YORUBA ISLAMIZED MUSIC

Each of the songs in this category features either bi- or tri- lingualism in its rendition. Yoruba Muslims are trilingual. through their mother tongue (Yoruba), the language of their faith (Arabic) and English language which is the official language in Nigeria. The following lyrics serve as examples.

> *Walahitalahi* mo sori ire (2ce)
> *There is no other God*, a f'Olohun
> *Astagafurulahi* mo n bebe, eni l'Olohun *can never be ashamed*
> Mimo l'Olohun, *Warasululai*…

Or:

> Ayeloyun mo gboro de o oro lomo leti nje
> Eni ba leti ko wa gbo o, ki won wa gba *lecture* orin
> *Elephant* ibikan, eera ibomiran ni…

Or:

> Aditu nla loro Re o Oluwa mi
> Odada ni O Oba to dale aye
> *Yarobi*, *mercy* fun mi, saanu mi, *you are my creator* o

Or:

> Nibo la n lo nile yi o ko ye ni to …
> *Education per excellence* ko si mo
> *Social etiquette* iye ti fori son pon

Obi to fe *good education* f'awon omo,
A fi ko mu lo *private school* ko le yege,
Atunse lawa n fe lori oro wa.

Or:

Laila, lailaa, ilala laila, Uwa laila, ilala laila…
Kii toogbe debi ti yo sun, Ajoke aye Olohun ma lo nje,
Asake orun, *my protector, security* Olohun ma ni mo n toro
Latekinatu niura makiri, mase ja tanmoo ore Oba nla
Toba nbe Olohun oba ti ko ba gbo, adura yen nibi to n gba si
Continue lati ma be Olohun *Taala* o

The examples of songs cited above are not only reflection of language mix but also of culture mix. Language does not exist in a vacuum. It reflects the culture of which values and mores it extols. It is a vehicle by which culture is identified in all its ramifications. Music's communication power depends on the language of the people or society use to relate in the most intimate manner to their world-view and life experiences. As an institution music therefore co-exists with other social institutions including the language of the people.

Bi- or Tri-lingualism is therefore a reflection of more than one culture existing in in a society: the self culture, other local cultures and alien cultures. Most often, this practice not only enhances international relations, it also enhances internal development. Music has been found to be a veritable tool for the anchoring of such relations and developments.

<u>CONCLUSION</u>

This paper has looked into the choice of language and the relevance of bi- and tri-lingualism in the performance of contemporary Yoruba Christian Gospel and Islamized music. The musical genres of our discourse reveals that the use of more than one language in their renditions is a reflection of the existence of more than one culture among the contemporary Yoruba. The peaceful co-existence and long duration of these cultures among the people have made many of them bi- or tri- lingual. The effect of this (bi- or tri- lingualism) is mostly felt in the music of the two religions (Islam and Christianity) that are the basis for the entrenchment of the foreign cultures among the people.

It is established *inter-alia* that the blend of the three cultures (the traditional, Islamic and Christian) as reflected in the creative artistic code mixing and code switching during musical performance. This has not only enhanced relationships among the Yoruba, the Saudi Arabians and Westerners. This cross-cultural contact has also enhanced the professionalism and performance of the musicians of these two religious genres discussed.

In the final analysis, music (like language) has been portrayed in this paper as capable of promoting international relationship, religious and national identities (without subverting one for the other), stylistic innovations, interdisciplinary research and of course cross-cultural understanding.

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SECTION SIX

PHILOSOPHY OF MUSIC

ADORNO'S RIDDLE CHARACTER OF ART

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That works of art are riddles which elude ordinary human understanding is a truism of modernity. Stunned stares, hysterical laughter or head-shaking incomprehension are common forms of reception in the contemporary art world. When analysis exceeds the mere facts, it touches on the aesthetic surplus of art and thus the truth content of a work. For Adorno, however, this cannot be revealed through analysis, only critique. But the recourse to critique in an emphatic sense also makes it clear that all interpretations must by necessity fail to reach a conclusive end. The reason for this limit to interpretation lies in what Adorno termed the 'riddle character of art'.

In his *Aesthetic Theory*, the riddle character is an archimedic point from which the relationship of art, philosophy and society can be developed in a single logical sequence of thoughts.[95] The direction taken by the argumentation in the present essay, however, is the opposite: we shall attempt to probe the semantic content of the riddle category through a series of disambiguations. However, before doing this it is necessary to reflect on two preconditions of Adorno's philosophy.

TWO PRECONDITIONS

A first precondition concerns the socio-critical context in which the *Aesthetic Theory* is embedded. In the *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, Adorno and Max Horkheimer described the self-cancellation of rationality. In this work, the two authors read the history of civilisation according to a schema of progress/decline in which the functions originally serving the liberation of subjects have been inverted, leading to a state of complete negativity. Reason, the *Dialectic of Enlightenment* tells us, has degenerated into instrumental reason, and human reality has been ossified into an administered reality determined by mastery and servitude, where everything particular and individual is denied its intrinsic validity under the dominion of generality. Against this background, it can already be hinted at here why art, and hence aesthetics, is assigned a central role within Adorno's theoretical conception. Within the postulated context of delusion, according to Adorno, art is the one remaining area of life that does not conform to the business of deception. The reason for this is the semblance character of art, the only thing that can resist the false consciousness of reified abstraction. We shall return to this later on.

The second precondition of the *Aesthetic Theory* consists in a specific methodology that can be interpreted as a reaction to the epistemological programme laid out in *Negative Dialectics*. In that work, Adorno philosophically legitimates an approach whose aim is 'to unseal the non-conceptual with concepts, without making it their equal.'[96] This theoretical reflection became concrete in the *Aesthetic Theory*, where Adorno refrains from any systematic construction and instead follows a methodology he referred to as a 'paratactic' mode of thought. This concentrically developing movement of ideas attempts, as an alternative to a succession of

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[95] For a systematical inquiry on the category of the riddle character in German philosophy see Bernd Kleimann, *Der Rätselcharakter der Kunst* (Frankfurt/M: Peter Klein, 1996).

[96] Adorno, *Negative Dialectics*, trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Continuum, 1983), p. 10.

individual theses and arguments, to approach its object through manifold variation – feeling its way, as it were, towards it. The aim of this strategy, as opposed to an identifying and classificatory method that can only be eluded by the particular, is to accentuate the primacy of the individual over the general. Only a mode of thought determined by the terms demanded by the matter itself, according to Adorno, is capable of unlocking its nature. Through the constellation of terms, i.e. a terminology that forms itself from equally valid components, clinging mimetically to the object, as it were, Adorno attempts to do justice to the non-identical: namely that which is excluded by subsumptive thought.

It should be clear from the above that a reconstruction of Adorno's riddle character of art faces substantial difficulties. If one is to avoid merely retelling the text, defining the riddle character using a limited number of further basic principles will lead to a considerable reduction of the shimmering, many-hued characterisation in the *Aesthetic Theory*. As an alternative to the 'unexpoundability' of Adorno's philosophy likewise postulated in *Negative Dialectics*[97], however, this approach nonetheless seems acceptable to me. In the following, I shall therefore begin by explaining four other basic principles relevant to an understanding of the riddle character, before explicating the latter category via Adorno's theory of understanding art in a further step.

ONE: SPIRIT

Spirit is the category that enables works of art to overstep the content of their appearance. 'That through which works of art, by becoming appearance, become more than they are: this is their spirit.'[98] Works of art, then, are not fulfilled in a purely empirical description of their elements, but possess, thanks to their constellation, an aspect that lies beyond their mere facticity. A fundamental aspect here is that although the concept of spirit goes beyond what can be positivistically identified in works of art, it cannot be conceived of in complete isolation from that realm. Rather, the two poles are dialectically mediated. 'The spirit of works of art is bound up with their form, but spirit is such only in so far as it points beyond that form.'[99] The sudden dialectical change, the transition from a sensual to a non-sensual level, causes a dynamisation of this constellation: 'As tension between the elements of the work of art, and not as an existence sui generis, art's spirit is a process and thus it is the work itself.'[100] The task of critical philosophy is to decipher this process of which it is essentially capable, as philosophy here finds something 'commensurable to the concept'.[101] The work's spiritual substance here points to the truth content, but without the two being subsumed into a single unity. 'Spirit, art's vital element, is bound up with art's truth content, though without coinciding with it.'[102]

TWO: SEMBLANCE CHARACTER

Art's ability to transcend naked empiricism and thus turn polemically against existing conditions also opens up a socio-critical dimension of art. 'Only as spirit is art the antithesis of empirical reality as the determinate negation of the existing order of the world.'[103] Much space is

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[97] Ibid., p. 33.
[98] Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (New York: Continuum, 2004), p. 114.
[99] Ibid., p. 117.
[100] Ibid., p. 116.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid., p. 117.

given to reflections on the socio-critical potential of art in the *Aesthetic Theory*. I would like to demonstrate this in the following with reference to the semblance character of the work of art, which is intertwined with the concept of spirit.

In contrast to traditional metaphysics, Adorno connects illusion back to the spiritual substance of the work. 'Usually the semblance character of works of art has been associated with their sensuous element, especially in Hegel's formulation of the sensuous semblance of the idea. This view of semblance stands in the Platonic-Aristotelian tradition, which distinguished between the semblance of the sensuous world on the one hand and essence or pure spirit as authentic being on the other. The semblance of works of art originates, however, in their spiritual essence.'[104] The semblance possessed by aesthetic phenomena is connected to society in two ways. Firstly through the imitation of the real, and secondly – in contrast to the first aspect – through the separation from reality. While the first point should be immediately evident, the second requires a degree of explanation. By virtue of its semblance character, art can establish a counter-world to existing reality and elevate itself to reality's other. For 'works of art are plenipotentiaries of things that are no longer distorted by exchange, profit, and the false needs of a degraded humanity. In the context of total semblance, art's semblance of being-in-itself is the mask of truth.'[105]

At this point in the argument, it becomes clear why the 'rescue of semblance'[106] must be a central concern of aesthetics. The blurring of the boundary between reality and art, the 'crisis of semblance'[107] deprives art of its central aspect: the possibility of withdrawing from the existing totality of untruth through its semblance character. This introduces into the constellation a utopian element that aims for reconciliation: 'In each genuine work of art something appears that does not exist.'[108] 'Yet what does not exist, by appearing, is promised. The constellation of the existing and the nonexisting is the utopic figure of art.'[109]

THREE : UTOPIA AND ART

The concept of utopia, however, is impaired in several ways in the *Aesthetic Theory*. For, as the last bastion in a present, distorted by reification and domination, the hope conveyed through the work of art that conditions could change for the better is extremely vague. Art contains the possibility of utopia, but only quietly promises that 'given the level of productive forces, the earth could here and now be paradise'.[110] If, that is, it promises anything at all. For utopia, that which is not yet existent art drapes in black, and in the tension that permanently anticipates catastrophe also lies the negativity of art, its 'methexis in the tenebrous'.[111]

FOUR: THE TRUTH CONTENT OF ART

But even if the possibility of realising this utopia remains uncertain, the negation of the existing bad spirit reveals the truth content that resides within art. According to Adorno, the utopia of art ultimately coincides with its truth content, for only what does not fit into this world

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[104] Ibid., p. 142.

[105] Ibid., p. 298.

[106] Ibid., p. 173.

[107] Ibid., p. 134.

[108] Ibid., p. 109.

[109] Ibid., p. 305.

[110] Ibid., p. 41.

[111] Ibid., p. 178.

is true. For the relationship between art and philosophy outlined by Adorno in the *Aesthetic Theory*, it is central to see that the two areas refer to each other in a form of mutual inability. 'The truth of discursive knowledge is unshrouded, but discursive knowledge does not have it; the knowledge that is art has truth, but as something incommensurable with art.'[112] So, while discursive knowledge is able to name the concrete by forcing it into a Procrustean bed of general terms through terminological distortions, art, through the constellation of its elements, can allow the particular that is excluded through subsumptive thought to shine, though without being able to get a closer hold on it. This relation could easily induce one to think of synthesising the capacities of both disciplines and attempting to extract the truth content of art by means of a philosophical interpretation. Adorno, who undertakes this attempt in the *Aesthetic Theory*, initially makes the technique of a work of art a criterion for assessing its aesthetic truth. 'However certain it is that works of art are more than the quintessence of their procedures, which is to say their "technique", it is just as certain that they have objective content only in so far as it appears in them, and this occurs solely by the strength of the quintessence of their technique. Its logic leads the way to aesthetic truth.'[113] By placing the objectivity of the truth content in parallel to the objectivity of the work's crafting, Adorno opens up the possibility of isolating a work of art's truth content through an analysis of its technical means and translating 'the highest questions of the truth of a work' into 'categories of its coherence.'[114]

PHILOSOPHY AND ART

It would be too narrow, however, to read this statement as referring only to a philological, art-immanent interpretation. Adorno certainly does not overlook the significance of an analytical approach to art. 'There is no denying the progress made even in academic art scholarship through the demand for immanent analysis and the renunciation of methods concerned with everything but the work.'[115] This art-immanent interpretation must be exceeded in a 'second reflection', however, which requires philosophy – or more precisely, aesthetics. Adorno does not present this as a specialist discipline within a philosophical system, but rather understood as 'in itself philosophical'.[116]

For philosophy too, however, access to the work of art's truth content is restricted. For one thing, the truth of art is conceived by Adorno not as an invariant, but as historically bound. The capacity of any true art to negate a concrete historical state through the category of the possible implies that the concept of truth accompanying this negation is historically relative, or that any trans-temporal truth claim is abandoned. The recipient must thus do justice to the 'temporal core'[117] of art before undertaking any interpretative efforts.

Secondly, Adorno is convinced that the process of interpreting art fundamentally cannot end, as the truth that appears in art is able to elude interpretative access. On the surface, this last thesis is diametrically opposed to a passage in the *Aesthetic Theory* in which Adorno thematicises the convergence of the truth content of art and philosophy. When the author states in the course of his argument that the 'unfolding truth of works of art'[118] is none other than the truth of the

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[112] Ibid., p. 167.
[113] Ibid., p. 362.
[114] Ibid., p. 362.
[115] Ibid., p. 237.
[116] Ibid., p. 119.
[117] Ibid., p. 286.
[118] Ibid., p. 256.

philosophical concept, would that not make it a simple matter for philosophy to recover this truth content? The contradiction that appears here can be mitigated, however, if one refrains from viewing art and philosophy as analogous forms of world-disclosure. According to the *Aesthetic Theory* the connection between art and philosophy is defined precisely by the fact that at the intersection of the two areas, we find two completely different media of knowledge being placed in relation to each other. Through its discursive conceptuality, whose highest authority is a subsumptive thought, philosophy embodies a different form of rationality from art, which displays a non-conceptual logicality by virtue of its synthesis without judgement. By no means can aesthetics commit art to the rigour of the concept. Rather, the attempt to disclose the truth content of art through philosophy as a set of discursive tools, reveals an enigmatic aspect in art. This thesis can be explained more closely through recourse to Adorno's theory of understanding art.

ADORNO'S THREE LEVELS OF UNDERSTANDING ART

Adorno developed his approach to a theory of adequately understanding art most clearly in the draft introduction to the *Aesthetic Theory*. This theory's point of departure is the premise that 'if knowledge is anywhere achieved in layers, this is so in aesthetics.'[119] Following on from this thesis, Adorno names three layers that are relevant during the process of understanding a work of art. The first layer, which begins with mere perception, can be read as an artistic experience confined within everyday experience. Its characteristic is an immediate reaction to the work in which it, as an object among others, is accorded or not any outstanding significance. Nonetheless, this first level already encompasses an oblivious immersion in the products of art, accompanied by the utmost distance of the observer both to himself and to the aesthetic object.

Even if the primacy of the object demanded by Adorno already begins to grows visible at this level, however, it is nonetheless deficient; for the intentional content of the work of art is not reached. The non-conceptual, immediate immersion in the work of art, which can be imagined as a form of aesthetic meditation, must therefore be enriched through an intellectual specification of its spiritual substance. 'A second layer of understanding is that of the intention of the work, that which the work itself states and what traditional aesthetics calls its idea, an example of which would be the guiltiness of subjective morality in Ibsen's *Wild Duck*.'[120] One difficulty of this second layer is that it presupposes an unspecified level of education in the recipient without which he cannot perceive the relevant semantic layer of the work. But the real inadequacy of this form of understanding reveals itself as soon as a crisis of sense appears in current artistic production. This form of understanding that revolves around semantic connections falls short if the concern is to identify the content of absurd, hermetically sealed works. That the works in question here are works of art is not questioned by Adorno. 'Works of the highest level of form that are meaningless or alien to meaning are therefore more than simply meaningless because they gain their content through the negation of meaning. The work that rigorously negates meaning is by this very rigour bound to the same density and unity that was once requisite to the presence of meaning. Works of art become nexuses of meaning, even against their will, to the extent that they negate meaning.'[121] The paradox that drives the process of understanding beyond the last layer reached is that where semantic connections are ostensibly negated, a new layer of

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[119] Ibid., p. 438.
[120] Ibid., p. 439.
[121] Ibid., pp. 201f.

meaning crystallises from the work's sediment. This, Adorno argues, is the phenomenon to which the aesthetic perception must be sensitised.

At the third level in this the model of understanding, Adorno intertwines the concept of understanding with that of truth. 'Understanding has as its idea that one become conscious of the work's content by way of the full experience of it. […] Works of art are understood only when their experience is brought to the level of distinguishing between true and not true or, as a preliminary stage, between correct and incorrect.'[122] Now, at this highest level in the hierarchy of understanding, the riddle character of art is brought into play. Certainly it is already touched on in the ostensible extirpation of sense at the previous level, for the paradox found there gives the first indication of the riddle character: 'Truly, one of the enigmas of art […] is that all radical consistency, even that called absurd, culminates in similitude to meaning.'[123] The riddle character only reveals the whole of its meaning content, however, when art is confronted with the crucial question of its truth content. As art has a structure in which the truth context demands conceptual definition, yet is simultaneously able to elude it, philosophy is confronted with the enigmatic core of works of art. As a result of this confrontation the traditional hierarchy of understanding collapse and its place is taken by reflection on the riddle character of art.[124] The recipient is forced to reflect upon the failure of his understanding on a meta-level. The task of the philosophy of art is now 'to understand the incomprehensibility itself.'[125]

Even reflection on the structure of understanding, however, cannot resolve the inexplicable residue that lies in the works. 'Understanding', Adorno argues, 'is itself a problematic category in the face of art's riddle character.'[126] The riddle character thus fundamentally restricts the experience of understanding art. 'Incessantly the experience of works of art is threatened by their riddle character. If the riddle character disappears completely from the experience, if experience supposes that it has become completely immanent to the object, the riddle's gaze suddenly appears again.'[127] There is no alternative to this: 'Works of art that unfold to contemplation and thought without any remainder are not works of art.'[128]

The oscillation between the two categories, i.e. 'a not-wanting-to-be-understood and a wanting-to-be-understood',[129] which results from the confrontation between the two different types of rationality, does not lead to irresolvable tensions. For Adorno, then, art is something fundamentally different from a literary text, whose content, as hermeneutics teaches us, can be disclosed via a historically-conditioned process of understanding.[130] The image that comes to mind is that of Sisyphus of ancient Greek myth who, after almost succeeding in rolling the boulder up to the peak, suffers the stroke of fate that it suddenly goes crashing down into the valley again. The *Aesthetic Theory* does not offer any hope of a satisfying conclusion to the process of understanding. Holding out in this 'tense atmosphere inhabited by art' is the fate of philosophy.

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[122] Ibid., pp. 439f.

[123] Ibid., p. 202.

[124] Ibid., p. 440.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., p. 161.

[127] Ibid., p. 166.

[128] Ibid., p. 161.

[129] Ibid., p. 384.

[130] See Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, trans. Joel Weinsheimer & Donald G. Marshall (New York: Continuum, 2004).

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PHILOSOPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ISSUES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN AFRICAN ART

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ABSTRACT

African art music has all the qualities of art music and in addition employs idioms used in African music. African art music is the expression of the 'soul' of Africa and by this, I mean any community of people who are spiritually bound together by language, environment, history and common ideals and above all continuity with the past. If African Art music is to develop, certain issues of a philosophical, historical and cultural nature have to be considered. Cultural institutions may have to upgrade their interests to promote the art style on an equal footing as its rival styles, popular and traditional music. The planning and implementation of music curriculum by the Ministry of Education must be aimed at lifting African art music from its present state. A personal philosophy of developing rare and new ideas that can be used in musical compositions must be encouraged. Historical issues like looking at the strong tradition of choral art music as against a weak tradition of instrumental art music. The practicing composer needs to create a framework within which sustainable contemporary African art music can be created and practiced.

INTRODUCTION

The words Art and Artist are in regular use. Most of us are ready to expound on what we like and what we do not like, on what is and what is not art, and who deserves the title "artist" and who doesn't. There is indeed something about art which seems to invite qualitative evaluation. In talking about works of art we constantly use evaluative terms such as 'good', 'beautiful' and 'powerful': or their opposites. 'Art' has a variety of meanings and implications. Do we mean by art just painting and sculpture? Sometimes we do. But an art historian also studies architecture, while an arts programmes on television or an 'art' section of the news paper usually includes such disciplines as film, literature, music, theatre and dance.

According to its context art is sometimes meant in a narrower sense and sometimes in a wider sense, sometimes too the word is used exclusively, sometimes popularly. A good deal of the difficulty we have today in defining art can be traced to the fact that our museum of ideas about art is less clearly visible to us than the museums in which we actually house it. The problem of art still haunts us today. In some respects it is the problem which Nicholas Wolter Storff, a professor of philosophy at Calvin College in the United States, has dealt with in sociological terms in his book 'Art in Action' (1987) where he distinguishes our society's institution of high art (The art of the gallery, concert, theatre-going and cultural elite) from popular art and art of the tribe (art and design used by everyone in a given society). Wolter Storff, steers an astute course round the problem by emphasizing that art can have many purpose. He removes from

'High Art' any prerogative to be the one and only way in which art and its values are to be defined.

Perhaps one of the main problems of art today has been the result of giving art the wrong function. Formerly art was 'an art' just as we speak of arts and crafts. In this sense 'arts' is the ability to make something beautiful as well as useful. What I propose in place of an attempt at a unifying definition of art is that Art is the process or product of arranging elements in a way that appeals to the senses or emotions. Art is made with the intention of stimulating thoughts and emotions. So for any discipline we consider as art (paintings, sculpture, theatre, music, etc), this art would have its own elements which it would always use for its creation. For example, the musician would use elements like, melody, harmony, form, texture, rhythm to create his music, that, as pointed out already, is intended to stimulate thoughts and emotions.

ART MUSIC IN GENERAL AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS
The first thing we have to note is that music is an art and within this is a style of music we call 'Art Music'; just like we have other styles of music such as traditional or popular music. Art music, which is generally synonymous with serious or classical music, is a term used to refer to a musical style which makes use of advanced musical forms based on certain theories. It deals with a written musical tradition by trained composers and performers and is mainly for contemplation.

1) Art music has certain written out theories which underlie its organization.
2) It involves skilled practitioners.
3) It involves a professional focus on formal styles and also invites technical and detailed deconstruction and criticism.
4) It demands focused attention from the listener.
5) It is primarily a written musical tradition preserved in some form of musical notation, as opposed to being transmitted orally.
6) Its identity is usually defined by the notated version rather than the particular performance of it.

African art music has all the above characteristics of art music and in addition employs African traditional idioms used in vocal music and instrumental music in composition. Leading practitioners include Sowande, Bankole, Euba, Amu, Uzoigwe, Nketia, among others. Compositions are written in familiar classical genres like the sonata, suite or even opera.

PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES AND NEEDS
    i)   Develop a Personal Philosophy

This is what your music revolves around, its foundation that provides the deep-seated conviction as to why you would like to subscribe to art music. What is the message in your compositions? There is the need to develop and crystallize an individualistic style of composition. We may, of course, choose to re-enforce ideas by other composers or pioneer new ideas. Composers need to introduce rare and new creations. Composers need to create a style of composition which will be distinct, but

also be a continuation and extension of the African cultural heritage. An example of this concept is 'African pianism' which employs idioms used in African traditional music to compose for the piano. Simply put, it is African music for the piano. This is a new creation which can be further developed in the area of African art music.

ii) Acquainting the audience with the philosophy:-
Since composers do not create in a vacuum, desirable philosophies of African art music must be gradually sold to the audience to ensure acceptance. We should note that if the audience can embrace these philosophies, this would help greatly to promote African art music compositions.

iii) Audience development:-
Regular concerts can be given to audiences in different locations like schools, churches and special venues set up for this purpose. There can also be mass media promotion of art music. The various radio and television stations can have special times for such performances. Composers can also organize workshops and seminars for students and public. This would help educate people on the different ideas and techniques composers employ in their compositions. Once people get to understand, it naturally develops their taste.

iv) Considerations for music form (Mode and medium of performance)
One of the most frequently voiced criticisms is that the music of one composer is a replica of existing master pieces. While this may be true in some cases, some of these accusations levelled are without proof. However, each individual composer will have to decide what impact the form, the instrumentation and performance medium will have on the audience. There is therefore need to give these issues a very serious thought if continuity and posterity are the desired objectives.

HISTORICAL ISSUES
Even though the concept of art music has been around in Ghana for some time, audience appeal has largely been less than satisfactory. It has been embraced with little zeal, especially for those compositions which may not necessarily address themselves to topical issues. The following issues will therefore need constant attention:

i)   There is need to identify a sustainable vehicle of expression of African art music if the tradition is to thrive. The vehicle of expression may be in the form of strong choral and instrumental tradition.

ii) There is the need to develop competent performers who can realize the creations. We must ensure that we have not only have imaginative and skilled composers, but also performers who appreciate the challenges of African art music. In order to interpret African art music properly performers must take pains to critically analyze all the African elements employed in a particular composition. This would help in the interpretation of compositions. Ghana has a strong tradition of choral music performers. Perhaps this is because this style of performance was strongly present and practiced in educational institutions and performance oriented organizations.

Therefore a performance tradition was born and maintained by pioneering policy makers and musicians. However, we do not have a strong tradition of performers when we talk about instrumental music. There is therefore the need for more instrumental music compositions and also performers who can interpret these compositions.

iii) We also have to note in the area off African art music is that colonial music education introduced musicians to Western music and harmony rather than the multi-level music of Africa which was unknown to the educators. African art music composers have therefore tended to look more to the West for techniques of multi-voiced music, which is more sophisticated than our own forms. As a result, instead of traditional forms of choral organisation, composers are attracted to the Western type in which voices are separated into the S.A.T.B. type range of choral music. This leads to the adaptation of Western harmonic usage in African Art choral music. The concern here is that composers should study more of the style of African traditional music, so that they can employ more of that in their compositions.

iv) There is need for the development of concert going audience for any tradition to thrive. It certainly needs the blessings and support of the audience. Needed also is a strong tradition of patronage for financial support of the artist. Without this backing the artist is likely to be less than fully capable of potential art works.

v) Development of centres of music performance:-
These may be in the form of conservatoires, symphony orchestras, choral societies, bands, etc. Along this line is also the need for development of schools of composition, either formal or non-formal.

vi) Establishment of recording industry:-
This is a necessary component of music development. To this end, a strong policy of the promotion of works, publication and sales distribution of art music works must be fostered to assist the artist with exposure.

CULTURAL ISSUES

In the development of modern African art music, using folk material, the artist is immediately confronted by certain problems. Some of them are genuine, while some seem to emanate from some misguided protectors of folk material. These problems are listed below.

i) There is sometimes strong resentment and resistance when one tries to use folk material for creative works. Commonly expressed opinions indicate that the folk material will be tampered with and removed out of its cultural context and therefore totally irrelevant to the African audience. Scholars also question the authenticity of transcriptions used for such creations. Another criticism levelled against the use of folk material is that African music was not usually performed on stage, and so using it to create concert music is irrelevant and in bad taste.

ii) It is necessary for the audience to willingly accept the creative African art music projects as part of their own culture expression.

iii) Access to concert halls. Because of financial considerations involved in staging performances, charges for concerts are levied and these tend to limit the pubic attendance at concerts. This is an economic social issue which reduces access to concert halls for a significant number of would be concert participants.

iv) In looking at African art music, it is important that each culture keeps its musical identity clearly in view. To destroy this in the course of searching for wider perspectives would be annihilating the foundations of one's musical culture.

v) We should also note that one is not only dealing with just techniques, aesthetics and the problems of musical grammar, but also with a complex problems emanating from music and social change. One is dealing with two hundred years of active culture contact involving periods of colonialism and also of transculturation; that is the transplanting of foreign institutions, languages and foreign culture across the globe. We are dealing with syncretic music that has become an aspect of life for sections of Third World populations that have undergone acculturation. What is needed is a deeper knowledge of traditional music so that African Art composers can create masterpieces that stand on their own. The use of traditional materials in their compositions would enable the composer to partially get out from Western bondage and assert cultural identity.

vi) The African music lover should always be aware that there are other languages of music. Therefore, if a piece of music in a foreign idiom does not appeal to him instantly, he might assume it is because the music is not good. But he does not consider the fact that he might have failed to understand the music, since he assumes music to be a 'universal language'.

vii) Music in traditional culture is very much integrated into its social context and usually there is audience participation. For instance the audience can take part in a performance through dancing. Because of this practice, the African listener always finds it difficult to sit quietly to listen to a musical style like African Art music which does not allow audience participation. Education is very much needed here.

PRACTICAL ISSUES

The following issues affect the development of African art music either directly or indirectly and are therefore worth highlighting.

i) Lack of comprehensive copyright laws or failure to implement them effectively in cases where such laws exist.

ii) Meagre resources for score preparation, publication, sales and distribution.

iii) Inadequate finances and patronage for artists and process for commissioning their works.

iv) Influence by prevailing political social demands which tend to prescribe typology and form of compositions.

v)   Inadequate avenues for performances, especially in cases where a firm tradition of performing groups is weak or non-existent.

vi)   There is also the need for education and training of the contemporary African art composer in order to encourage the creative search for sounds both one's cultural environment but cross-culturally. Consequently there is much to be said for training programmes that combine music theory and composition with ethnomusicology. Furthermore programmes are needed that view music theory cross-culturally and give the composer opportunities of exposure to a wide variety of techniques and procedures from different cultures.

CONCLUSION

There is great merit in developing contemporary African art music for the benefit of the consumers and audiences for education, for posterity and for the dissemination of information. Furthermore, the practicing composer needs to establish a philosophical framework within which sustainable contemporary African art music can best be created and practiced.

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SECTION SEVEN
TRADITIONAL GHANAIAN AND NIGERIAN MUSIC AND DANCE

THE SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DJARA DANCE AMONG THE DAGBAMBA OF NORTHERN GHANA

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ABSTRACT

One of the Art forms that promote social cohesion and other forms of activities in every society in Africa is Dance. Every part of African life is characterized with dance and dance serves as medium of expression of life. According to Albert Mawere Opoku (1964:54) "dance is not only used as a medium for expressing personal thoughts and feelings; it is a language, a mode of expression from the heart." He also said that "the dance uses movements of everyday activities to express special and real life experiences". This paper seeks to discuss the social significance of Djara dance as one of the most colourful dances of the Dagbamba people of Northern Ghana. The paper also examines the origins and significance of the dance within the Dagbamba society, its performance etiquette and role differentiation.

INTRODUCTION

In Dagbon (the traditional state of the Dagbamba people) dances serve as their repository of traditions and values. Dagbamba value their dances as they see them interweaving their lives, despite their religious and political differences. Hardly does a weekend pass by without one witnessing the rich dances of the people. In the year 2006 I had the rare opportunity of witnessing the performance of Djara dance in Tamale, the capital of Northern Region. As a performing artist, I was so fascinated by the uniqueness of the dance forms that I decided to do a study on the dance.Thereafter I made subsequent visits to the traditional area to study the dance forms, histories performance etiquettes, and planned to re-arrange them for stage performance for the Ghana Dance Ensemble repertoire.

The paper addresses how the Djara dance performance ropes the people together, for this dance has over the years had played a very crucial role in unifying the people of Dagbon. To the Dagbamba, the dance is the expression of real life experiences and is a valued artistic practice for the people in all their social and political lives. The dance refurbishes in the peoples' minds events of the past and thus provides a history for the younger generation.

ORIGIN OF THE DJARA DANCE

Stories gathered about the origin of the Djara dance relate that it is believed to have been brought from the bush by a hunter[131] .The dance originated in pre-historic times, thus specific dates to its origin could not be documented. The story gathered was that the hunter was on his usual hunting expedition when suddenly he spotted a group of creatures believed to be

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131 See Sullemana Tia 1969:14
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Kpukparisi (Dagbon name for dwarfs or fairies). These creatures were performing an activity that attracted the attention of the hunter. The story goes that the creatures were slapping their laps with their hands and dancing to a spontaneous rhythm. The hunter hid himself and carefully studied what the creatures were doing. Using his imagination, the hunter was able to deduce that the creatures were mourning a dead member. The story continues that the hunter was seen by the said creatures and was warned never to reveal their secrets to any living being. The hunter on his arrival at home concealed his experience and, infact, he was taken ill characterized by nightmares reflecting his experience. Family members consulted soothsayers and oracles to find out what the cause was. Eventually it was revealed to the family members that the hunter was possessed with the spirits of fairies and the way the hunter could gain back his health was to confess his deeds. It was upon this consultation with the oracles that the story of Djara dance was attained.

The Djara dance was first performed as a cult dance at night to avoid women and children seeing it. Hunters who fortified themselves with protective charms performed it. Any member of the community who wanted to be part of the dance group was taken through some initiations before he could become a member. Stories gathered from one of the informants, Zaglana Braimah Alidu a leading member of Tarikpa Djara group, relates that in the olden days dancers could perform magical powers by vomiting live animals s like s cats and goats, and at times babies could be heard crying in the dancers stomachs These superstitions proved the existence of spiritual realms of the dwarfs.With civilization setting up among the people, the dance is now performed as a social dance and can be performed by any ordinary person.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DJARA DANCE WITHIN THE DAGBON SOCIETY

Djara dance is one of the repertoires of Dagbon dances that are performed based on gender. Djara is a strictly male dance. The role of female in the dance is to either to ululate or wipe away the sweat of the dancers. In view of the artistic nature of the dance every young and old of Dagbon fancies either participating in the dancing or observing the aesthetic elements of the dance. The dance therefore serves as a platform for roping the youth together co-operatively. According to Sillin-boba-naa .[132] The dance helps the youth of Dagbon to see themselves as the one people.

Though a male dance, Djara performance still brings together both sexes and thus creates an enabling ground for courtship. Trivial issues that exist between the youth are settled when they come together to socialize themselves through the dance. The performance of the dance in Dagbon always serves as a forum for decision taking by the youth. The dance performance transform the youth from negative practices, as the accompanying song text educates the youth on social issues, and also on morality and so helps them to learn to forgive and to tolerate one another. Indeed, the significance of Djara dance for unifying Dagbon social and cultural practices cannot be over-emphasized

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[132] Sillin-boba-naa; an informant in Tarikpa: Tolon/Kumbungu District.

PERFORMANCE ETIQUETTES AND ROLE DIFFERENTIATION

Djara dance is performed in a circular formation and usually in a counterclockwise direction. It is a dance performed by a group of people numbering from two up to any number of persons the performance arena can contain. The arena of the performance floor is usually in the shape of theatre in the round with the drummers in the center. Around the drummers are the dancers while the audiences sit round the staging area. The dance begins at a very slow pace and gets warmer as the tempo builds up. The dancers usually come into the dancing arena in a mass procession led by a leader called *Daanaa.* Interestingly, this lead dancer dictates to the drummers what movement to take and all the dancers take the pace of the *Daanaa.*

Djara dance movements are strong and need stamina. It is guided by basic leg movements and characterized with movement variations. The dance has four main movement variations within which individual dancers explore their skills by dancing beyond the basic movements. Though the *Daanaa* leads in the dancing process, individual dancers who wish to exhibit their skills are allowed to do so and are always hailed by the drummers and ululations by enthusiastic women.

Sketch of a performance arena

drummers

A –

B – dancers

C – spectators
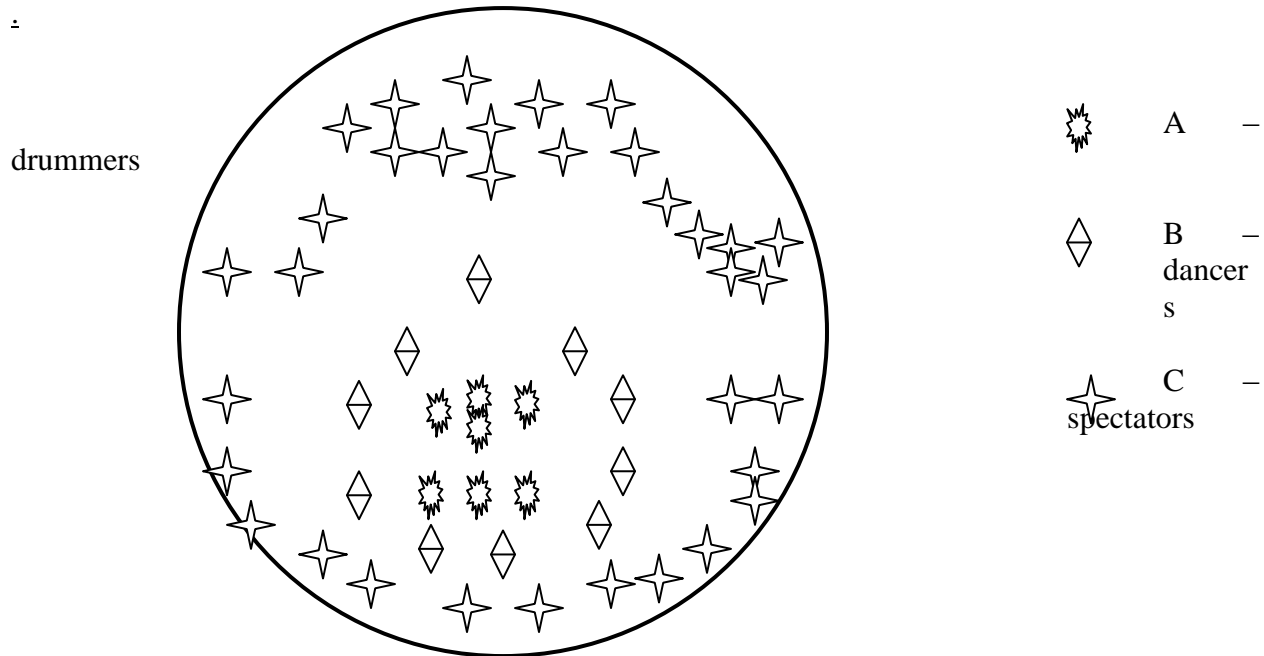
Djar-veilga is the first movement variation of the dance. The movement variation takes the dancers in a file to the dancing arena. This movement pattern has the preparatory steps of alternating simple stretching of the legs to the sides. Performer's upper torsos are tilted forward as they move along, and this takes them to the performance ground.

Gbal-febgu is the second movement variation, which elders of the dance believe was the movement of the dwarfs as observed by the hunter. It had been incorporated into the contemporary dance form. This movement is characterized with touching the right foot on the ground. Dancers tilt the body away from the active foot, with the upper torso bent in front. Dancers then touch the right foot on the side of the body with the support of the left foot. They move as if leaping on both feet in a very fast fashion.

*Djar-lua*is the third variation that is characterized with stamping the right foot infront of the body and falling backward.All dancers in the circle take a queue with the *Daanaa* as they do the stamping of the feet and falling.This stamping of feet and falling backward, according to elders, attests the strengths of the people in a community in terms of unity. It also demonstrates how prepared the people are in terms of collective decision taking.

Lagmihi or Kpukpuli Labbu is the fourth movement variation of the dance characterized by the flipping of a row of cowries worn round the waist of performers. Performing this variation, dancers exhibit their skills by allowing the row of the cowries to fall one after another without allowing the whole row falling at once. This movement variation is done at its best when the dancers are lined-up in a file facing the audiences and executing the movement. The dancers also sometimes artistically allow the cowries to drop in unison. This movement, according to tradition, is to demonstrate their level of uniqueness in doing things. Executing the movement, dancers lean their upper torsos backward while allowing the cowries to drop one after the other. The emphasis of the movement is on the upper torso characterized with series of subtle body and arm swings.

Aside these basic movement variations, there are also free style movements by dancers. However, dancers do these by still taking the basic movement steps of the dance. As soon as a dancer finishes displaying his skills he joins his colleagues with the basic movement steps.

RELATIONSHIP OF COSTUME, PROPS AND MUSIC

COSTUMES

The costume for Djara dance emphasises the values and traditions of the people. The costume used for the dance is the "Kurugu" or "Jinjami" or "Jenjame" (an over-size pantaloon) worn as trousers; "Zupilga" (a hat worn by dancers); "Chagla" (secondary rattles worn on the ankles); "Kparigu" (a dress worn on the upper torso); "Kpukpuli" (a woven material worn round the waist) and "Kana" and "Guruna" amulets or charms worn around the elbow. The value of the costume not only enhances the movement of the dance, but stresses the significance of the dance to the people. Also used during performance of the dance are jingles and tails of animals. The use of costumes and props enhances the movement and music of the dance. Normally, there are

two people who spearhead affairs when dancing is in progress. These two people wear similar *Zupliga* hats that are believed to possess magical powers. The rest of the performers wear any ordinary hats. The tail ends of the hats are either curved to the left side of the head or planted straight, pointing to the sky.

Jara dancers costumed in pantaloons (kurugu/jinjame)

MUSIC

Music for the Djara dance is significant to the people as it promotes unity. Praise poetry is often the basis of the song text. Djara music has a spontaneous rhythmic pattern. The rhythmic pattern of the music falls on beat with the sound of the castanets and jingles[133]. The various songs in the Djara are rendered in a call and response manner. The *Daana* starts the song and either sings it through or the chorus chips in with the response.

The music for Djara is always varied, from praises to corrections of negative acts amongst other things. The dance is always started with the lead dancer showering praises on some chiefs and opinion leaders of the community. Money is always given to the praise singers as a sign of appreciation when they sing praises to a particular royal family.

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133 Agordoh 2002:70.

Praise singer showering praises before the start of the dance

Songs heard during fieldwork and those collected so far suggest that the subject matter of songs sang during performances covers a wide range of issues, such as politics, religion, marriage and comments on anti-social vices.

Song 1

CALL	RESPONSE
Ti wamyee, baa yeenlel baa	
Tiwamyee, baa yeenlel baa	
Dakolikoroupuumiri baa	nlel baa
U ka bia, umikapaganlel baa	
Ukornyurbaglo mi	nlel baa
Ukorshrubaglo mi	nlel baa

The song is a teaser to all young men who do not want to take responsibilities in their lives. The song warns them of the challenges they will face if they remain irresponsible. Literally the song says that a bachelor's farm is by a valley. He has neither wife nor children. He has no partner to converse with. His drinking water is [fetched] by him and his bathing water also.

Song 2

CALL		RESPONSE
Baa langbamu baa	-	bee baa lanagbamu baa
Baa langbamu baa	-	bee baa lanagbamu baa
Jirimalanbia, baa langbamu baa	-	bee baa lanagbamu baa
Sapashiniyee, baa langbamu baa	-	bee baa lanagbamu baa

153

Baa lanzugu, ka baa diriumanga   -   bee baa lanagbamu baa
Bee baa lanagbamu baa   -   bee baa lanagbamu baa

[Only] a dog owner allows their dog to misbehave in public. The song therefore warns all parents to train their children very well to be of good behaviour in society.

Song 3

CALL   RESPONSE
Bugli yee, bugli bo la bo   bugli yee, yaa
Nan zang noo mal bogli   nan zang noo mal bugli

Sacrificing the gods with fowl certainly will solve the pressing needs of the gods. This song cautions us that doing what is right in society will always bring about sanity.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The instruments for Djara are the basic Dagbamba ones that include the lunga[134], (hourglass or donno), gungong (popularly known as berekete or brekete), kalambo (flute), dawule (double or banana bell) and siyaglim (hand shaken rattles). In the performance of Djara dance the *gungona*[135] is played with the support of one or two lunsi (donno).

Specimen of instruments
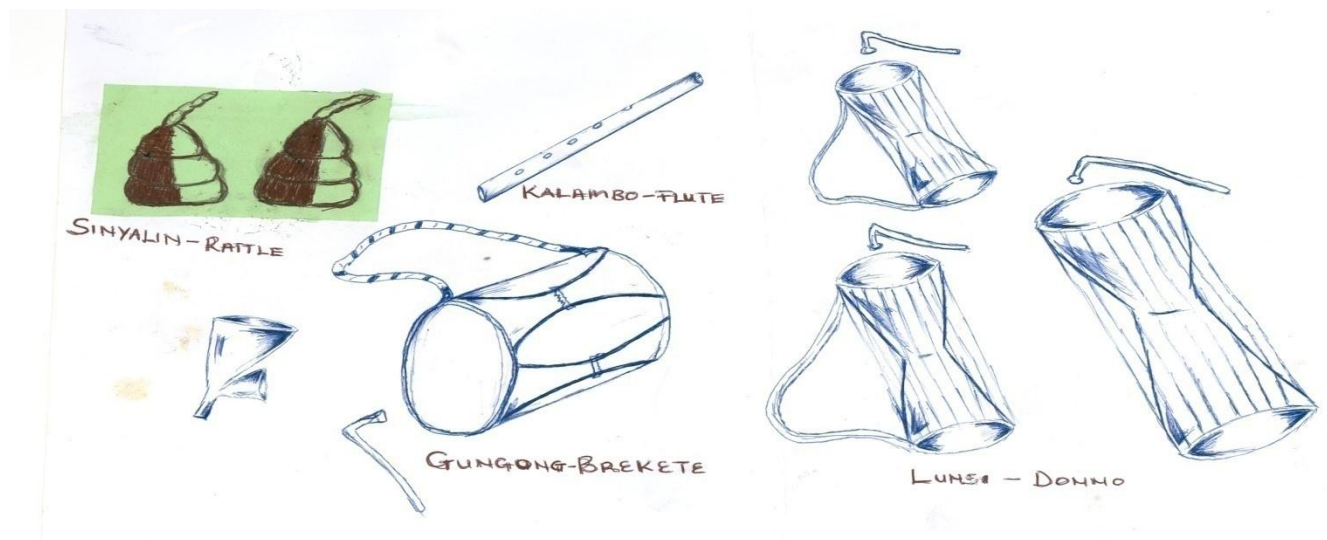
The lunga or donno (hourglass) drums are played with a single curved stick that has a flat end. The armpit-controls technique is used in playing them. Tone is achieved by squeezing which gives a high pitch tone, while releasing the tension on the ropes under the armpit produces a low pitch sound. The gungong or berekete is a cylindrical instrument with double headed ends. Usually, a minimum of three gungona are played together with one serving as a lead instrument.

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134 "Lunsi" for plural.

135 Gungong; is a single of the gungona.

Kalambo (flute) is a cylindrical aerophone. Its tones and pitches are produced by blowing air into it whiles releasing the air through some perforations. The *Siyaglim* (gourd rattle container), are two pyramid containers shaken with both hands. The dawule (double bell or banana bell) is an instrument played by one or two person(s) to keep the time-line. All the instrumentalists closely follows the lead dancer (Daanaa).

Djara dancers costumed with hats (zuplsi) and Guruma/kani. These are talismans worn on the body of the dancer. Picture above indicates Djara dancer wearing Guruma / kani

CONCLUSION

The dances traditions and cultures of Dagbon are part of Ghana's rich cultural heritage. These need to documented and interpreted. Therefore, the beauty and artistic nature of the Djara dance is worth being preserved and practiced in order to promote the rich heritage of the Dagbamba. What this study attempts to do is also to bring to the public domain the role of Djara dance in the unification and stabilization of Dagbon state. Moreover, It is my aim to add Djara dance to the repertoire of the Ghana Dance Ensemble. I hope that the study will serve as an eye opener to other researchers to undertake further research into other equally important dances and cultures, to help preserve the rich cultural heritage of the country.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

Djara – A social dance of Dagbamba.
Dagbamba – The people of Dagomba – an ethnic group in Northern Ghana.
Dagbon – The traditional area of Dagomba.
Kpakparisi – Dagbamba name for dwarfs.
Tarikpa – A name of a community in Dagbon.
Daanaa – The lead dancer of Djara.
Djar-veilga – A movement variation of the Djara dance.
Gbal-febgu - A movement variation of the Djara dance.
Djar-lua - A movement variation of the Djara dance.
Lagmihi/ kpakpulilabbu - Movement variation.
Kurugu or Jinjami – Pantaloon for dancers.
Zupilga – Hat.
Chagla – Rattles.
Kparigu – A dress.
Kpukpuli – A woven material worn round the waist.
Kana/ Guruma – Charms or amulets.
Gungong–A name given to two or more double-edged hollow drum. Popularly known as Berekete.
Lunsi – Hourglass drums.
Dawule – Double bell or banana bell.
Siyaglim – Hand shaking rattles
Kalambo – Flute
Zupilsi – Hats.

THE LUNSI INSTITUTION OF DAGBON: SUSTAINABILITY IN THE BALANCE

by
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ABSTRACT

This paper examines from a synchronic and diachronic perspective the institution of the lunsi drummers of Dagbon, the traditional polity (kingdom) of the Dagbamba people of northern Ghana. Topics include the origin of lunsi (singular, lunga) and the roles the lunsi play in relation to the institution of chieftaincy and the community at large. The paper addresses the condition of lunsi in pre-modern times and the strain placed on the institution by the forces of colonialism, the nation state, modernity, globalization, and Islamic fundamentalism. This is an ethnographic study based on the author's lifelong experience as a lunga and his formal interviews with other lunsi. The paper suggests that the inherited tradition of the lunsi institution is at risk and asks whether it will be sustained by future generations.

THE DAGBAMBA IN DAGBON

The Dagbamba (singular, Dagbana) who are of Zamfara origin are presently the largest ethnic group in Northern Ghana comprising1.2 million. Dagbon is a powerful kingdom that has existed for over 700 years. Chieftaincy in Dagbon is hierarchical: the top position is held by the *Yaa Naa*, (literally means "African King of Power.") an overlord of the traditional capital of Yendi and under whom are the major chiefs and sub-chiefs. Competition for chieftaincy positions is intense, typically pitting siblings against each other. Rules of eligibility and succession are known to elders, but have flexibility that allows individuals to use politics and force to get power. The history of the kingdom largely is about competition among rivals for chiefly titles and wars to acquire land or defend the territory of Dagbon against invaders, especially the Gonja people to the west and south. The chieftaincy institution of Dagbon, which seemed to be a blessing centuries back, now is now proving to be a bane as conflict between rival descent groups for chieftaincy positions has become violent.

INTRODUCTION TO THE LUNSI INSTITUTION

Lunsi are court historians, musicians, geographers, consultants, advisers, judges, and chroniclers of the past and recorders of the present. They are also teachers, researchers and carvers. In short, lunsi are traditional historians who keep the past of Dagbon to memory. Their epic narratives tell those alive who the heroes were in the past. Lunsi understand themselves to be part of the heritage of their society. Their historical knowledge unites the people and lets the chiefs know who they are.

We drummers are fond of saying that lunsi "hold the keys to the gates of Dagbon". Lunsi are highly respected, especially by members of the royal families. Every Dagbana, including the Yaa Naa, may use the respectful term of address "*n-yeba*" (my grandfather) when talking to a

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drummer. Every chief has a retinue of titled drummers in his court whose leader is called "*lunga-naa*," literally, "drum chief." (plural, "*lung'-naanima*," that is, "hierarchy of drum chiefs"). Just as the chief holding the title of Yaa Naa is supreme, the lunga with the title of *Namo Naa* is the overall chief drummer of Dagbon.

A well-developed pedagogy passes along the vast body of information they conserve from old to young. Because of the nature of the lunsi institution, drummers are trained to be humble, respectful, obedient, polite and honest. These qualities are what I call "the ingredients of socialization." In fact, a lunga is supposed to be more gregarious than any other person in Dagbon due to the intensely interpersonal nature of their work

DRUMS, VOCALS, ENSEMBLE, REPERTOIRE
The "talking drum" of the lunsi is called "*lung*" (plural "*lunsi*") and is made from the trunk of a cedar tree from which a wooden "shell" (*lungkobli*) is carved into a hollowed-out hourglass shape. Over each end is fixed a goatskin drumhead (*lungkugra*), the two heads being connected by antelope-skin ropes (*lungdihi*). In ensembles, one or two men play the lead part while a larger group plays response or supporting parts. Especially when provided music for dance, a second type of drum called "*gung-gong*" is used. This is cylindrical-shaped drum has two goatskin heads and also is beaten with a curved stick. The gung-gong has a loud bass sound that blends nicely with the more treble range of the lung drums. Because the lunsi perform in so many different contexts, their institution features a very large repertory of genres and pieces. Important musical factors that differentiate pieces include dance time versus speech time, and music for solo dance versus music for group dances. The English word "appellation," which has come into common usage among bi-lingual lunsi, refers to praise name poetry that is sung and drummed.

THE PROBLEM
This paper suggests that the lunsi system is at risk. This paper therefore looks at why are the lunsi less significant in contemporary Dagbamba society? Why are rates of recruitment and training of lunsi declining? What will be the impact of the deterioration of the "culture of care' on the lunsi in the Dagbamba society, such as the reduction in care of the young by the older generations?

Changes in the culture and society of Dagbon, both natural and human induced, place the institution of drumming at risk. Modern trends in the lifestyle of today's young people such as watching television and going to video centers, cinema halls, and discos are having negative impact upon the recruitment and training of lunsi, as they distract recruits from their training. Members of the community prefer modern forms of entertainment to watching lunsi performances. Also changing is the way the society sees them and what is expected from them. Some people consider drummers to be beggars because during performances drummers receive a token to express people's gratitude for a job well done. Drummers, on the other hand, believe that no individual can pay enough for their service. In addition, the current loss of status of chieftaincy and the lack of proper care for lunsi by chiefs has made some youth shy away from this musical institution. Population increase, which has led to the scarcity of land for farming, has also prompted the migration of young drummers to the south in search of better opportunities.

RECRUITMENT OF LUNSI

Here I pose the question, who may be a lunga? The answer is anybody who is born into the drum family, whether male or female. The male is called "lunga;" the female is called "lunga-paga." Every male child of a lunga is a recruit for the next generation if they are the sons of a father who is lunsi drummer. On the other hand, offspring of the union a female drummer with a male non-drummer become lunsi through divination.

In Dagbon tradition, female lunsi do not play the drums nor do they go on the battlefield. The close association between performance of lunga music and service to chiefs during war provides partial explanation for why the female is not permitted by custom and tradition of Dagbon to beat drums. Nevertheless and according to the tradition of Dagbon, lunsi are symbolically associated with the female gender and for this reason, lunsi are not killed in battle. The Dagbon philosophers of old were of the belief that if you kill a woman you kill a town or nation. In a similar way if one Lunga is killed it is like a whole generation of Lunsi are killed.

A male child of a female lunga and a non drummer is trained to fulfill the mother's duty to the lunga institution by one male child being given to the woman's father's family to be trained as a lunga. If the female lunga bears no male children, a female child is taken to live in the father's household so that eventually she can be given in marriage to a lunga in hope that they will produce a male child who will, by necessity, become lunsi. This brings us to the question of *zuguliem*, which in English means "fostering" and/or "adoption." I will discuss this is some detail, since it has important bearing on the sustainability of the lunsi institution.

FOSTERING OR ADOPTION

Throughout Africa in general and West Africa in particular, it is a common and socially accepted practice for parents to send their children to live with relatives in other households. Several economic motives have been suggested for these arrangements including the demand for child labor, investment in human capital, provision of child care and income insurance (see Ainsworth 1985). Although scholars have termed these arrangements "fostering", there some difficulties in applying this concept to the African situation. Fostering is usually applied to situations in which children are reared by people other than their own parents. Furthermore, only certain of the rights and duties of parentage are delegated to foster parents, while the real parents or their representatives (e.g. the government) retain the rest. On the other hand with adoption, the adopting parents take on the full parental role (Goody 1970).

Fostering has several culturally specific overtones that must be shed before it can be appropriately applied to the West African situation. In the first place, this term in the West seems to imply that it is normal in either the ethical or statistical sense for children to be brought up by their "real" parent, and so fostering" as a child being reared by someone else is a deviation from this normal pattern. But the assumption that parents have exclusive claims to "their" children may be incorrect in many non-Western societies. When kinship bonds are figured beyond the so-called "nuclear family" children are thought of as belonging to the descent group or kindred in general, rather than to the parents alone. Either the extended family as a whole, as in the traditional Yoruba compound (Marris 1961:56), or particular members of it as among the Gonja (Goody 1970: 53-58) have rights to participate in rearing children within their group.

Often, the institutionalized pattern is for a daughter to go to a father's sister (aunt) and a son to the mother's brother (uncle).

Fostering in West Africa always means a change of residence. A fostered daughter sleeps in the room of the foster parent, sons join the other boys of the foster parent's household. As he or she matures the child participates increasingly in the domestic and subsistence economy of the foster home. If the foster child is still living in the same village as his parents, he will see them regularly and may spend some of his leisure with the playgroup of his early childhood. However, when fostering entails moving to a new village the break with the biological birth family is more radical and the intervening distance disperses the sibling group.

Furthermore there are two main types of fostering: voluntary fostering and crisis fostering. Voluntary fostering is the situation in which foster parents ask the birth parents for a particular child at birth. Then, when he or she is old enough to "have sense," the foster parents comes and collect the child from the parents. In crisis fostering, the foster child's parent's marriage has been broken, for example, by death or divorce and fostering provides an emergency safety net that cares for children.

Fostering and adoption are both widely practiced in Dagbon as described by Christine Oppong (1965) who refers to the "fostering" institution as one which parents temporarily hand over the responsibility for rearing their child to a relative. The child goes to live with the foster parent to serve and be trained by him or her. In this case there is no binding sanctions compelling him to go or stay with the foster parent and his relations with his true parents are in no way severed. On the other hand, "adoption" (zuguliem) refers to a practice that is common among drummers whereby a child chosen by divination is ceremonially and ritually transferred from birth parents to adopted parents who are maternal relatives. As Oppong stressed, Zuguliem is the compulsory seizure of a child that cannot be refused by the parents as it is sanctioned by illness, insanity or death. The adopting parents retain some claims on the child throughout his life, for instance he or she may continue to live with them till marriage or even after. Furthermore, inheritance rights from the father's side are not affected.

This practice is found in the case of lunsi and typically zuguliem is a situation where a male drummer takes his sister's son or his daughter's son as a recruit within the lunsi institution. Since only males actually beat the drum, a son is sought. But as mentioned earlier, if the female relative only has daughters, she will later be given in marriage on condition that at least one of her sons will become a drummer. A final point is that a ceremony marks the transfer of the child between households. The head of the family or clan (*dogiri kpema*) that the child is joining performs libation to the ancestors together with sacrifice of a fowl (*bagyule*), and if the adopted child is a male he is presented with a small drum (*lun'bila*). This ritual asks the ancestors to guide and protect the young recruit in his quest to acquire the requisite knowledge to become a competent drummer.

TRAINING
Every male lunga receives years of formal training until he grows up and is old enough to decide whether or not to practice the profession. The father, the guardian or other knowledgeable person from the household or family agrees to be responsible for the training of the would-be lunga.

Early childhood training is informal and children from drumming families who are as young as two or three years old take a broken calabash on which they play anything that comes to mind. More formal training begins for boys of six years who receive a small lung so that they can follow the older ones to performances where they learn the supporting aspect of drumming.

Training is continuous and different performance occasions require their own drumming repertory concerning festivals, social occasions, funerals etc. Thorough training of a Dagbamba lung drummer also takes ten, fifteen of even twenty years because of the extensive drum poetry and praise singing needed to cater for the many chieftaincies within the kingdom of Dagbon, such as Zabzugu, Gushiegu, Karaga, Mion, Savelugu, Kumbungu, Tolon, Tampion, Sang, Nanton, Nakpa-Kworli, and Sunson. Every royal "gate" has its appellations, that is, its praises in sung and drummed poetry.

Teachers receive no cash payment and there is no fixed charge. Instead, the system depends on in-kind reciprocity. Many students work on their teacher's farm. If a young learner receives money from performances he is expected to submit it to the trainer whether or not he actually took part in the event. The system works because of the reverence for and the strong bond between trainees and trainers. Hence, even long after one has completed training, the learner receives praise if he visits the trainer after a performance. He also reports his earnings and invites the elder to take whatever he wishes. If the mentor decides to take all the money, the trainee has "no mouth to talk," as we Dagbamba say. If the younger man's teacher is not his father, the trainer may share money with the student's father or, after taking his share may advise the trainee to give money to the father for blessing.

BIZUN: THE FIRST LUNGA

One of Naa Nyagse's sons, *Bizun*, is singled out for special treatment because it is from him that all lunsi trace their beginnings. Legend and oral tradition of Dagbon has it that Bizun, son of Naa Nyagse - and therefore a prince was the first lunga. During those days, whenever the king's wives were making food for the household each woman would reserve some of the communal food for her child. But Bizun's mother had died when he was very young and so he was often hungrier than his half-siblings and so Bizun was fond of drumming on a broken calabash to remind his stepmothers of his presence. He did errands in the palace and it was during such a service Bizun was instructed to recite the drum poetry of Dakoli Nye Bii Ba Nam Lana in a mystical manner. Just as the Holy Prophet Mohammed was instructed to recite the opening verse of the Quran by God, so Bizun received a vision. Lunsi history has it that Bizun was sent on a long errand that required him to walk a great distance until late in the night when it became so dark that he could neither see far ahead nor back. There was a thunderstorm. Hungry and exhausted, he began talking to himself. All of a sudden he heard a voice that commanded him, "Stop complaining. At the end of every struggle and suffering is enjoyment. You, together with your children, will be honored. You will have enjoyment in the kingdom." Though he did not see the person commanding him, the voice from above showed Bizun how to sing the famous text. From that day on, Bizun continued receiving text after text of poetry through visions.

According to my research, twenty-six men have been chief drummers of the lunsi of Dagbon as follows and they descend from Bizun[137]

1. *Bizun*
2. *Lunga Zhegu*
3. *Lunga Nmendi sagim(gando)*
4. *Lunga Nmen nwubbi yorna (kooshe)*
5. *Lunga Nmeri muni kun yelli sheli*
6. *Ti zaa pan nme*
7. *Zung Lana*
8. *Kpaachin yen zolgu*
9. *Nyemo Dapelgu*
10. *Dazuya wubsi Nyegra*
11. *Banchira*
12. *Zuu Leli*
13. *Namo Naa Ashegu*

14. *Namo Naa Sugri Kpemah*
15. *NamoNaa Maamani*
16. *Namo Naa Sugri Bella*
17. *Namo Naa Bukari*
18. *Namo Naa Belema (Dokurugu 1)*
19. *Namo Naa Mahama Kpemah*
20. *Namo Naa Sheini*
21. *Namo Naa Yemmusa*
22. *Namo Naa Mahama Bella*
23. *Namo Naa Dokurugu 2*
24. *Namo Naa Issahaku*
25. *Namo Naa Ayuba*
26. *Namo Naa Yakubu*

When a student has been trained in the history of Bizun and his descendants, his teacher takes him through the trainee's own ancestors. In my case I born as a lunga and can trace my lineage to Bizun through one of his children, Banchira. Every lunga in Dagbon can trace his family line back to Bizun. When finished with his own family, the student is then introduced to the epic narrative of Nam, concerning the kings and chiefs of the kingdom of Dagbon. First and foremost is the Yendi skin, beginning with Naa Zangina, for his chieftaincy is the root from which every chief in Dagbon traces his lineage. Whether a trainee comes from Yendi or not, he is duty bound to learn of the chiefs who sat on the Yendi skin because it is the only one used for the historical narratives. This is true even in *Nanun* (literally, "where the Nanumba sit"), that is, the kingdom of the Nanumba, a neighboring ethnic group that is very closely related to the Dagbamba people. Because the student is still only in the beginning stage at this point, he is normally only taught the names of the kings and his wives and children. The rich and detailed historical narrative is reserved for a later time. If the learner shows strong potential to become a highly respected, versatile lead lunga, he then learns the lineages of other "skins," too.

Immediately after the death of Bizun the lunsi did not function in the kingdom as we do today. They were "not popular," as we say, until the reign of Naa Luro when he defeated the Kalagsi. The Dagbamba writer H. I. Abdulai (1988) termed that era "*luntali pilgu*," that is the beginning or origin of lunsi. Another writer, Tia Sulemana (1973) termed the same period as "*lunsi palo yibu*," or the time when the lunsi came out from their hideout.

ROLES AND DUTIES OF LUNSI: INTRODUCTION
We lunsi classify our duties into two sets of activities: *Kali Lung* and *Daa Lung*. Kali Lung refers to drumming for chiefs that occurs on predictable, well-planned occasions at such places as palaces. Daa Lung, which literally translates into English as "market drum," occurs with less

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137 Some are his sons, namely: Lunga Zhegu, Lunga Nmendi Gando (Sagim), Nmeri Muni Kun Yelshel, Ti Zaa Pan Nme, Kpachin Yen Zolgu, Nyemo Dapelgu, Dazuya Lan Wugsi Nyegra, Banchira.

advance notice in a variety of venues. For an acclaimed drummer like my father, *Zablong Zakariah Abdallah*, who was known for his erudite knowledge of history and culture, the duties of Daa Lung go well beyond the limit of drumming in the market place. For him, Daa Lung refers to all the drumming activities associated with the life cycle events of the Dagbamba people from birth to death. Daa Lung denotes all types of performances by lunsi that occur outside the palaces. These are performed anytime, anywhere and at any moment for any Dagbana who is not a chief. The main difference between Kali Lung and Daa Lung is repertory. Kali Lung involves praises, genealogies and historical narratives while Daa Lung employs only praises and genealogies.

Although the varied roles of drummers may be identified as geographers, consultant-advisers, judges, researchers, teachers, educators, musicians and carvers, I would say the most important role is historian. The Dagbamba have preserved in their drum histories a rich narrative that is interwoven with myth and records the origins migrations, battles and genealogies of their royal rulers. The information transmitted unites the people and provides indispensable services for the chief on all politically significant occasions in the state of Dagbon. Before giving several examples of the lunsi's historical narratives, I will briefly mention other identity roles of the lunsi.

Geographer: Lunsi know the geographical boundaries of Dagbon that is bordered to the north by the Mamprusi, the south by the Nanumba and to the west by the Gonjas, whilst the Republic of Togo is at Dagbon's eastern border. The Lunsi also know local communities within the kingdom and the villages and towns that are included under the supervision of each chief.

Consultant-Advisor: Chiefs seek advice from lunsi because they know the history and genealogy of every Dagbana.. Because the lunsi drummers are well regarded for their good sense and wisdom they are empowered to advise any royal who behaves in an "awkward" manner and also tell them of the proper behavior towards members of the lunsi institution, including showing appreciation for services rendered .

Judge: If there is a misunderstanding or conflict over land or a skin, we provide historical details that are used to help pass judgments. For example, when Yaa Naa Abdulai Bella was threatened with deskinning by the national government, my biological father, Zablong Zakariah Danaa, in consultation with the then Namo Naa Issahaku, was called upon to unearth the truth by recounting the entire history of Nam.

Teacher: Drummers play the role of "educator" when they teach royals their roles and responsibilities in the community.

Musician: Lunsi are musicians who play for solo and group dances. The music of the lunsi entertains and also motivates workers in the construction of roads, footpaths and other community infrastructure. Likewise, when a woman plans to plaster her room or compound she may invite the lunsi to help the worker's spirits. Customarily drummers play the war dance *Zhem* until the work is complete,

whereupon they change to *Zolgu*, which praises Naa Zolgu.

Carver: Lunsi carve the hourglass-shaped wooden drums. However, drum carving cannot bring a livable income because it is only the lunsi who place orders and, furthermore, a wooden shell can last for many decades with proper care.

KALI LUNG: RELATIONS OF LUNSI WITH THE YAA NAA AND CHIEFS OF DAGBON: GENERAL FEATURES

If there were no lunsi the chieftaincy institution might not exist in Dagbon. Many features of the institutionalized relationship between lunsi and the paramount chiefs can be traced to Bizun, the first lunga. As mentioned, Bizun was the biological son of Nyagse, who was Yaa Naa at that time. Because Bizun was a prince, all individuals who trace descent from him are of royal blood and, therefore, relations between lunsi and the Yaa Naa and other chiefs follow the pattern of interactions among those who share royal status. Persons who are not of royal blood accord drummers the respect due to members of the royal lineages. Each chief has drumming elders in his inner circle of advisors. It is expected that the Yaa Naa should consult the lunsi elders on matters of significance. For instance the lunsi play a vital role in the judicial system of the Gbewaa Palace in Yendi and all other palaces across Dagbon. Relations of cooperation and co-existence between the paramount chief and his drummer elders form the ideal model that is replicated in all other chieftaincies in Dagbon.

DAA LUNG: LUNSI ROLES IN THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE

Daa Lung refers to the whole range of services that drummers provide to the community outside the palace. Let me describe in ideal terms a typical Daa Lung performance. Whenever a family plans an obligatory life-cycle event, its household head invites the lunsi by sending a messenger bearing kola and money. The ritual gift is normally sent to the chief drummer who in turn calls his own drumming elders to inform them about the program being planned. On the performance day at the house where the function is to take place, the lunsi exchange greetings with members of the household and then begin by drumming and singing the praises and genealogies of the landlord, followed by those of other members of the household, including all married women. They then go on to the invited guests, playing first for the men because at this particular moment the women will be busy cooking for the numerous visitors to the festive occasion. After the women finish cooking the lunsi will turn to them, performing their praises and genealogies one by one. Next is the general performance of solo dancing in which the lunsi are mindful of seniority. Whether they are performing the praises and genealogies or drumming for solo dance, the leaders of the drum ensemble always begin with the most senior in any family. If a junior person is mistakenly invited out to dance, he must immediately point out to the drummers his senior in that particular family who should precede him. If the mistake is not corrected before the drummers gets to the more senior person, he likely will drive them away. The drummers are expected to accept their fault and quickly apologize.

During performances, money is either given to the performer in his or her hands or placed on his or her forehead. Some of the money falls on the ground. Young drummers are selected to pick the money from the ground, or to gather it from the hands of dancers and bring it to an old drummer. This man not only collects the drummers' proceeds but also changes large

denomination monies into the coins and small bills that members of the audience shower on dancers. After every performance the money is taken to the Lung' Naa's house to be counted and given to him for safekeeping. If it is a Monday and Friday performance, a naming or outdooring, or a wedding, the proceeds are shared the same day of the performance. However, if it is a funeral or festival, the proceeds would be kept until the program is completed.

Naming Ceremonies
With regard to drumming, the procedure just described is used in naming ceremonies. In recent times, typical Dagbamba traditions are mixed with Islamic elements,   so that at child naming ceremony Islamic names like Mohammed, Abdul-Aziz, Hafiz, and Hamza are now more popular than our ancestral Dagbamba names.

Funerals
There are four types of funerals in Dagbon, according to the age and royal status of the deceased:

Bii Kuli: The funeral of a child from birth to 17 years

Ninsaringa: The funeral of matured person from 17 years to 45 years

Ninkurugu: The funeral of an elderly person who does not occupy any
                skin, i.e., is not a chief

Naa: The Yaa Naa or other chief

There are marked differences among these categories. With regard to the first two types, no lunsi performance takes place. For a child, specially treated corn dough (*maasa*) is used to feed the funeral guests, while for a mature person roasted cow skin or a sheep is appropriate. For elders and chiefs, on the other hand, sheep and cows are slaughtered so that meat can be served. I will provide details on this type of funeral.

When death happens, the chief drummer is informed who, as usual, passes the message to his lunsi. The drummers soon gather at the chief drummer's house to move together to the funeral grounds where they sit in the outer compound facing the house in which the dead body lies. Immediately, the chief drummer unties his lung and begins appellating for the dead person. While doing this, he also uses the lung to ask the corpse what is wrong, what has happened to cause him or her to be lying motionless. All the while the other drummers untie their drums in readiness to support him when he changes his beating to call them into action. Thus begins the funeral dance (*Ku-Lung*, literally, "death-drum"), which continues in call-and-response format for some time. The lunsi now sit down to await the burial while the gravediggers are digging. After the corpse is brought out and the funeral prayer said over it, the lunsi again play until he or she is put into the grave. They repeat the drumming they played when he or she was still lying in the room. On the third day after death, the lunsi return to the funeral house, positioning themselves as usual. One lead praise singer and one lead drummer do the job: one singing, the other playing the drum. On the seventh day the same thing is repeated. The final funeral rites are held one or two years later. Normally, preparation for an elder's final funeral rites may take up to one year; funerals of chiefs may wait for up to two years.

When the final funeral time is due, the drummers are given advance notice. On the stipulated time and day they go to the house in question to repeat the first part of what they did during his or her death. This type of funerals is divided into two main parts, separated by a week: *Ku Bihi Pennibu*, the day set aside for the head shaving of the deceased family, especially the siblings; and *Benni Wuhubu*, the day for presentation of donations and general solo dancing. On both occasions the lunsi perform throughout. The women in the deceased family invite the lunsi to play the *Tora* dance for them every night till the seventh night. The seventh day is for the Benni Wuhubu. The night of that day is for solo dancing to popular appellation dances such as *Nagbeigu* (literally, "ugly cow"). Funerals of highly ranked and well-beloved persons may also feature group dances such as *Baamaaya*, *Dikala*, *Jera* or *Takai*. The grandness of a funeral, as marked by the opulence of the drumming and dance, depends on the status and rank of the deceased as well as the social and political standing of his or her siblings and offspring.

Market Days
As is typical in Africa, markets in Dagbon occur in various towns according to a weekly schedule. In addition to being commercial venues for buying and selling, markets are occasions for meeting people, being seen and general socialization. Markets are an institution that contributes to the cohesion of society and in this lunsi play a key role. Lunsi soloists or groups go to the market to drum and sing the praises of individuals. Unlike other types of Daa Lung, the decision of whether or not to "work the market" is optional for the lunsi. Market drumming is mainly for young and less experienced drummers to practice the lunsi work by playing *Dakoli N Nye Bii Ba Nam Lana,* or whatever family praises they may know. Young drummers develop their social skills and showmanship through market drumming. Women traders, especially those who sell ingredients for soup and stew, comprise the most important clients for the young drummers. Lunsi must be well versed in genealogy, so it is important for them to have friendly relationships with women, since they tend to know most about husbands, wives and children. At the end of a market day the young drummers will have earned some money from the individuals they have praised, plus some foodstuffs for their mothers.

THE SUSTAINABILITY OF THE LUNSI INSTITUTION
The lunsi institution is under stress. The aged lunsi are dying and some among the new generation of lunsi are not ready to learn from them. It may come to a time when the whole lunsi establishment could even be wiped out entirely. This paper makes a contribution to the sustainability of the institution because the problem cannot be diagnosed and treated without knowing what Dagbon was like when it was flourishing. Let me now discuss the problems and suggest some solutions.

The advent of European civilization, education, money and other forms of modernity have had adverse effects on the lunsi institution. Formerly, there was no entertainment such as cinema halls, video centers and nightclubs. Information technologies such as mobile phones, computers and internet cafes did not exist either. The advancement in modern technology has caused problems. Prior to the introduction of audio media, lunsi were heard only during live performances and their historical recitations happened only at the palaces and courts of chiefs and kings. But today with the assistance of tape-recorders, their drums and voices are recorded

and played anytime, anywhere. Some vendors even sell tapes to make money while the poor drummer is at home struggling to make ends meet.

In past times, young people had much less personal freedom and there was no formal education. Parents, therefore, could make their children stay at home in the night to learn the drum poetry and oral traditions. Today it is not so. Most of those who have had formal Western-type education almost always look down on traditional practices. Many younger lunsi feel shy to touch the drums, let alone learn play them. Our literate youth prefer to seek fun in town instead of sitting at home to be taught the oral traditions. Furthermore, children who have been able to learn some Quranic verses do not associate themselves with drumming because of their religious beliefs. Other professions are much more available to lunsi who decide not to play the drum. Even those who engage in training as lunsi do not want to follow some of the cultural practices of yesteryear, such as farming for your teacher or giving all the one makes from performance to the trainer after every performance. Older men are therefore often reluctant to teach the youth because they no longer have benefits accruing from their efforts.

During the olden days the chief had obligations toward the lunsi, as if he was caring for his own family. But of late the lunsi must feed, clothe, and provide shelter for themselves. The population was not as dense in the time of our ancestors and so the increase in the population of lunsi may also be a factor as to why chiefs can no longer provide a "safety net." Population increase and the resulting un-availability of farmland also explains why lunsi drummers cannot farm.

During Yaa Naa Abdulai Bella's reign in the 1950s and 1960s there was competition to win the king's favor among lunsi and *gonje* players at court in the Gbewaa palace. For a period of time this dispute threatened to affect the lunsi institution, but our chief drummers detected it and quickly put things back to normal. At this juncture, I would like to ask three questions. The first question is who is a gonje? Secondly, what is their origin or genesis? And thirdly, what is their role and significance in relation to the chieftaincy institution in Dagbon? First, gonje are players of the one-stringed fiddle. Secondly, it was *Naa Saa Lan Ziblim* who brought them to Dagbon from a place called *Faraguruma* in what is now Burkina Faso. This means that every gonje in Dagbon today must be able to trace his or her descent to the people of Faraguruma. Thus, the gonje belong to the *Guruma* ethnic group and so their tradition is a borrowed musical type in Dagbon. Thirdly, the formal role of gonje players in the affairs of chiefs is to provide "Monday and Friday" music, as was discussed above. My point is that the lunsi are much more intertwined within Dagbamba culture than are the gonje. Their history is deeper, their ethnicity is fully Dagomba and their roles for the Dagbon state and in the lives of every Dagbana are more essential. The two categories of musician are therefore not really equivalent, even though both share certain characteristics.

Currently, attitudes of Dagbamba people towards drummers and the lunsi institution are mixed. Many royals and a few others outside the royal families respect the lunsi. In English, we may say, "The royals do not play with the lunsi." However, Dagbamba who are ignorant of the positive contribution the lunsi make to traditional society tend not to value their role. In extreme cases the very mention of lunsi invokes a notion of lazy, begging intruders. Such people often make remarks such as, "Ka lunga Mei!" literally meaning, "what worth is a Drummer?" but hey are unaware that the lunsi of Dagbon are a vital source of historical information. For instance the

lunsi know of the wars were fought before independence, such as at Sang, Adibo, Sabare, Yeni-dabari, Namkabiemni, Sakpegu, Basare in the Republic of Togo and Bamako in Mali. Although visits to these places can be informative, without the beautifully performed narratives of the lunsi, Dagbamba history will be dull, indeed.

TRAINING: CHANGE OVER TIME

There is a big difference between the recruitment and training half a century or so ago and the present. In the "olden days," which are sometimes termed the Dark Age in Dagbon history (*Zibsim Saha*), there was full focus on the training of lunsi. I therefore conducted formal ethnographic interviews with middle aged, young, and child drummers and their cohorts about the salient aspects of their training and their views on changing conditions for the lunsi institution in Dagbon.

The Elders and Adult Middle-Aged

An adage in Dagbani says, "*Sara yi tigla duu ka naan yinna Sambanni*" ("Anything good must first satisfy the household family before the leftover is sent outside"). Accordingly, the first person I interviewed was my own senior brother, *Shei Zablong Zakari* who stressed that without lunsi there is no Nam (leadership) in Dagbon. To further to support his claim about the value of the lunsi institution to every Dagbana, *N-kpem Shei* (older brother Shei) mentioned that from birth to death, every activity is linked with traditional culture. He stated that before and after the advent of Islam and the coming of the Europeans colonialists, lunsi helped chiefs to deliberate on cases and pass judgments at the chiefs' palace courts. My senior brother reminded me that even today the situation remains the same at the various palaces in Dagbon. According to him, money is the main reason why some of the youth of today are running away from the lunsi institution. They are interested in making quick money and anything that does not yield quick reward does not appeal to them. Daa Lung, he said, is easy to learn and easily rewarding for most of the youth. Not so with Kali Lung, which takes time to grasp and, more to the point, is less rewarding.

I also interviewed *Lagban Lung' Naa Abukari Ziblim*. He said the advancement in science and technology is preventing the young drummers (*lungbihi*) from learning and practicing. He mentioned that some of young drummers prefer viewing films and videos rather than staying at home after supper to study and rehearse narratives. Some of those interviewed were of the view that religion, particularly Islam, has contributed to the lukewarm attitude of the lungbihi who shun their heritage. Others maintained that the attitude of some royals and sections of the community makes them underrate this vital institution. For instance, one drummer said it was very common to hear remarks such as, "*Ka lunga mei*," meaning, "Of what value is a lunga?!" He added that when a lunga approaches a gathering of non-drummer community members who are conversing in the shade, some will whisper "*Bobli nim la yaa kan na*," meaning "Here comes those people fond of disturbing us." The men scatter before the lunga gets there. This type of negative response arises from the fact that the lunga, after greeting, is likely to say some praises that require some of the audience to give out money. This attitude demoralizes drummers, and their children often become upset and question the appropriateness of doing things that are misunderstood to mean begging.

Some chiefs and elders interviewed were of the opinion that without the lunsi there would have been no chieftaincy in Dagbon. Or, if chieftaincy existed, it might not have the value and significance that it has been accorded by Dagombas. *Yelzoli Vo-Naa Hamidu Shei* mentioned that as an indication of respect he has for the institution, he sometimes reduces the number of elders in his entourage so as to be able to increase the number of lunsi who accompany him when on trek and travelling in a vehicle.. To the amusement of all present, he said that if the decision was left to him alone, he would always want lunsi to be with him anytime, anywhere - except in bed with his wife.

According to *Kworli Lung' Naa Abukari*, one of the most experienced and talented chief drummers in Dagbon today, drummers were in a class of their own as recently as fifty years ago. They were cared for by the chiefs, they were fed, clothed and given shelter. A praise singer's performance might inspire such admiration in a chief that he would give his daughter, or any unmarried female of the descent group, for marriage. If the female child was not yet mature for marriage, the chief would make a pledge. In those days, a chief could call on the chief drummer services at any time of the day or night. Before chiefs had ready access to vehicular transport, chiefs and chief drummers rode horses, while other members of the entourage walked on foot. Wherever the chief went the lunsi accompanied him with their vocals drums. This example shows that the chief drummer's farm activities were repeatedly disrupted. Chiefs and chief drummers accepted this relationship because during the harvest season, village sent the chief's share to the palace. The chief, in turn, gave some of this food to the chief drummer. During the homage ceremonies on Monday and Friday and during our periodic festivals, the villagers again sent foodstuffs to the chief, who would give part of it to the lunsi. This was the way lunsi were fed by chiefs, apart from whatever proceeds they got from performances. The chief also annually provided clothes to both the drummers and their wives. When their duties took the drummers away from their homes at night, it was also the responsibility of the chief to provide shelter for his lunsi.

The whole process of the chief giving them the money is termed *chebsibu* in Dagbani. This token by which people express gratitude to lunsi is not restricted to the chiefs and royals but applies to every Dagbana who engages them for his or her services which are paid for with kola nuts and cash. Moreover, in the past, members of the lunsi establishment also had special social relations with the professional groups in Dagbamba society such as *nakohinima* (butchers) and *machalnima* (blacksmiths), and non-professional groups such as *afanima* (mallams), *nabihi* (princes), *nabipuginsi* (princesses), and *tinkpamba* (elders). In the past, butchers gave lunsi goatskins for making the heads of their drums free of charge, as did the blacksmiths with the metal pins (*peinkpahi*) used for sewing the skins onto the cane-and-raffia drumhead rims.

The Youth (18-35 years old)
According to Kworli Lung' Naa Abukari, some youth (18-35 years old) have managed to hold to the traditions of the lunsi institution by emulating the middle-aged and studying our heritage. But many others have shied away from the profession and institution of lung drumming. As my senior brother said,

> religion (especially Islam), and money have also influenced some of the youth who have not only shied away but do not even like to touch the lung with their hands. To such a

group of people, who are few in number, it is their religious belief systems that forbid them to touching the drum let alone playing it. The perception of some members of the public or communities toward lunsi has influenced some of the youth to shy away from the institution of lunsi.

Let me review the reasons for this development. One is the increase in population that has led to a scramble for farmland, not only by lunsi but among all Dagbamba in general. Land shortage has caused some lunsi to migrate to the southern part of Ghana to find better paid work, for example in cocoa farms or as lorry driver. On the positive side the migration of Dagombas to the South has opened new venues for drummers to ply their trade in cities such as Kumasi, Ejura, Obuasi, Accra, Tema, Ashiaman and Sekondi-Takoradi. However the profits from traditional-type performance in these cities merely supplement a lunga's income from other work.

Youth who have acquired Western-type education tend to shun the lunsi institution. Kpem Shei lamented that "for them the lunsi institution is the preserve of their un-schooled brothers who can neither read nor write." Because of their type and level of education such people feel "too big" to squat or kneel down in reverence to the chiefs, members of the royal families and prominent members of the community.. Moreover, the youth, instead of attending lunsi performances like lung-sarigu, patronize modern forms of entertainment and media centers where they learn about the traditions of other people. They therefore miss the opportunity to witness our customs and to hear the elders sing and drum about the past heroes of the kingdom. Computers and mobile phones are also the hallmark of our time. Everyone today wants to be computer literate, more so the youth. And for what? Only the minority use computers to access information while most just play games on these modern machines.

Islamic education also has a negative impact on the lunsi institution. Youth who have committed the Quran to memory and adopted a fundamentalist view of Islam shy away from drumming because they think it is Satan's work. To such individuals, I offer two questions. First, is it the lunga drummer who is Satan? Second, which part of the drum itself is devilish? Is it the wooden frame or is it the goat skin that is used in covering the drum to produce the sound when beaten? In answer to the first question, the lunga is a human being just like all others. Second, the wood used for drum also is used in roofing rooms and even in the construction of the mosques and churches where every Moslem or Christian goes to worship. To those who say that drummers are going against God, I say, "If killing a goat for meat is not a sin or an offense against God, then how can you, after eating the meat, accuse as being satanic drummers who puts the skin to good use?".

I would like to challenge those who deride drummers as beggars. A proverb has it, "One bad peanut spoils the whole bag of nuts." I believe those who are ignorant about the custom, traditions and norms of Dagbon are "bad nuts". They lack membership in the royal lineages, hold no political position, are not recognized as opinion leaders in the community and do not know or care about their Dagbamba history. I say that they should think of the impact they have on our children who begin to dissociate themselves from the lunsi institution.

The Children (6-17 years old)

The fate of our children now hangs in a balance. No one can be sure whether the scale will weigh positive or negative. Among the three categories of lunsi I have proposed, only the children have not experienced the benefits of being lunsi. They only heard about it in the tales told by their elders. Though the children are seeing lots of changes due to modernity, all is not lost yet. A portion of the praises of the current *Dakpem Lung' Naa Alhaji Baba* goes, 'Dogrikpem ku naa Dangni, so yi kani so be ni', or that a family head will never cease to exist in a family. If one is not there, there is another. This implication of this proverb is that though old and talented lunsi are dying gradually, there is no way the lunsi institution will become extinct, because others in the family will also become practitioners. Every leader of a lunga household does his utmost best to keep the tradition going and no family head wants to take the blame that during his tenure the family stopped practicing the tradition and ceased being lunsi.

Let me now look at the training of children drummers today. Basically the same recruitment process still exists, but due to population increase a trainer has to handle more trainees than in the past. The increase in population has also affected the size of the outer compound, making some children feel lazy about keeping it tidy. Whether on account of modernity, religion or any factor I consider those who shy away from the lunsi institution as "dropouts." Who after having undergone some training in childhood, begin to exhibit some form of stubbornness between the ages of twelve and fifteen. In the past there were no "dropouts" in the lunsi institution.

CONCLUSION

This paper has described relations between institutions of lunsi and Nam. We have considered changes in the activities of drummers within different age categories and also in attitudes towards them by members of the community. We have discussed the various ways drummers contribute to communities where they are found. The lunsi of yesteryear had the full support and encouragement from the Dagbamba royals and recruitment and training was at its peak. The lunsi institution was vibrant, which led to the stability of the kingdom. This is not so due to the following seven reasons.

1. Modernity
2. Information technology
3. Transportation
4. Entertainment centers
5. Communication media
6. Islam
7. Money

In my opinion, Islam and money may be having the strongest negative impact at the present time. It is not only lunsi who have studied Arabic and Islam who are the problem; non-lunsi Islamic scholars have used their knowledge to create confusion about the nature of the lunsi institution. In former times when people had less respect and interest in money, there was more respect for

humanity and the lunsi institution. Today people love money so much that they feel reluctant to give money to lunsi during performances, whilst drummers resent those who give only coins.

Although the lunsi tradition of Dagbon has seen a lot of changes I am, nevertheless, encouraged that a large majority of lunsi children ably perform their duties and still receive excellent training, as was done in the olden days. In my opinion, lunsi need to mobilize their members and every Dagbana, whether royal or commoner, to be more aware of the valuable roles and responsibilities of the lunsi. I would therefore like to recommend that chief drummers throughout Dagbon be placed on monthly salaries by the government. The lunsi of Dagbon need material and financial support to keep things moving, as their work in the culture and society of Dagbon needs to be documented and preserved for the generations to come.

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MUSICAL PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IN OVIA OSESE MAIDEN FESTIVAL OF THE OGORI OF NIGERIA: EFFECTS OF INTERMINGLING OF RELIGIONS AND CULTURES

by
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ABSTRACT
Music performance practice in the Ovia Osese maiden festival of the Ogori of Kogi State, Nigeria, has been shaped over time by external religious and cultural influences. This paper examines some specific ways these influences have come to bear on the performance of music during the festival. It also discusses the place of music in documenting the people's history and tradition, as well as highlighting its importance in the festival and other socio-economic contexts. Apart from relying on documented literature, personal observations of the events and interviews during the festival form a bulk of the data employed in this paper.

INTRODUCTION

Music and festival are cultural elements whose relationship is largely complimentary and isochronous. The validity of this statement lies on the one hand in the fact that musical performances are often organised around some events like festivals that call for celebration, merry-making and commemoration. On the other hand, festivals celebrated with music are historical 'markers'. This is true of all human cultures of the world and speaking specifically of Nigerians, Mbiti (1982:136/137) observes that the people engage in singing and dancing to express their joy during festivals whilst Taiwo (1985:89) says "the people's beliefs and attitude to life are embedded in their songs and so they have appropriate songs for any situation." Asagba (2004:71) in his call for a re-examination of Africa's past rich cultural heritage, states that "songs, dance and festivals performances gave the people hope, from which both the young and the old learnt moral lessons." Both music and festival are, therefore, major elements in the socio-cultural, historical and religious life of any people. The relationship between music and festival is traceable to the religious desire in primordial man and contemporary societies to make offerings of gratitude to God (see Allen, 1962:51)..

There is an underlying consequence of the interrelationships between the practice of music, festival, religion and other aspects of culture of any given people. That is, a change in the practice of one would affect the others, no matter how subtle. For instance, if any society adopts another religion in addition to (or to the exclusion of) the indigenous one, certainly its music, festival and culture would be influenced by the beliefs and ideals of the 'new' religion. Where this occurs, it usually alters in some ways the people's overall culture. The cultures of Africa have been affected in this way largely due to contact with the Christian and Islamic religions (see Vidal, 1997: 114).

The Ogori *Ovia Osese* is a festival that initiates females into adulthood whose original attributes have been modified as a result of the inroads of other religions and cultures. These have made impact on the present outlook of the festival both in content, practice, and its significance. This article (which is a product of a research begun in the Ogori community since 2002) therefore, examines the historical background of the Ogori, and traces the evolutionary trends the *Ovia Osese* maiden festival has undergone. The latter is discussed from two perspectives: the period before the incursions of other religions and cultures, and the period after. In discussing festival activities, emphasis is on the musical performances that exemplify the effects of these 'other' religions and cultures. Finally, recommendations are made toward re-positioning the festival so as to make it attain its ideals, especially in the face of contemporary socio-cultural challenges.

BACKGROUND HISTORY OF OGORI

The people of Ogori refer to themselves as 'Ogorians'. They are a homogenous socio-cultural group who speak predominantly the Ogori and Yoruba languages. The English language is also adopted (although in a lesser degree of usage) as a medium of communication. As a geo-political enclave, Ogori town is situated in the present day Ogori/Mangogo Local Government Area of Kogi State, Nigeria.   Encompassed by three hills – *Omonenyen*, *Agada* and *Odiobo* – Ogori occupies the south western part of the state and shares boundaries with Kwara and Edo States. The people are also neighbours to the people of Owo in Ondo State. The hills provided refuge to the people in the distant past during intra-tribal wars and invasions of other tribes.

Before 1700, Ogori was a conglomeration of eight independent villages (Apata, 1994). The unification of the villages was attempted by the then ruler, *Ologori* Odeyo, in 1700. There was disapproval from some indigenes who subsequently left for other places. The remnants of the people were dispersed during the reign of Ubuaro Eminefo when the Nupe invaders over-ran Ogori. This group then took refuge in Oke-Ijebu between 1862 –1879. However, when relative peace returned during the reign of Ikpemida Aisoni (after the death of Eminefo in 1879), the people re-located to their respective villages in Ogori. Presently, Ogori comprises seven non-autonomous quarters[138]; each is overseen by a chief (*Otaru*) who is responsible to the *Ologori*.

RELIGION IN OGORI: THEN AND NOW

The Ogori are monotheists and employ religion as a means of relating with the Supreme God. This Deity is known/called by the names *Osibina*, "the God that owns everything and is in everything", and *Iduma*, "the Almighty incomprehensible being; not limited in space and time, it is from him we live and have our being" (see Obayan,1983:9). His attributes are expressed in songs, sayings and tales, amongst others.

Before the advent of Christianity and Islam, the Ogori did not have a central place where they worshipped *Osibina*. According to Obayan, "There was no organised way of worshipping [him because] …he cannot be confined to a shrine or a temple". He was only adored, praised and worshipped through exaltations and prayers. Ogori music has numerous songs expressing the goodness of God toward the people.

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138 The quarters are: Eni, Osobane (Oshobane), Okesi, Okpa, Udo, Aiyetoro, and Araromi.

The Ogori believe in lesser divinities such as nature gods which inhabit rivers, streams, forests, and hills. Some of these gods are *Omonenyen*, *Agada, Odiobo* (which inhabit hills named after them), and *Ememe*, *Odo-Otare*, and *Ugbodo* (water deities). These divinities are employed as channels of establishing transcendental communion with God (*Osibina*) since he cannot be accessed directly. The water spirit-gods sometimes possess humans, especially female members of the community. Where a girl is so possessed, she may not celebrate her *Ovia* initiation ceremony unless the spirit is placated. The story is told of a mother who, in defiance to the pleas of her two daughters who were possessed by this 'mammy water' spirit, celebrated their *Ovia*. By the following day the two girls died mysteriously. This incident is preserved in the Ogori song–lyric usually sung in praise of an initiate during the *Ovia Osese* festival. The song is called *Omoluabi Moso Kijenjen, Aweme fomirorojo* that means good child, walk on gently, you do not belong to the water goddess.

Apart from the nature gods, the Ogori also believe in the ancestors. Select members of the families who practise traditional religion constitute the priests/priestesses of the respective divinities. Communal practices of harvesting and eating yams (*Idu* festival) and the commencement of the *Ovia Osese* festival, for instance, were not undertaken without consulting the divinities concerned.

With the coming of, first, Christianity in 1811, and later, Islam (which was introduced earlier but could not gain followership), the belief system of the Ogori has been affected remarkably. Belief in the gods has waned and a greater proportion of the Ogori populace has embraced Christianity, while a lesser proportion practices the Islamic religion. Obayan (1983:20) says that the nature gods are no longer worshipped in Ogori, although ancestral worship is still practised by Ebira immigrants who are resident in the community. Presently in Ogori, there are the Anglican and the Roman Catholic as the notable Christian groups. Among late-comer religious groups are the Evangelical Church of West Africa (ECWA), the Apostolic Church and the Cherubim and Seraphim Church, among others. The co-existence of the traditional, the Christian, and Islamic religions has, as will be discussed, left its mark on the evolutionary trends and present posture of the *Ovia Osese* festival.

INFLUENCE OF OTHER RELIGIONS AND CULTURES ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE IN OGORI

The Ogori in their migratory years imbibed the cultures of the places they traversed. In addition, they are neighbours to the people of Lampese in Edo State, the Ebira and the people of Owo. Furthermore, adherence to traditional religious beliefs was displaced for the adoption of predominantly Christian religious beliefs and, to a lesser degree, Islamic religious beliefs.

The Church wielded much power in the socio-political life of the Ogori of yesteryears. The Church was vigorous in its drive to win many members of the community to Christianity. Having converted a considerable number of indigenes, the Church became so influential that it proceeded to proscribe all traditional religious practices, including the *Ovia Osese* festival that was not celebrated for a number of years until it was revived. Many other festivals were never revived. These include *Ukpe*, *Edebibi*, *Iyibi, Igilaofifi* (*Igilofifi*), and *Ekonmorire*. The *Ukpe* festival marked the New Year in the Ogori lunar calendar and was celebrated every August until

it became irrelevant when the Christian New Year (in January) was introduced and adopted. The *Edebibi* and *Iyibi* were festivals celebrated (at different periods) by old men and women, respectively. On the other hand, the *Ogilofifi* and *Ekonmorire* were festivals meant for young men. The *Ogilofifi* was an occasion where young men flaunted their virility and endurance as they gave and received of strokes of the cane. And the *Ekonmorire* was the male counterpart of the *Ovia Osese*; it was a forum to initiate young males into adulthood and positions of responsibilities in the community. In addition to these festivals was the prohibition of the masquerade tradition in Ogori. Apart from its perceived antithesis to the tenets of Christianity, the maskers took advantage of the element of disguise and the sacredness of the art to pass unsavoury remarks at members of the community, often harassing them physically. Their activities had to be outlawed to safeguard peaceful, cohesive and progressive communal living.

When the Church eventually decided to take a second look at its decision, the only indigenous festivals left in Ogori as of today are the *Ovia Osese* maiden's festival, and the *Idu* festival – a new yam festival celebrated annually between June 12 and 18 (see Ogbomeda, 1997:10).

Furthermore, the medium of communication has also been affected. The languages – Ogori (Oko), Yoruba, and English – are spoken in Ogori. This influence is so strong that the average Ogorian mixes these languages even within a single discussion. The interplay of these languages is exemplified in the Ogori anthem:

	Translation:
Ologori wa g'oko, wa g'iyoba (Repeat)	When the ruler of Ogori speaks
'*Oyibo Of pile ye pan na*	the Oko language, he mingles it with
Oko home again, Eni home again	English
K'unini, *K'ebenben*	Oko home again, Eni home again
	with love, with joy
I shall never forget my home	I shall never forget my home.
Ogori, *a y'eko-o eke wura* again.	If an Ogori person goes to Lagos
	(Eko), he returns

In addition, the people's way of dressing has also been influenced. The *Asoke* of the Yoruba is commonly adorned by both male and female members of the community. The English mode of dressing is also very common. Also, their traditional woven hair-dos are similar to those of the Owo and Edo peoples.

Another major event which affected the people's life style was the introduction of formal education. The Church, under the auspices of the Anglican Church, had established the St. Peter's School in Ogori before 1918 and it enjoyed the financial support of the British Administration. With western education came new life styles and practices. Wangboje (1977:104/105) paints it more vividly in his observation that western (missionary) education was encouraged by the British colonial government as "the instrument of religion … to alienate the people of Nigeria from their culture and their way of life".

OVIA OSESE FESTIVAL: ORIGINS AND TRENDS

The *Ovia Osese* festival is an annual event organised to initiate maidens into womanhood and motherhood. It is celebrated by Moslems on the second Thursday after Idel-Kabir, and thanksgiving in the mosque the day after. The Christians, on the other hand, celebrate the festival on the second Saturday after Easter, with thanksgiving in the Church the next day. The Christian 'version' is more popular and widely attended.

The date of *Ovia Osese*'s beginning lacks exactitude. Claims about its origin are rather suggestive or speculative. Although Edah (1999:1) states that the first celebration was held in 1080AD, this cannot be supported because literature from authentic research into Ogori life before 1700 is lacking (see Apata, 1994). One view that is widely held is that the festival emerged from an elaborate ceremony a woman organised to commemorate the innocence of her daughter who was previously alleged to be wayward. The oracle, however, adjudged her innocent, and this turn of events gladdened the mother's heart. Other families began to follow the woman's example of consultation and proclamation with festivities, until the practice became a communal affair (Apata, 2001:11). There is, however, a school of thought, which believes the festival is a copy of the *Igogo* festival among the Benin and Owo peoples (Apata, 1994:10). In the opinion of Akande (1997:8), the festival was rather established as a ceremony "around the period when societies became sedentary and tribes emerged as distinct and governable cultural entities". Others (e.g. Aje, 1995 and Apata, 2001) tie the festival's roots to the birth of Ogori.

In spite of all these diverse views, opinions are not divided on the philosophy behind the adoption of the festival. The *Ovia Osese* thrives on the community's desire to ensure the moral purity of women, and thus build family units upon which the community would depend for unity, peace, stability and growth. In ancient times, the observance of the festival marked a culmination of a series of ceremonies and rites to initiate pubescent girls of between the ages of 14 and 20 years into adulthood. These events included; (1) *Iviya Isiya* (consultation); (2) *Opa Obubwe* (seclusion/camping); and (3) *Ovia Osese* or *Oke* (public presentation). It took a period of one year to complete a cycle of these celebrations. Important features of the festival were that, firstly, the oracle was consulted to determine if an intending-initiate was a virgin. If she was, then she was qualified for the next stage (seclusion/camping). Secondly, group camping educated the initiates on a variety of subjects ranging from personal hygiene to care for husband and babies as they related to the new status they were about to assume. This stage was overseen by the *Iya Odina,* a female deputy of the *Ologori* and custodian of the festival. To further ensure that every camper was a virgin, they were made to sit naked on a stone (later stool) with one buttock,. In this way, each could be observed if she had a ruptured hymen – a signification that she had lost her virginity. The third and final stage was the presentation of the successful maidens to the community at the village square (*Oyara*). After this stage, they were free to marry.

The issue of sexual purity of girls before marriage was sacrosanct to the Ogori. This was why 'checks and balances' were put in place should a girl, through her cunning, escape being detected during the consultation and seclusion periods. The final 'judge' in this case was her husband whom, custom demanded, returned to his parents-in-law a white nuptial cloth on which the couple laid on the first night of consummation (Aiyedun, 1985:18/19). If there was no blood stain, it meant that she was not a virgin prior to her marriage. Any girl who was found to have lost her virginity before celebrating her *Ovia* suffered death, penalty or banishment. If she was

detected afterwards by her husband, she was divorced and stigmatized, both her and her entire family.

The festival, since the introduction of Christianity and Islam into the community, has been modified. There has also been the impact of westernization and modernization on the festival: all of which have not only affected its content and ideals but also the duration of the celebrations, and participation. For instance, the festival, which took about one year to celebrate, is currently compressed to only about a week of 'pre-festival', 'festival' and 'post-festival' events. The consultation and camping aspects of the festival have been done away with, and the only activity left of the camping is the group learning of the *Ovia* songs by the initiates at the civic centre, before presentation during the grand finale. In addition, an initiate does not have to be physically present to have her *Ovia* celebrated. Above all, a girl does not necessary have to be a virgin to qualify.

<u>CELEBRATION OF THE FESTIVAL: SEQUENCE OF EVENTS</u>
Although the festival takes a number of days to celebrate, in the light of the various pre-liminal, liminal, and post-liminal events, only the activities of the grand finale are widely attended, especially by people from outside the community. The pre-liminal festival events include essentially the festivities hosted by the celebrant's parents. These are done usually within the various age-grades to which each parent respectively belongs. These activities take about the three or four days preceding the grand finale of the festival week. On the part of the initiates, they attend rehearsal sessions with their female trainer/leader who teaches them the exclusive *Ovia* songs, which are to be presented at the final day. The *Iviegben* (a group of younger girls who will qualify for their initiation in succeeding years), and whose performance precedes that of the initiates, also undergo training in singing and dancing under a female leader/trainer.

The grand finale (on Saturday in the Christian version) constitutes a number of activities which are co-ordinated by the Ogori Descendants' Union (ODU). The official events of the festival day occur in one venue: the Civic Centre (*Oyara*). They are carried out according to prescribed procedures which are contained in the yearly souvenir programme. The climactic point and completion of the festival is usually at the Civic Centre. Therefore, the events of the day after (i.e. Sunday) are considered post–festival and are carried out in the various churches in the town to give thanks to God.

<u>THE INFLUENCES ON *OVIA OSESE* FESTIVAL MUSIC</u>
It was remarked earlier that the festival was at one point not celebrated. This period was of abou one hundred years and was partly due to the desertion of the community at the dawn of the Nupe invasion, the intra-tribal wars between Ogori and Mangogo, and also the proscription of the festival (and other and allied religious practices) by the Church. This long period of non-celebration of the festival created such a gap that by the time the festival was revived most of the songs had been forgotten. Even some of the few surviving ones are incomprehensible to present day Ogori speakers, as the language of the songs (a hybrid of Oko and Akoko Gbangiri) is radically different from the Ogori language of today.

Ovia Osese festival music constitutes the songs, with or without instrumental accompaniment, rendered as essential to the festival. These festival songs are classified according to Edah (1987:5) into "the *Ovia* exclusive songs, the *Ovia* festival general songs, the other Ogori traditional festival songs, the modern juju and disco sounds and the Christian and Muslim religious tunes." The songs in the first category are exclusively rendered by the initiates at appropriate moments of the festival. The second and third categories may be rendered in performance contexts by any member of the community. The fourth category comprises music played on gadgets and stand-by live bands, which perform contemporary numbers that are popular among the people. Finally, the last category of songs expresses the respective religious sentiments, and they are rendered during all three stages of the festival.

Many of the festival songs demonstrate in their lyrics the influence of culture and religion. As observed by Aje (1995:14) language is a cultural element which molds, interprets and expresses a people's experiences. A greater proportion of the festival songs are rendered in the Ogori and the Yoruba languages, whilst songs in the English language (not exclusively) are often rendered in the churches during the thanksgiving. The festival "general songs" are rich in information about the people's beliefs, history, conditions, expectations and relationships. For instance, in one of the *Ovia* exclusive songs the leader/trainer, Mrs. Christian Owolabi, playing accompaniment on the *Ogitoroko*[139], sings in ogori "*Eba, eba Ijesu*" or "thank you Jesus" - to which the initiates respond. Thanksgiving songs are also rendered in the mosque, revealing the religious tolerance of the people, especially with regards to Christianity and Islam.

Despite Christianity and Islam, the belief of the people in the existence of gods who exercise some control over them is expressed in traditional festival songs. One of such songs is:

	Translation:
Iwe ee Ayi mo we	It is written in the history book
Odiobo afara niri tato	That there are two hills called
Omonenye wuku niri tato, akodi.	*Odiobo* and *Omonenye* (the gods)
	who protected us from trouble: it's true/real.

This song, like many others, is a means by which the history and cultural traditions of the people are chronicled and disseminated (see Odogbor, 2001:149). The influence of other local cultures is evident in the language of some of the songs. For instance influence from the Yoruba culture is expressed in the following song.

	Translation:
Iremide, Ireayo	My happiness has come,
Iremi, kabo	happiness of joy
Iremi wolede	Welcome, my happiness,
	Come in, my happiness.

There are other songs featured during the festival that are adapted from contemporary Christian gospel tunes. While the lyrics of the original songs are replaced with translations in the Ogori

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139 Not spelt Okitoroko as commonly believed.

language, the melodies are, however, retained. One of such is the popular Christian chorus entitled "Everybody Testifies You Are Good". This has its lyrics replaced thus:

English original:	Ogori Adaptation
Everybody testifies you are good,	*Ero feyan ga ka Oromuro*
You are good Jehovah, You are good,	*Oromuro Osibina Oromuro*
Everybody testifies you are good	*Ero feyan ga ka Oromuro*
You are good Jehovah, You are good.	*Oromuro Osibina Oromuro*

Many other songs focus on exhortations to God, while some express moral sentiments. During the festival celebrations one song, according to Edah (1999:2), that is practically on the lips of every indigene and which I also personally observed is:

	Translation:
Oboro itie, Oboro itie	Goodness is my choice x2
Ogbona ami ma m'esu deji Oboro itie.	Since I'm not in any business with
Oboro itie.	Satan, my lot is goodness

The song above reveals the people's commitment to upright living as expression of their acceptance of and obedience to God whom they believe will reward them with goodness. This reward for obedience to God is also expressed in the following song:

	Translation:
Ekena Iduma sie memo	What God had done for me
Ena maka gan ye ba a	What shall I use to thank Him
Ekwintee Eeee, Eeee	Except to kneel
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Generally speaking, the choice and nature of music performance are based on the particular event or activity within the festival, In other words the context and the purpose and significance of the event determines the appropriateness of the music used and also the composition of the performers in terms of sex and social group. In other words, specific songs are meant for use in some specific contexts, and are not expected to be used in others. For instance, the songs used at the arena may be inappropriate for thanksgiving in the church. There are also songs meant for some sexes, while others are group sensitive. This is why, for instance, only married women are allowed to perform *Ogengenesen* music (a metal gong ensemble), and the male counterparts have the exclusive right to perform *Eregba* and *Ejabi* music. Musical instruments are also gender-biased. The metal gong and beaded gourd rattle are, by tradition, instruments meant for the women, while drums are considered male instruments. What this implies is that the musical instruments meant for one sex group may not be found in musical performances by a counterpart group. Notwithstanding, it was observed in the 2002 edition of the festival that a pair of 'local' conga drums were used as part of the accompaniment to the singing of the women age-groups in

their processional visits to the homes of celebrant's mothers, parents, and parents-in-law. However, these drums were played by two adolescent males. The reason for the adoption of the drum in this context could be on one hand by the fact that it provides a strong percussive basis for dance movements, and on the other hand that only the males may have the stamina required to perform on the instrument for the duration of the activity, which lasts for over six hours.

Another area that requires observation is the presence of musical performance groups from other communities. They help in contributing variety and thus enhance the entire celebrations. One of such groups which performed in the 2002 edition was the Durafole Dance Group from Ososo in Edo State. According to J.B. Adurojaiye (in an interview), the group (besides the male instrumentalists) is made up of female dancers of between 9 and 20 years, and was established by him in 1985. A close observation of the group's performance revealed movement patterns that were similar to those found in the maiden's dance (*Oke*) at the arena (Civic Centre) during the grand finale. Similarities were also observed in the types and names of musical instruments used. For instance the beaded gourd rattle is called *Osha* in both Ososo and Ogori. The same may be said of the drum which is called *Okanga* and *Okaregan* in Ososo and Ogori, respectively. Anklets, a secondary idiophone (in pairs), features in musical practices of both communities and it is called *Iyeye* (in Ogori) and *Iyoyo* (in Ososo). These relationships are possible evidence of Ogori's contact with the people of Edo State during the former's migratory years.

<u>CONCLUSION</u>
Music is a vital cultural element that can effect and be affected by the religious, language and overall socio-cultural outlook of any given society. Music can also reflect the condition where there has been contact between an different societies whose practices, with time, rub off on one another. The musical culture of any society therefore carries information on all aspects of its culture. Song lyrics do not only document the indigenous culture and traditions of the people's origins, but songs also reveals the changes or transformations the people's culture (including their music) has experienced as a consequence of their relationship with people from other cultures. Some of these changes are beneficial in terms of making the culture respond to contemporary expectations. However, some may weaken the ability of the people to establish a link between the past and present, and thereby preserve their identity for posterity.

It is against the backdrop of the above considerations that the *Ovia Osese* festival was discussed in relation to the influences of other religions and cultures that have impinged on the ideals and the practice of this music.

In my assessment, the transformations brought about by the Church on community life in Ogori in general, and the *Ovia Osese* festival in particular, are quite commendable. Apart from ensuring cohesive and peaceful community living, they have also enhanced the community's relationship with peoples of different ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. The existence of religious tolerance where the traditional, Christian and Islamic religions co-exist in Ogori is a demonstration of justice and fair play which are the major ingredients for peace and development in any community (see African Bible Centre, 1984:10).

The Church has also brought about orderliness in the organisation and sequence of events of the *Ovia Osese* festival. With the collaboration of the Ogori Descendents' Union, intending initiates register with their respective denominations or faiths. Moreover this and other information about the festival are documented in the Souvenir Programme every year, so that much of the existing literature on the Ogori and their festival are contained in these booklets. The forum of the festival is also used to launch laudable development programmes where support in cash or kind is solicited.

However, much more benefits would accrue to the immediate community if the people looked at the possibly of restoring virginity as an essential criterion for qualification to celebrate the *Ovia Osese* festival. While the old tradition of banishment or death penalty should not be encouraged, some measures (reached on consensus) such as fine or denial from participation could be taken against any girl who has lost her virginity before her *Ovia* celebration. If virginity is emphasised, this would make the festival of greater relevance in the fight against the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other sex-related conditions (see Odogbor, 2004:12).

Many of the *Ovia* songs are not comprehensible to the people as a result of the long years of non-observance. The community should therefore support researches into this aspect so as to trace possible links with the language(s) spoken elsewhere, and provide meanings to these songs where possible. The view of Aje (1995:15) that the *Ovia* words and songs should be indigenized needs also to be echoed. In addition and since it is claimed that the festival has no ritual or fetish undertones, the songs could be made more popular through transcription and recordings. This would help in safeguarding them and also increase their economic potentials (see Nketia:1999).

Another area where the festival objectives may be strengthened is by making every initiate attend the ceremony physically, and not by proxy. It is not enough for an individual to register and have her name on the programme; she should attend personally. Where it becomes impossible for her to attend due to unavoidable circumstances, she should be made to postpone it to another year. By this, the festival would be taken seriously rather than being perceived as a 'formality'. Attendance of initiates and their activities during the grand finale constitute what outsiders especially look out for. This also makes the festival an attraction to tourists, and thus become a channel for economic empowerment to the community.

It is also important that every member of the community, irrespective of his/her religious inclination, celebrates the festival on the same day, rather than having two versions of the same festival. I believe the Saturday day is central, so that while Christians give thanks the next day, a Sunday, Moslems could then have their thanksgiving in the mosque on the Friday of the following week. What is of utmost importance is that they should celebrate the festival together as a homogenous entity. This would further strengthen their capacity to develop as a community.

Finally, there is need for continuity through regular celebrations of the festival. Where the festival date coincides with a major national or state event, the date of the festival could be shifted to a close but more convenient date. For instance, the events of the festival in 2003 could have been shifted when it coincided with the National Assembly elections, rather than leaving the grand finale unmarked. This would go a long way in emphasizing the importance of the

festival to the people. This in turn would enhance community participation in and commitment to the ideals of the festival.

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TUNING XYLOPHONES: DAGARA INSTRUMENTS IN THE TOWN OF NANDOM, NORTH-WEST GHANA

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Issues of tuning and tone in West African xylophone have been the subject of investigation for a number of years. The fact that the bars are tuned to fixed notes[140] means that it is easier to study xylophone tunings than other instruments that need frequent retuning, or highly variable and flexible instruments like the voice. Jones (1960/1964) used the xylophone and its tuning as part of his evidence for a putative link between the musical cultures of Indonesia and Africa and set out to measure the tuning of West African heptatonic xylophones to support this. Pentatonic tunings receive little attention in his work and the Dagara *gyil* that is the subject of this article was evidently little known academically. Kubik (1985) reviews African tuning systems and comments on a number of examples of equiheptatonic tunings. He also refers to equipentatonic tunings (1985: 46) and offers examples of music from Uganda. He suggests that 'the Kiganda tone-system is based on the use of a standard average interval of approximately 240 Cents', and registers surprise that well-known local musicians will also accept a Western pentatonic scale, with its steps of 200 and 300 cents, as 'just the same' (1985: 53). It is not clear why Kubik conceives the Kiganda scale as equipentatonic rather than simply pentatonic (even this implies recognition of an 'octave'). Any scale with five notes to the octave will have an average interval of 240 cents, but this is not the same as equipentatonic. Although Kubik is looking for evidence of 'systems' in African tuning, he makes some significant comments that I will return to later:–

> Observers have quite often been surprised that some African instrumentalists when retuning their instruments, apparently reproduce only "approximately" the intervals which the same observer had noticed only shortly before. He finds that it is now a different tuning. But when he asks the musicians they claim that it is the same tuning and to prove it they play the same pieces (1985:47). The perception of scale patterns is also affected by the timbre structure of individual notes of an instrument(1985:49).

Cooke (1992) tested the extent to which Ugandan musicians would accept different pentatonic scales when offered a choice of equipentatonic, Western pentatonic and different variations around these using intervals of 220, 240 and 260 cents. He also included one equipentatonic set that had stretched octaves of 1220 cents as this may be a common preference (see Cooke 1990: 15). Cooke found that Ugandan musicians readily accepted many of the different scales as appropriate for their music. Very few of the musicians found any of the scales unacceptable and there was virtually no consensus about which these were, either between musicians or for the same musician on repetition of the test with a different ordering of the scales. Cooke suggests:–

> differences in interval size of up to 80 cents (possibly more) are not "emically" significant, that is, they do not cause problems for the musicians themselves (not counting octave comparisons). In addition, the readiness with which Ganda musicians transpose their melodies up or down one or more steps in the *amadinda* (xylophone) and other instrumental traditions (flute playing, lyre, harp, fiddle playing) without admitting to any 'modal' differences, lends support to their possessing an unverbalised cognitive scheme of equidistance. (Cooke 1992: 124)

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140 Tunings are not permanently fixed however. Mensah (1982: 145) notes that, '. . .earlier measurements of older specimens [of xylophones] at the University of Ghana [. . .

showed] further the extent of the effect of weather and age on xylophone keys. [. . .] the interval patterns from one octave to another had become quite erratic.'

I do not find the logic here totally persuasive. The fact that the musicians readily move or transpose melodies by one or more steps clearly points to a notion of equivalence of some sort but this does not necessarily indicate a cognitive scheme of equidistance. A parallel in a completely different area, food, could be that Ghanaians might accept that *fufu* and *banku* are interchangeable as pounded starches that form the basis of a meal, but this does not make them the same in preparation or taste. To continue the food analogy, what Cooke might have identified are different flavours, most of which are acceptable components of a musical performance. However, it is very rare that a food is completely unacceptable.

Godsey, in his study of Birifor funerals in northern Ghana, (1980: 40) includes data for the tuning of four types of xylophones: *Kogyil, Bogyil* and *Gyilmɔ* with 14 keys and *'Dagaa Gyil'* with 17 tuned keys. *Bogyil* and *Gyilmɔ* tunings have either 'bad[141]' keys or some intervals clearly intended to be distinctively smaller or larger. The tuning for the *kogyil* in particular looks remarkably consistent with equipentatonic tuning, the largest interval being 247cents and the smallest 220cents, but these frequencies and intervals are averages derived from both Godsey's large sample and those recorded by Mensah (1967). Averages converge to a norm and for a pentatonic scale without clearly differentiated steps (such as the western pentatonic), this will be around 240 cents. In the appendices (1980: 245–258), Godsey gives individual measurements of 26 *kogyil,* many of which show a far greater variation in tuning with the largest interval being 332 cents and the smallest 163 cents. There is no single instrument that offers the intervallic consistency of the averages; the instrument that comes closest has a largest interval of 266 cents and a smallest of 213 cents. The data for the *Dagaa gyil* tuning was provided for Godsey from a sample of three instruments measured by Mary Seavoy. From the information Godsey gives, these are not part of the measurements Seavoy made of Sisaala instruments around Tumu (Seavoy 1982: 354–9) and no other information about the source of the instruments is given. They are, however, consistent with the tuning of the xylophones in the Nandom area I measured.

Seavoy also measured the tuning of 36 instruments or sets of bars around Tumu in 1970–2. The xylophones used by the Sisaala are closely based on those in the Dagara area around Nandom and are usually played in pairs for traditional funeral wailing in the western part of the Sisaala area. Seavoy notes, 'Even a cursory examination of the data brings out the wide range of interval sizes, and the fact that they do not seem to fall into markedly different size groups' (Seavoy 1982: 330). The implication is that there is no intention by the makers to construct a differentiated pattern with some larger or smaller intervals. Her data forms a useful point of comparison with twelve instruments I have measured. I had five instruments made so that I could observe the tuning processes and measure the resultant instruments, two in 1995 and three more in 2006. These were by different makers in the Nandom area; two by Bedohir from Tom (locally recognised as one of the best), two from around Pinaa (by Daniel and by Sumara), and one from southern Burkina Faso (by Sabog). I was also able to record data from four other instruments owned by Bedohir, and had access to a collection of four older xylophones by unknown makers kept at the Nandom Naa's palace. Some of these have 16 tuned bars while others have 17.

There is little agreement about the pitch of the highest bar on these instruments. As can be seen from the graph (Figure 1), Bedohir's four instruments form a cluster with a significantly lower starting pitch than the rest of the sample, generally the equivalent of one bar lower. The *Dagaa*

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141 A key either not tuned or not used for playing music. These keys often have a pitch very close to that of another adjacent bar.

gyil set cited by Godsey (1980: 40) fits in the middle of the range (excluding the instruments by Bedohir). Seavoy (1982: 330) also notes that the highest pitch bars on the Sisaala instruments

Pitch distribution for Bar 1. Reference note C5
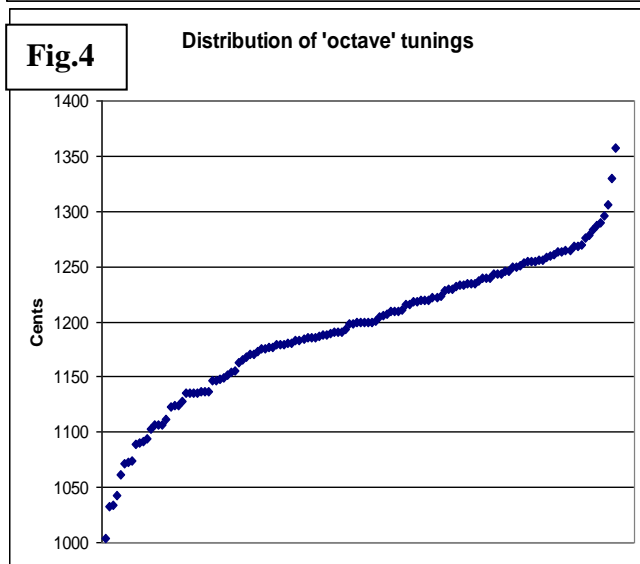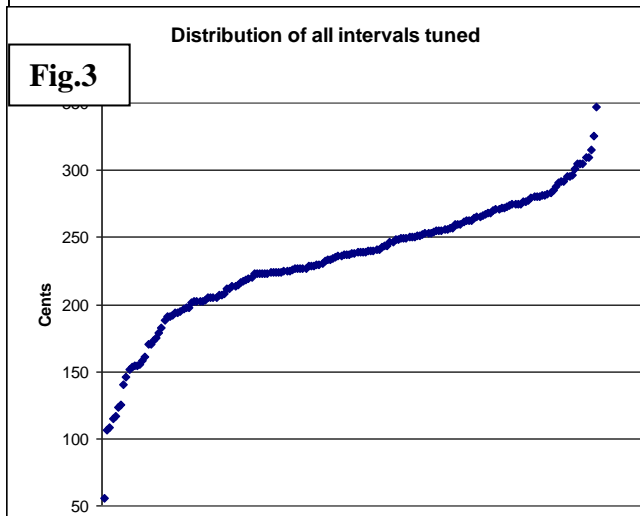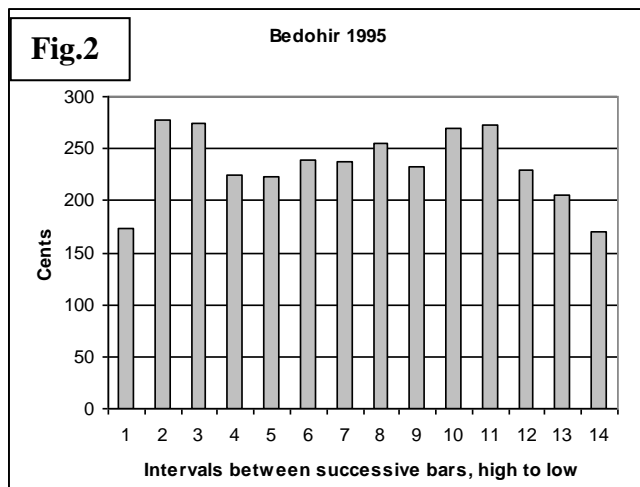
Fig.1
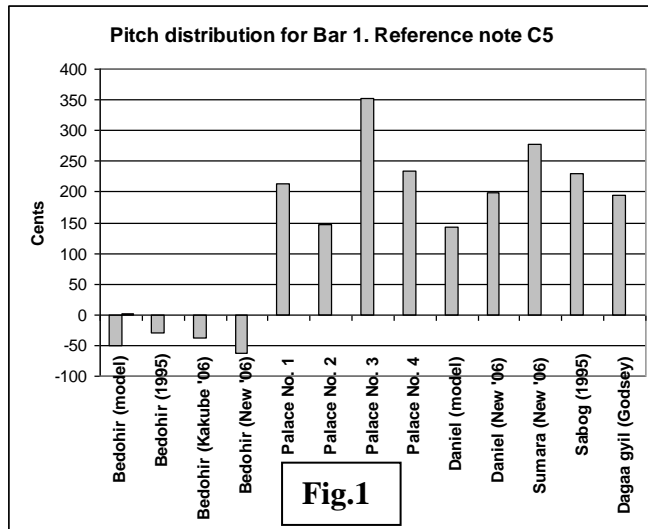
have a pitch around C#5–D#5 (554–622Hz/100–300 on the graph) with the majority in the lower part of this range. The range of the main part of the set still covers 210 cents—indicating no consensus of starting pitch for any practical purpose.

Since it is common practice for xylophone players to start any tune on a note they select, rather than 'the third note from the top', I wondered if the situation would be any different looking at the nearest equivalent note on each instrument, rather than the highest. This would allow for one maker, e.g. Bedohir, to make lower pitched instruments as a matter of preference but which would still fit to a local standard tuning pattern. This comparison brings Bedohir's instruments into the middle of the pattern but the range is still 153 cents. I repeated this comparison in the middle and lower registers, one octave lower on each occasion. In the middle register, the range is 236 cents and in the lower register, the range is slightly greater again at 242 cents. These results indicate that there is little consensus about the overall pitch tuned between makers of these instruments.

I then turned my attention to the intervals tuned. To what extent is there an indication of a preference for equipentatonic tuning or any sense of a pattern that would indicate a sense of 'octave' equivalence with a differentiated pattern, although not one as marked as the 200/300 cent pattern of the western pentatonic scale? Comparing four instruments made by Bedohir, there is clearly some sense of a common contour to the values, indicating that one instrument is modelled on another, although this is more marked in the middle of the range than at the extremes. There is a tendency for the interval between bar 14 and 15 (interval 14) to be small but this is not consistent across all instruments, neither is there any evidence of a contour that would indicate differentiated steps beyond some matching as one instrument is copied from another. The distribution of intervals for the four Palace xylophones shows even less correlation, other than the cluster as might be expected between 200–280 cents. A similar comparison of the four other xylophones I measured seems to reveal no agreement in any sense. Sumara's instrument has both the smallest and largest intervals but the scatter seems almost even anywhere between 140 and 300 cents. Trying to average these values and show the resultant average of around 240 cents would be meaningless and a distortion of their distribution.

The instrument with the most consistent equal value for the intervals is Bedohir's 1995 instrument (figure 2), and the instrument that might have some small correlation with an octave pattern is one that Daniel bought in Burkina Faso, but in both cases this is not consistent unless we assume that the makers' hearing is quite inaccurate. As a final check, I looked at the extent to which Bedohir tuned the same interval pattern in different octaves. Again, there is no consistently around this, suggesting that there is no sense of an 'octave' or gapped scale.

Fig.2

Bedohir 1995

Intervals between successive bars, high to low

Distribution of all intervals tuned

Fig.3

Fig.4

Distribution of 'octave' tunings

Taking an overview of all the intervals tuned across all the instruments is quite informative. There is an isolated small interval of 56 cents, but the main range starts at around 100 cents and continues to around 320. The distribution graph (figure 3) shows a relatively straight line between values of 190 and 285 cents indicating an even distribution between these values and 78% of the intervals lie within this range. There is perhaps, a slightly flatter area between 220 and 244 cents showing a slight preference for these intervals but only 28% of the intervals are in this range. The main conclusion from this has to be that there is no evidence of consistent tuning for an equipentatonic scale, nor any sort of gapped or differentiated scale.

Neither is there much evidence strongly to support any conception of an 'octave' (figure 4). Intervals are not repeated with any consistency six notes higher or lower. The range of values for the 'octave' is between 1004–1357 cents, with the majority of values (75%) between 1165–1269 cents resulting in an average fractionally under 1200 cents—so no evidence of a preference for a 'stretched' octave as Cooke (1990: 15) found. One aspect is consistent however: the range of preferred values for tuning adjacent bars has a width of 95 cents and the similar measurement for the octave has a width of 104 cents, both very close to 100 cents, so this appears to be the range of acceptability for tuning discrepancy[142].

Having considered the evidence for an agreed local Dagara scale or pitch, I wanted to look at the accuracy of two makers (Bedohir and Daniel) for whom I was able to measure their 'model' instruments in

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142 Two points should be made here: the identification of these points is my interpretation of the changing contours of a graph, not the opinion of indigenous musicians, and the indication of the width of acceptability of around 100 cents is to be expected if the average interval is a little over 200 cents, so that a discrepancy of more than 100 cents might cause confusion in the perception of the adjacent note.

copying the pitch of the bars onto subsequent instruments. For Bedohir, there are three subsequent instruments made in 1995 and 2006 and for Daniel, one made in 2006. Looking at Bedohir's instruments, there is quite a wide variation in the tuning accuracy (figure 5). It tends to be a little more accurate in the mid-upper register and noticeably less so in the lower register. There is a tendency for whole instruments to have a slightly higher or lower tessitura than the model, for example, the one he made for the Kakube festival in 2006 is generally lower and the 1995 instrument higher, the average difference being -22 and + 38 cents respectively.

Fig.5

Bar No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Kakube'06	13	-58	-39	-39	-11	-11	-4	-20	-49	-33	-17	-70	-27	12	18
New 2006	-11	-1	-6	16	15	-17	21	33	29	20	33	10	72	94	-10
1995	21	49	-4	-16	24	25	43	54	50	70	39	15	63	94	47

The same comparison for the instrument made by Daniel again shows a wide variation in tuning with values between +55 and -28 cents, with an average difference of +17 cents—apparently closer than Bedohir but slightly less consistent. This seems to suggest either that the makers have relatively poor pitch discrimination (unlikely) or that the pitch of the fundamental is not the most critical factor in making an instrument.

What about other aspects of the instrument, its sonic qualities (overtones), the resonators and their mirlitons, all of which will affect our perception of the sound? This is a much more difficult area to measure objectively, but modern technology is useful in showing some differences and attributes. Schneider observes that:-

> The perspective according to which a musical note is "defined" by a single frequency
> (e.g. C4 = 261.6Hz in equal temperament)—which, further, is equated with the pitch of
> that note—can be called reductionist in that each complex sound is reduced to a single
> frequency component. [. .] In solids such as bars, plates and shells different types of
> vibration occur (transversal, flexural, longitudinal, torsional) which in "real world"
> instruments (e.g. African xylophones made from wood that due to layers of fiber and
> grain are neither isotropic in material nor homogenous in structure) can result in complex
> patterns regarding both temporal and spectral behaviour. Schneider (2001: 495/6)

Schneider also makes a number of other relevant observations about the vibration of a xylophone bar (as well as other bar or plate idiophones):–

> bending stiffness (flexural rigidity) in particular, but also other factors which are
> dependent on the material and dimensions of the vibrating solid, cause inharmonicity
> within the pattern of vibration as well as in the pattern of spectral components that can
> be extracted from the sound radiated. [. . . The] actual distribution of spectral energy
> and temporal development of patterns of vibration depends considerably on the place at
> which the mallet hits the bar or plate as well as on the magnitude of the force transmitted
> through the impulse.(2001:497)

Although Schneider was referring most specifically to the sound of metallophones such as Indonesian *Gamelan* instruments, his observations are also true for the vibration of the xylophone bars, particularly when the interaction of the resonators and mirlitons is added in. The complex spectrum of sound from a xylophone bar can be seen graphically in figure 6, which

shows the frequencies present in the lowest tuned bar on Sumara's instrument[143]. The fundamental pitch is measured as 72.1Hz (a little below D2 in equal temperament) but this is far from the loudest pitch present in this note, with three or four other prominent pitches or clusters of notes sounding at around 96–106Hz, 236–256Hz, 450–460Hz and 1080Hz. Of these, only the last is related to the harmonic series of the fundamental (15th harmonic at 1081.7Hz). Added to this, the non-homogenous structure of the wood results in clusters of pitches or an apparent 'width' to the pitch that the graph is unable to separate out further. Whereas with bars from the upper register on a xylophone the fundamental pitch shows a sharp peak, at the lower frequencies there is often a breadth to the peak indicating a number of very close pitches. Even where the fundamental notes are tuned to exactly the same pitch, sonic spectrum displays show differences, due to the qualities of the wood and the mirlitons added to the resonator.


Fig.6
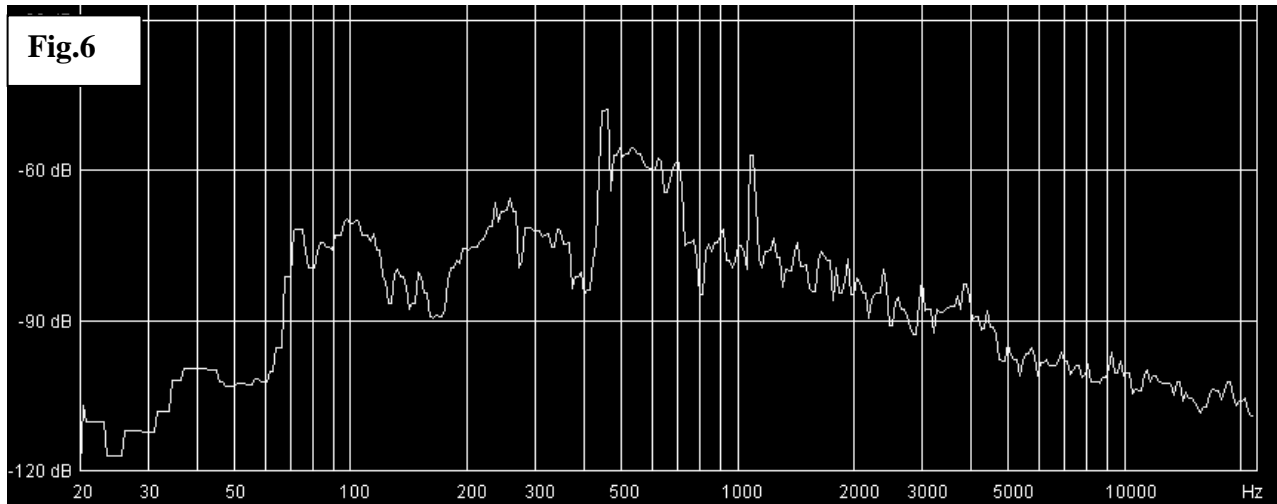
For comparison, figure 7 shows the frequencies produced by the second lowest tuned note on Bedohir's original instrument. This shows strong responses for the 3rd, 5th, 7th and 9th harmonics[144] although a number of other inharmonic notes are equally as loud in the overall tone.

Fig.7

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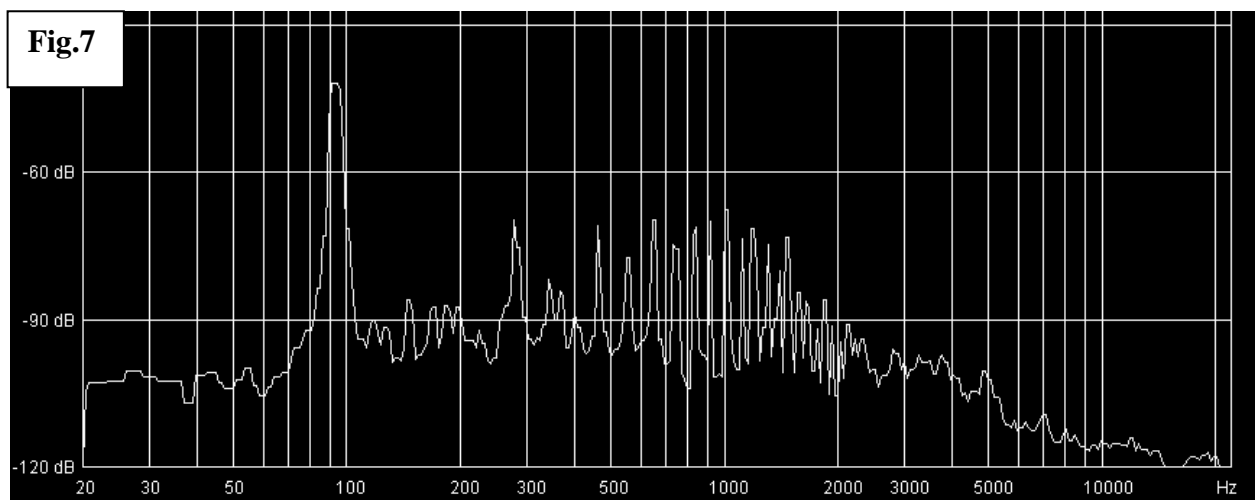
143 The displays are from Spectrum Analyzer by Visualization Software LLC

144 Fundamental 92.34Hz, 3rd harmonic : 283Hz, 5th : 472Hz, 7th : 660Hz, 9th : 849Hz.

For all the makers, it becomes increasingly difficult to give a focussed strong sound to the fundamental pitch at lower frequencies. Large bars produce low frequencies better and the wood is becoming scarce and the low frequencies also need large gourds as resonators and these are difficult to grow—and to keep from being broken. The variation in timbre between bars and the increasing complexity and energy of the overtones can be seen in figures 8 and 9 which show the frequencies generated by each bar of Bedohir's original instrument and a new one made by Daniel respectively[145]. For some instruments, such as Bedohir's original, there is a strong fundamental frequency throughout most of the range, with the harmonics becoming both stronger and more complex from the mid-register down. Even at this magnitude of display, it is possible to observe the other feature that Schneider noted, that the decay of the sonic spectrum is not even at all frequencies with both harmonics and inharmonics on different bars decaying at different rates.

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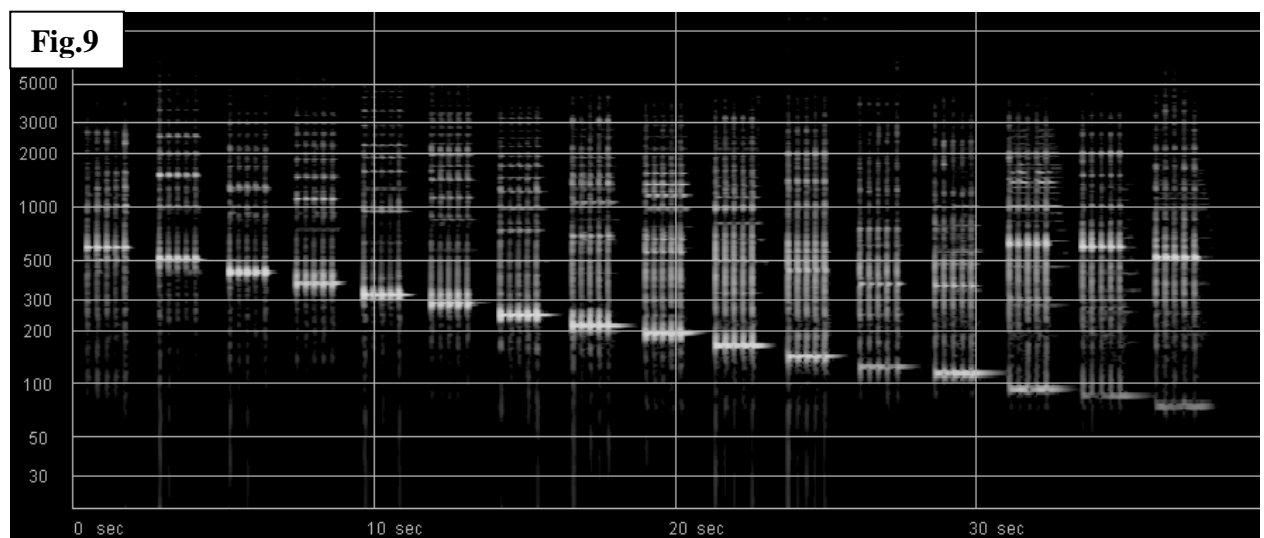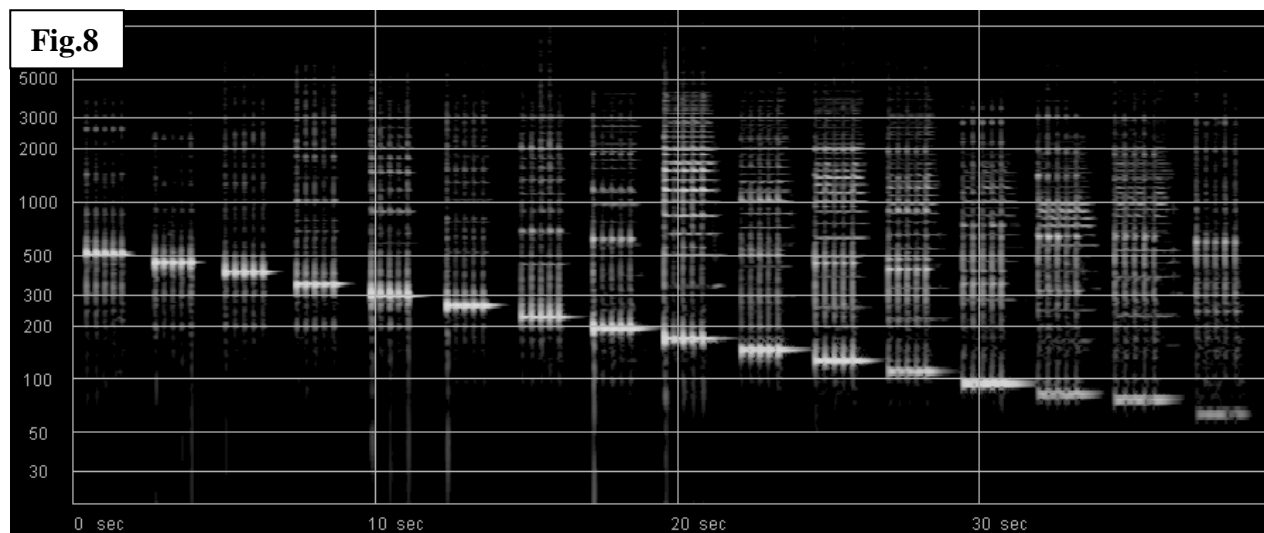
145 The figures show each bar played in sequence from the highest pitch. Each note was struck five times rapidly to establish the pitch consistently, then allowed to die away to reveal the envelope.

These displays do not illustrate fixed tonal qualities, of course. They will be further varied by such factors as the force used to hit the bar, where the bar is hit and the hardness of the beater used. As every percussionist is aware, harder beaters used on low notes will result in more harmonics and less of the fundamental and soft beaters used on higher notes will give a dull sound with few harmonics. I also know from my experience in Ghana and bringing instruments back to the UK that the effectiveness of the resonators and the response of all the natural materials making sound is altered by atmospheric conditions of heat and humidity.

For such a simple device—spider's egg case or plastic glued loosely over a hole in the resonator—the mirlitons have a considerable effect on the sound. When I was learning to play the instrument, Joseph Kobom told me that not all the mirlitons should buzz equally, otherwise the voice of the instrument can be obscured but I did not see any particular evidence of makers setting out to vary the effect between bars. All of the gourds had the same number of mirlitons (usually three in the high register and four in the lower) and they were all applied and tuned in the same way. Figures 10 and 11 show the difference mostly (but not exclusively) attributable to the mirlitons between the same bars on one of Bedohir's instruments and Sumara's—which does not have them. There is an extended resonance of both the fundamental and many of the upper frequencies and these also vary in sonic quality between the different bars of Bedohir's instrument more than Sumara's.
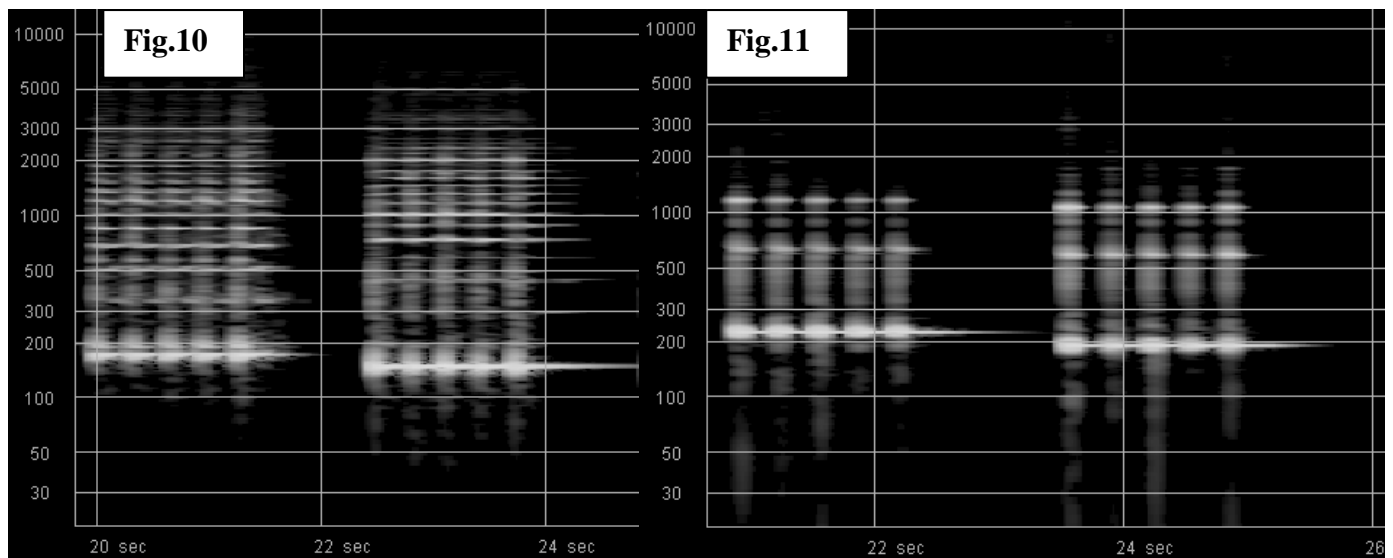

Figure 10 also shows the way in which the mirliton sounds continue to transform and develop throughout the decay period of the note, especially for the second note. This particular note has a 'wah-ow' quality and players sometimes refer to bars like this as 'crying'.

Using technology, it is possible to see in some detail the sonic attributes of these instruments: the relationship of the fundamental frequency to the rest of the (in)harmonic spectrum, the relative energy of these frequencies, and the evolution of the sound over time. Of course, local xylophone makers around Nandom have none of these resources and rely on their experience and ear to achieve the result that they want. Reviewing the findings so far, I can find no evidence of:–

- A general agreement about pitch that would enable more than one instrument from different makers to play in ensemble.
- Tuning consistency commensurate with either an equipentatonic or gapped pentatonic scale.
- Any great concern for close accuracy of tuning in copying an instrument
- Any matching in the sonic spectrum produced by different bars on the same instrument.

This leads me to conclude that, as is so often the case when Western concepts are applied in Africa, I might be asking the wrong questions or looking in the wrong place for answers and models. Seavoy (1982: 353) clearly observed a similar situation in the Sisaala area when she wrote, 'After many analyses the tonal system has emerged as only partially standardised and quantifiable only in the most general terms.' This in an area where xylophones are usually paired for playing at funerals, which would tend to support some level of agreement. Seavoy also suggested that the makers were listening for more than simply frequency but 'exactly what they were listening for was difficult to establish' (1982:352). My observations are that the aim in making these instruments is mostly pragmatic and less systematic. This aligns closely with the ethos of Dagara society where something, an object or an idea, is used as appropriate to the occasion or task simply because of its attributes. Some examples that come to mind are the discarded tank from an old backpack crop sprayer being used as a drum because it has just the right sound and is highly durable when hit with heavy sticks (see figure 12). Old bicycle inner tubes are cut into long strips and used to tie goods onto the pannier of a bicycle—cheap, strong and much more effective than string or hide because of its elasticity. In a similar vein, Bedohir

Fig.12

has replaced some of the hide strips used as padding on the xylophone keybeds with strips of old bicycle tyre—durability, availability, cost and additional resilience being the main attributes.

Direct copying of an original is also not particularly desirable. When Kwabena Nketia as a young composer met the older and more experienced Ephraim Amu, Nketia was told, 'I gather you are interested in composition. Don't copy my music!' (Akrofi 2002: 9). When you are learning music in Nandom, you adapt it and adopt it to your abilities and style—what is the point in simply imitating your teacher since you will never do it as well as him in that style he has made his own. So copying a model xylophone exactly is neither desirable nor practicable. You are working with a different set of wood, bars and gourds, seeking to reveal their unique voice. A xylophone is in tune when you can play what you want on it and when the sound is pleasing and 'harmonious', accepting that this is not an objective measurement backed up with theoretical structure. Each instrument is an original creation that aims to be useable for playing music but also is the result of the interaction of the maker with natural materials trying to bring out their best features within a broad set of parameters. I have a recording from 1990 of songs by Begyil Paul, based in Wa. The songs are re-workings or

originals in the traditional style of the region and both the solo singer and chorus of children sing a typical xylophone tuning with wide tones between each note. The accompaniment is provided by a Western-style digital keyboard using auto-chord and rhythm functions. Sometimes the lead singer consistently sings a 'tonic' note that is around ¼ tone (50 cents) lower than the keyboard but then sings steps of wide tones (220–240 cents) so that the notes coincide at some point. He is clearly quite happy with this as are the chorus of children—it's in tune when you can play what you want.

People in Nandom, for the last two years or so have also been hearing Western tuning far more frequently. Since 2004, Radio FREED (Foundation for Rural Education, Empowerment & Development) based in Nandom has been broadcasting a mix of Dagara and (mostly American) English music for 16–17 hours a day. Young people in particular, listen to this station as much as they are able and, know all their favourite songs by heart. There is some evidence that the children are beginning to hear tunings and rhythms more from a Western perspective, and Nandom Roman Catholic church now has a choir that sings in English with an electronic keyboard accompaniment in addition to the Dagara choir using xylophones. This seems to have been accepted by local people with the same pragmatism as they have accommodated other changes, for example, when missionaries first brought a harmonium to Nandom to accompany church hymns, the local people named it *nasaal-gyil* [white person's xylophone]. It will be interesting to see in a few years whether this has any effect on the tuning of the xylophones or whether these different approaches are accepted and maintained as different.

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