

***JÙJÙ* MUSIC AND CONSUMER CULTURE IN THE OIL BOOM ERA IN
SOUTHWESTERN NIGERIA, 1970-1980**

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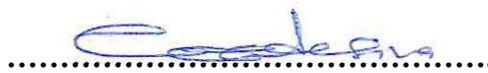
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CERTIFICATION

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DEDICATION

To the King of kings and the Lord of lords, Jesus my Saviour and Lord; without you, I will be nothing. Completing this degree is all by God's grace and mercy. God be praised!

To my father, Mr Jacob Adetunji Okunade (of blessed memory), and my mother: Mrs Charlotte Oladoyin Okunade

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ABSTRACT

The enthrallment with *Jùjú* music, a Yoruba musical genre, was buoyed by Nigeria's oil boom phenomenon in the 1970s. Existing studies on Nigerian popular music genres, especially the *Jùjú*, have focused more on its musicological and sociological components than on exploring the genre during the oil boom period in the context of African historiographical traditions. This study was, therefore, designed to examine the interface of *Jùjú* music with the oil boom and the consumption patterns of wealthy Nigerians. It also interrogated aspects of the country's socio-economic development, with a view to critiquing *Jùjú* music's contribution to conspicuous consumption from 1970 to 1980, the peak period of oil boom era of post-independence Nigeria.

The historical approach was adopted, the theories of Conspicuous Consumption and Symbolic Anthropology guided the study. Purposive sampling was used to select three dominant *Jùjú* exponents (I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade) based on their popularity and high patronage. Both primary and secondary data were used. The primary data included lyrics of 30 songs from 10 albums by the musicians based on their contemporary relevance. In-depth interviews were conducted across Lagos, Ibadan and Oyo with 20 purposively selected respondents of middle and old age: one industrialist, two high chiefs, four academics, four civil servants, six traders, and a security officer, a banker and a civil engineer, based on their knowledge of oil boom and *Jùjú* music. Newspapers from the National Archives, Ibadan, with relevant information on the subject matter, were consulted. Secondary data included books, biographies, journal articles, unpublished theses and internet materials. Data were subjected to historical analysis.

The changes in the economy, occasioned by the oil boom, influenced *Jùjú* music and provided the tools for a new discursive history of 20th century Nigeria. *Jùjú* music opened important terrain of investigation into the relationship of knowledge, music, culture, class, and conspicuous consumption that was induced by petro-dollars in the burgeoning economy of the 1970s. It was induced by cultural change and socio-economic organisation of the society. *Jùjú* music reflected and refracted the nuances of the oil boom period, thus becoming an avenue through which the socio-economic development of the period was underscored. There was consumer culture and consumption pattern as there was an increase in the display of economic prowess due to a sharp increase in Nigeria's foreign earning. Social events were enlivened as celebrated personalities whose praise songs were performed pasted money on the foreheads of the musicians (sprayed). These included eminent personalities in Obey's *Board Members* (Bisilola Edionsere – "Cash Madam" and *Miliki System*, Oyename; Sunny Ade's *Rasak Okoya* and *Adenaike* (Currency Controller), I.K. Dairo's *MKO Abiola* and *Bode Osinusi*. The musicians responded to the nuances and social needs of their audience through elevated praise-singing.

The interrelatedness of *Jùjú* music, Nigeria's oil boom and consumer culture enabled an intellectual tracking of socio-economic dynamics, trends, and issues between 1970 and 1980, as it underscored socio-economic realities of the period.

Keywords: *Jùjú* music, Consumer culture, Oil boom, Conspicuous consumption

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Pages
Title Page	i
Certification	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
Table of contents	vi
List of Abbreviations	ix
List of Table	xi

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study	1
1.2	Statement of the Problem	8
1.3	Objectives of the Study	9
1.4	Research Questions	9
1.5	Significance of the Study	9
1.6	Scope of the Study	10
1.7	Operational Definition of Terms	10

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1	Theoretical Framework	13
2.1.1	Symbolic Interaction Theory	13
2.1.2	Conspicuous Consumption Theory	14
2.2.	Conceptual Review	17
2.2.1	Origin of Juju Music	18
2.2.2	Impact of Music and Juju Music on the Society	23
2.2.3	Music and Culture	31
2.2.4	Juju Music and Consumer Culture	33
2.2.5	Understanding Consumer Culture in a Developing Economy	37
2.2.6	Yoruba Juju Music Genre	43

2.3	Empirical Review	53
2.3.1	Nigeria in the Decade of the Oil Boom, 1970-1980	53
2.3.2	Overview of the Phenomenon of the Oil Boom in Nigeria	53
2.3.3	The Oil Boom in Nigeria, 1970-1980	62

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1	Research Design	74
3.2	Area of Study	74
3.3	Sample Size and Sampling Technique	75
3.4	Method of Data Collection	75
3.4.1	Primary Data	75
3.4.2	Secondary Data	75
3.4.3	Newspapers from the National Archives, Ibadan	75
3.4.4	In-depth Interview (IDI)	76
3.4.5	Songs as Historical Data	76
3.5	Method of Data Analysis	77
3.6	Limitation of the Study	78

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1	Analysis and Discussion of Result	79
4.2	Juju Music and Consumer Culture before the Oil Boom	117
4.3	Interface of Oil Boom, Juju Music and Nigeria's Emergent Consumer Culture	126
4.4	Socio-Economic Impact of Oil Boom and Juju Music in Society	137
4.5	Celebrated Personalities and Commodities as a Reflection of the Economy of the Period	160
4.5.1	Juju Music, Social and Business Elite in Yorubaland	170
4.6	Cultural and Traditional Impacts of Oil Boom and Juju Music in Society	175
4.6.1	Juju Music and Socio-Economic Changes in the Oil Boom Period in Nigeria	181
4.6.2	Entrenching the Effect of Juju Music on the Social Space	193

4.6.3	The Udoji Award and Effects of Petro-Dollar	196
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CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Summary	205
5.2	Conclusion	206
5.3	Recommendations	208
5.4	Contributions to knowledge	209

REFERENCES

APPENDICES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCT - Consumer Culture Theory

CPI	-	Consumer Price Index
CEO	-	Chief Executive Officer
CSR	-	Corporate Social Responsibility
FESTAC	-	Festival of Arts and Culture
FMG	-	Federal Military Government
FRN	-	Federal Republic of Nigeria
GCCP	-	Global Consumer Culture Positioning
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GWOT	-	Global War on Terror
MBE	-	Member of British Empire
MEND	-	Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta
MNEs	-	Multinational Enterprises
MOCs	-	Multinational Oil Corporations (MOCs)
NIDB	-	Nigerian Industrial Development Bank
NIPACO	-	Nigeria Product Agencies Company
NNOC	-	Nigerian National Oil Company
NNPC	-	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
NNSC	-	Nigerian National Supply Company
NYM	-	Nigerian Youth Movement
OFN	-	Operation Feed the Nation
OFR	-	Order of the Federal Republic
OPEC	-	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
SBN	-	Sanusi Brothers Big Ltd
SRW	-	Sanusi Rubber Works
SSI	-	Sanusi Steel Industries

UK	-	United Kingdom
UPE	-	Universal Free Primary Education
VIP	-	Very Important Personalities
WNBS	-	Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service
WNTV	-	Western Nigeria Television

LIST OF TABLES

	Pages
Table 4.1: Table showing the list of interviewees, their Names, Occupation, Age, Gender and Date of Interview	75-76

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Nigeria in the late 20th century represented one of the most engaged categories of intellectual encounters between music and a cultural logic that developed on the heels of the country's petroleum economy. Based on that premise, this work is designed to open a new and important terrain of investigation into the relationship of knowledge, music, culture, class, and conspicuous consumption that was induced by petro-dollars in the burgeoning petro-dollar economy of the 1970s. This is done through the instrumentality of scholarship induced by cultural change and how it contributed to the understanding of how society became socially and economically organised. The changes in the economy influenced indigenous music and this in turn provided the tools for a new discursive history of 20th century Nigeria. The spread of different forms of music over the diverse regions of Nigeria have over time developed rich and versatile musical traditions that have expressed and reflected the significance of sound and music in the socio-economic, cultural, political, and religious lives of the people. This tradition became buoyed by the oil boom that signalled a new consumption pattern and livelihood that mirrored a new sense of prosperity in the country.

The oil boom, which occurred between 1970 and 1980, was a significant period in the post independence history of Nigeria. This period had significant influence on consumer culture as it created a new sense of well-being. Consumer culture play a vital role in society as it

reflects the day-to-day change in consumers' behaviour or preferences. It encapsulates cultures in which both mass consumption and production fueled the economy and shaped perceptions, values, desires, and constructions of personal identity (Singh 2011: 55). In the context of this study, therefore, consumer culture depicts the key role that the oil boom played in the society's social and economic structure at the time of the study and its significance for *Juju* music and its trajectory.

In Yorubaland, musical tradition, connected with Yoruba culture, has been a profound medium of expressing inner feelings, teaching of societal values and propagating culture. *Juju* music, which is one of the genres of Yoruba popular music, emerged in the twentieth century. From its inception till date, it has remained one of the most acclaimed genres of music in Africa's most populous country. *Juju* is a dance music played by large ensembles of instruments such as guitars, drums, and a style of singing which is inspired by Yoruba poetry, praise songs, proverbs, and the musical character of the language. This can be associated with its unique social acculturation and the integration of modern musical instruments in indigenous creation of music. Okafor (2005) explains that this popular genre, a socially entertaining and dance music with extensive, instant, and implicit appeal, draws its core clientele from urban dwellers. He adds that 'it is understood and accepted by lots of people, and it is more subjected to change than any other genres of music, because it is not ceremonially or socially restricted to tribal institutions. Because alterations and innovations in this music are generally not prohibited by tradition, it has therefore undergone both internal and external changes and influences by individuals within society, and integration with other societies (Smith, 1962 cited in Okafor 1989:3).

The phenomenon known as the 'Oil boom' that occurred in Nigeria in the 1970s had serious impact on *Juju* music in such a way that the ready availability of petro-dollars in the economy accelerated its popularity and with that, the genre became a household encounter that also bred new elites that drew on oil boom resources to construct their socialite personality. This work is construed from the stand-point of the discipline of history as it deals with accumulated socio-economic and cultural experiences of the people within the society. The period experienced the remarkable progress of *Juju* music of I. K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey Fabiyi and Sunday Adeniyi Adegaye popularly known as King Sunny Ade.

They led the Juju performances of the 1970s that drew from oil boom proceeds and created social space promoting the emergence of socialite culture expressing conspicuous consumption.

The taste and desires for *Juju* music during the oil boom was unprecedented. The consumption pattern of the society was heightened, and this was necessitated by the oil boom. Consumer culture as it is used here depicts how the Nigerian culture of consumption reflected by *Juju* music and how the oil boom became the determinant of the society's socio-economic changes. Nigeria's foreign reserves witnessed a drastic increase and money was abundant in circulation. *Juju* musicians at that period capitalised and maximised the opportunity of the oil boom by praising wealthy Nigerians known as celebrated personalities and participated in the distribution the flaunted wealth of the period. Therefore, the culture of consumption was reflected through *Juju* music. The social and economic ramifications of the period, which was reflected through the oil boom, was encouraged by *Juju* music. Conspicuous consumption signalled affluence, and was a means of gaining higher social status, and also displayed in *juju* music through elevated eulogy of wealthy personalities at that period. The period of the oil boom that lasted from 1970-1980 is significantly one of the most prosperous and event-packed periods in Nigeria's postcolonial history.

Nigeria's discovery of crude oil in a commercial quantity was recorded by Shell in 1957 (Eko, Utting & Onun 2013:82). In 1958, production and exports of crude oil increased enormously. The drastic increase reflected in the oil output which is from a mere 257,000 tonnes in 1958 to 112-118 million tonnes in 1974 while exports rose from 230,000 tonnes to 110 million tonnes during the same period. Crude oil reserves, at the same time, increased significantly from a mere 17 million tonnes in 1958 to 4,800 million tonnes in 1974. Also, both associated and non-associated crude oil huge reserves of natural gas, were discovered in Nigeria and these were estimated to about 45,000 cubic feet at the end of 1974 (Madujibeya 1976: 284). All these contributed to the oil sector occupying a position of primacy in the Nigerian economy.

In this study, the oil boom period has been chosen as the focal point of the work to advance an understanding of the patterns of consumption, conspicuous consumption and

valourisation of money in Nigeria at that period of the country's prosperity. "It was a period when it was obvious that the country had more enormous resources than the nation's absorptive capacity could cope with" (Adesina, 2013:20). Within a few years, oil revenues rose from 1 to 4 billion naira in 1973 and from 12 to 86 billion naira by 1980 (Walker 2000:71). Nigeria in the 1970s evolved from an agricultural economy to an oil-dominated one. In 1969, the oil sector had accounted for less than 3% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and a modest US \$370 million in exports (42% of total exports); per capita income was only US\$130. More than half of her GDP was generated in the agricultural sector. The oil sector, by 1980, accounted for nearly 30% of GDP; oil exports totalled US \$25 billion (96% of total exports), and per capita income exceeded US\$1,100 (Ahmad and Singh, 2002). The statistical representation here is an indication that Nigeria's foreign reserve increased immensely in the period under consideration. This had a positive impact on the entertainment industry as many Nigerians utilised every opportunity to either attend or organise social functions. The demand for Juju music rose sporadically and the *Juju* musicians created songs that reflected the happenings at the time. As a result of this, *Juju* music became a tool in understanding the social and economic ramifications of the oil boom period and the display of conspicuous consumption by wealthy Nigerians. The economy produced a materially dominant and politically connected social and economic elite for whom thematic music were commonly conceptualised and appropriated. This study pays particular attention to the basic process of turning music and songs into data for historical scholarship.

Juju is generally recognised to have emanated from Tunde King, who had a great influence on Nigerian popular music and combined the imported neo-folk styles with indigenous praise music of the Yoruba to create a new syncretic style (Collins 2016:15). In the 1940s and 1950s, *Juju* music grew in popularity through the efforts of musicians such as Ojoge Daniels and Ayinde Bakare. Ojoge Daniels was one of the most prominent representatives of *Juju* music in the 1950s. This was in addition to Ayinde Bakare who was also a pioneering Yoruba *Juju* and highlife musician in Nigeria. Collins added that early exponents of Yoruba *Juju* music, like Tunde King, who coined the term '*Juju* music', Ojoge Daniel, Ayinde

Bakare and Akanbi Wright all used the Kru two-finger guitar picking style (Collins 2016:15).

Omojola (2009:255) however opines that *Juju* performance came to its definitive form in the music of King Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey, and was well suited and served the needs of the new social atmosphere, especially in the big cities of Ibadan and Lagos, most especially in the 1970s. This was because highlife music, despite its nationalist appeal, seemed incapable of adequately fulfilling the social demands of the Yoruba elite during the oil boom. Highlife music did not employ the use of *oriki* (praise poetry) the way *Juju* music used it that elicit people demonstrating spraying prowess. Thus, the social firmament of the period highly encouraged consumption of *Juju* music. *Juju* is a form of popular music that originated in Lagos and blends Yoruba aesthetics, texts, and talking drums with Western instruments and technologies (Campbell and Waterman 1995:35-43). Waterman posits that *Juju* is a regional style of Nigerian urban popular music which was developed by the Yoruba from "palm wine" styles popular in Lagos in the 1930s and 1940s, for example, *ashiko*, *gombe*, and *konkomba* (Waterman 1982:57). *Juju* musicians, through their use of Yoruba lyrics, folklore and musical materials, immortalise historical and socio-cultural events, sing the praises of individuals, groups or institutions and sometimes pass social commentaries that promote moral values (Oludare 2018:2). The textual analysis of their songs reflect engaging themes in varied aspects of life which include historical and economic discourses.

An effective performance of *Juju* music both mirrors and shapes the social context in which it occurs. The leader, who is most often a guitarist, controls the overall structure of any performance through verbal and musical cues. He/she sings the main melodic phrases, inserting relevant biographical information about the individual being praised. These solo phrases are alternated with sections in which the leader and chorus sing short responsorial segments. The talking drum also renders proverbs and praise formulas that comment upon the immediate social context (Waterman 1982:60).

As *Juju* music became a dominant genre in the 1970s during the Civil War in Nigeria (1967-1970), many of the most influential highlife musicians in Lagos had to return to their homes in eastern Nigeria or go overseas, thus making *Juju* the dominant popular band music in

Western Nigeria (Collins 1977, cited in Waterman 1982: 59). Some of the eastern highlife Nigerian musicians such as E. C. Arinze, Rex Lawson, Charles Iwegbue and Zeal Onyia, who were residents in Yorubaland had to depart for the East or become musicians abroad (Collins 1977:59). It is further emphasised that by the mid-1960s, highlife had begun to decline in popularity among the Yoruba. This decline appears partially to have been precipitated by competition from both local and imported styles. Though highlife retained its popularity in Eastern and Mid-Western Nigeria, it was squeezed out in Lagos, Ibadan, and other Yoruba-dominated cities by the re-indigenised *Juju* style, which gained the patronage of the expanding elite (Waterman 1990:113). Omojola (2006:64) also added that since the early 1970s, *Juju* music in Nigeria became the most commercially successful popular music. Its two greatest exponents in the 1970s and early 1980s were Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey.

The *Juju* musical band leader ideally possesses a strong, distinct, and clear voice, which is neither too high nor too low, in order to establish a style that is instantly recognisable. Most importantly, he enlivened a social event and showered encomium on the individual responsible for it. Modern *Juju* music performed by megastars such as Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade (KSA) reveals the effects of acculturation and modernisation. Yet, it retains musical features that are very much intrinsic to traditional Yoruba values. As a result of its unique appeal among the populace, juju music spread rapidly via phonograph records, cassette tapes, and radio. It also cut across social boundaries; the rich, the poor, Muslim, Christians, the old, the young, rural places and urban places (Waterman 1982:60 & 64).

Music study and development in regard to culture and society is significant as it enhances and offers a noteworthy insights to the relevance of music within the society. For instance, it is obvious in *Juju* music that the style should be well comprehended against the background of numerous cultural influences and musical and social interactions. Also, its activities and events became very significant for the participants, and also provide information about the effects and functions of performance. In as much as *Juju* is based on relationships between the audience and performer, the performer's images and the music encapsulate the characteristics as well as values that people can be identified with. The

Yoruba common cultural heritage is entrenched in her values and norms and these have allowed for continuity to be achievable in music, thereby ensuring that both the music and the creator of the music, the musicians participate in the social process directly (Alaja-Brown 1989:240).

In view of complexities involving the increased popularity of *Juju* music and the making of social elites in Nigerian music space during the decade of the Nigerian oil boom, this work examines *Juju* music and the works of the composers in the oil boom era and the rate at which the songs strongly reflected consumption and social appeal during the oil boom period. The oil boom is significant, and it is the focus of this study. Its implications for social change and identity are equally one of the most important markers of wealth and commodification of music in Nigeria since independence. Wealthy Nigerians in society displayed their wealth and ostentatious lifestyles by inviting *Juju* musicians to their ceremonies.

In this study, the lyrics of *Juju* songs are explored and tapped as data for historical reconstruction. The historical antecedents of the genres of traditional music in Nigeria are engaged and investigated with the works of three notable and leading Yoruba *Juju* musicians – I.K. Dairo, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey-Fabiyi and Chief Sunday Adeniyi Adegeye *a.k.a.* Sunny Ade. Textual analysis of their songs was done within the context of the Nigerian society at that period with a view to identifying the impact of their songs and peoples' responses during the period. Also, the work critically assesses the cultural, economic and social realities versatility of song by the musical icons and likewise evaluate the consumer's culture with respect to the enjoyment of *Juju* music by high-class people at that time and how these songs have been instrumental to the reconstruction of the history of Nigeria. At that period, both the common people and the wealthy enjoyed the music, but the wealthy flaunted their wealth by pasting money on the forehead of the lead singer. This act which was done without any sense of frugality was known locally as "spraying", and the spraying prowess of these individuals is generally discussed among the common people. The various ceremonies the musicians were invited to are: weddings, funerals, naming ceremonies, birthdays, house warming, conferment of chieftaincy titles

and celebration of some other religious festivals or social elevation. The musicians themselves were greatly enriched by such invitations.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There are many scholarly works by many foreign and indigenous authors on Nigerian popular music, especially *Juju* music (Collins 1992; Shuker 1998; Waterman 1990; Alaja-Brown 1989; Campbell and Waterman 1995; Edet 1964; Emielu 2010; Euba 1976; Fosu-Mensah, Duran and Stapleton 1987; Omojola 2009; Oludare 2015). However, these previous studies did not explore and connect the historical significance of *Juju* music and the oil boom period, which is one of the most eventful periods in Nigeria's post-colonial era, when the wealthy elite engaged in ostentatious display of wealth and consumption styles. The historical examination of the impact of oil boom on *Juju* music and the emergence of social elites in western Nigeria became important signifiers of identity and social consciousness. During that period, *Juju* music created an atmosphere that positioned the wealthy individuals' domination of the entertainment industry and society. This is germane for a better understanding and critique of wealth, change, and social elevation in a developing economy.

Consumer culture in this context indicates the consumption pattern of the music produced. The consumption pattern of *Juju* music at the period is what is being examined in this study. The lyrics of their songs will be considered as a source of data for this work. This study sets out to fill this gap with a view to understanding the country's socio-economic development during the period and the contribution of *Juju* music to the consumption culture at the time. This study investigates Yoruba *Juju* music through three case studies of notable and leading Yoruba *Juju* musicians – I.K. Dairo, Chief Ebenezer Obey-Fabiyi and King Sunny Ade. Textual analysis of their songs within the context of the Nigerian society of the oil boom period has been done.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The aim of this study is to examine how the oil boom and culture of consumption influenced the rise and growth of certain aspects of *Juju* music and how *Juju* music in turn aided and valorised conspicuous consumption between 1970 and 1980 in Southwestern Nigeria.

The specific objectives are to:

- I. discuss the state of juju music and consumer culture prior to the oil boom
- II. examine the interface of *Juju* music and consumer culture between 1970 and 1980
- III. examine the socio-economic impacts of the oil boom and Juju music in society
- IV. analyse the consumer culture that developed in Southwestern Nigeria on the heels of the oil boom and the celebration of the *nouveau riche*
- V. discuss the impact of the oil boom and the consumer culture on social, cultural, and intellectual change in Nigeria

1.4 Research Questions

The study is anchored on the following questions:

- I. What was the state of *Juju* music and consumer culture prior to the oil boom?
- II. How did the oil boom influence *Juju* music between 1970 and 1980 and how did *Juju* music contribute to the understanding of conspicuous consumption?
- III. What are the dynamics of *juju* music and why do *Juju* musicians eulogise celebrated personalities?
- IV. What is the impact of the oil boom on *juju* music and consumer culture in Southwestern Nigeria during the period?
- V. In what ways did the Juju genre begin to encapsulate themes that were useful for the understanding of the socio-economic developments of Nigerian society?

1.5 Significance of the Study

Juju music is a musical genre that was embraced by many people within the Nigerian society and most of the lyrics were underpinned by historical occurrences and events. The lyrics of these songs are therefore veritable sources of historical writing and have been employed in various studies as historical data. Many studies have been done on Nigerian popular music

especially on *Juju* music and their composers. Also, a number of works on Nigeria's oil boom of 1970s to early 1980s have been attempted. However, there has not been any historical work that specifically fit into the direction which this work examines. This work is essentially important because it is a discourse that interfaces the oil boom and *Juju* music in the said period. It unveils the culture of consumption reflected in *Juju* music and discusses economic prosperity, social and economic ramifications and realities of the oil boom period. Thus, this work, seeks to provide profound scholarly information on *Juju* music and the oil boom period and subsequently attract more research in that direction and enlighten elites in society.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study examined Yoruba *Juju* music in the decade of the oil boom in relation to consumer culture from the historical perspective. This oil boom period was the period of economic burst in Nigeria which took place between 1970 and 1980. *Juju* music became instrumental to the understanding of the socio-economic firmament of the period especially as celebrated icons demonstrated wealth. This work is situated within the context of African historiography. Consumer culture, as used here, suggests how the citizens or the general populace embraced and enjoyed *Juju* music in the ecstatic and euphoric aura of the oil boom era when Nigerian economy was at its most buoyant state. The study considered three notable and leading Yoruba *Juju* musicians – I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey-Fabiyi and King Sunny Ade. Relevant songs from each composer, which falls within the period of study, were selected for this study. The *Juju* songs and lyrics were studied with reference to the oil boom era with a view to ascertaining peoples' responses and the *Juju* music genre to prevailing issues and circumstances.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

The operationalisation of key concepts is clarified here for easy and further understanding. These are *Juju* music, consumer culture, oil boom and conspicuous consumption.

***Juju* Music**

Juju music is one of the genres of Nigerian popular music. It is essentially indigenous and well accepted by many people in society. *Juju* has been defined as “commemorative and panegyric music” (Vidal, 1983: 2); “a guitar-band music derived from the various palm-wine styles” (Collins, 1977: 54); “a regional style of Nigerian urban popular music, developed by the Yoruba in Lagos in the 1930s and 1940s”. Also, *Juju* as a word carries different socio-cultural meanings. In the European societies, it connotes ghoulish, fetish, and ritualistic practices of African peoples. Whatever the meaning of the word in diverse societies, *Juju*, in this context, connotes and conveys music among the Yoruba speaking people of Southwestern Nigeria today (Onyeji 2005:4). *Juju* music began in the 1930s and is arguably the most accepted form of Yoruba popular contemporary music in Nigeria.

Consumer Culture

In consumer culture, predispositions towards social emulation, matching, as well as imitation are expressed through marketplace choices which are accompanied by a penchant for differentiation, distinction and individuality. These motives together drive rapid turnover in goods and services. These dynamics, triggered by the purposeful social engineering of marketers, retailers, and advertisers have spread from the fashion industry into all parts of social life. Consumer culture plays a vital role in society. It refers to the day-to-day change in consumer’s behaviour or preferences. It is a system in which consumption, a set of behaviours found in all times and places, is dominated by the consumption of commercial products. It is also regarded as a system in which the transmission of existing cultural values, norms and customary ways of doing things from generation to generation “is largely understood to be carried out through the exercise of free personal choice in the private sphere of everyday life.” (Singh 2011:61).

Also, consumer culture indicates an economy in which value has been divorced from the material satisfaction of wants and the sign value of goods takes precedence. Furthermore, consumer culture refers to cultures in which mass consumption and production both fuel the economy and shape perceptions, desires, values, and constructions of personal identity. Demographic trends, economic developments, and new technologies profoundly influence the scale and scope of consumer culture. Social class, ethnicity, gender, region, and age all

affect the definitions of consumer identity and attitudes about the legitimacy of consumer centred lifestyle (Singh 2011:55).

Consumer culture, in the context of this work, is a concept employed to denote and showcase how Nigerians accepted, enjoyed and displayed the wealth and social status that developed in tandem with the oil wealth during the oil boom period. Put differently, the consciousness of *Juju* music performance pervaded the society and both the wealthy, and the common people enjoyed the euphoria of the time.

Oil Boom

The Oil boom was a period in Nigerian history when Nigeria grew from an agricultural economy into a relatively richer, oil-dominated one. It was a period when Nigeria's foreign reserves had a drastic increase. Foreign reserves of Nigeria rose from US \$222 million in 1970 to US \$5.203 billion in 1976 (Onimode 1982:168; Walker 2000:71). The social and economic atmosphere engendered by the oil boom intensified economic prospects and problems at the same time. The cities of Nigeria took on the character of gold rush towns as the boom gathered momentum (Freund 1978: 79). This oil boom reflected in the economic situation of the country and influenced other facets of lives, including music.

Conspicuous Consumption

In the words of Thorstein Veblen, wealthy individuals “often consume highly conspicuous goods and services in order to advertise or showcase their wealth, thereby achieving higher social status” (Bagwell and Bernheim 1996: 349). In other words, conspicuous consumption is a term postulated by Veblen in his most famous work *The Theory of the Leisure Class* in 1899 and refers to the unnecessary consumption of expensive products or services in order to display wealth. According to Amanda Bergman, a study on conspicuous consumption is a study of prestige-related consumer behaviour (Bergman 2010). Conspicuous consumption is a signaling game in which wealthy individuals show off their wealth to society as the basis of obtaining higher social status. It is one of the characteristics of the oil boom period.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Theoretical Framework

There are various theories that underscore the focus of this work. This work is devoted to a critical analysis of the interface of wealth and music in a developing economy. This is done through an analysis of juju music in Western Nigeria. It examines the expression of wealth in the period of the oil boom in Nigeria and how wealthy Nigerians flaunted wealth and displayed conspicuous consumption. This work is anchored on two important theories. These are anthropological perspective of symbolic interaction propounded by Clifford Geertz, who gives prime attention to the role of thought of “symbols” in society. The other important framework that serves this work is conspicuous consumption theory by Thorstein Veblen. The theories of Symbolic Interaction and Conspicuous Consumption are regarded as the most suitable in the analysis of the dynamics of music and engagement of social elites in the entertainment industry in western Nigeria between 1970 and 1980. These theories were engaged as the most suitable for this research work, bearing in mind that historical approach was adopted.

2.1.1 Symbolic Interaction Theory

In Geertz’s seminal work *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), he conceptualised culture as a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. Geertz’s interpretive approach asserts that humans are in need of symbolic “sources of

illumination” to orient themselves to the system of meaning in a particular culture. It is been noted that Geertz thoughts had been largely influenced by sociologist Max Weber. One major aspect of Geertz’s conversation on symbolic interaction is that culture is a set of integrating symbols, and symbols infers ideas, action and objects which are expressional and decodable to establish defined attitudes, practices, values, and knowledge among others. So in this case juju music is a set of symbols made up of musical band, musicians, space of audition, social elites, and money created by oil booms. All these are integrative to perform social functions as practices, facilitate opulence display of wealth as attitude and create social status as value.

One of the aspects of a people’s culture is their music. As considered in this research, music is used as a symbol to communicate and interpret the social and economic ramifications of a particular period in society. Music is used to better understand the social realities of the oil boom period which occurred from 1970 to 1980 in Nigeria. Geertz avers that symbolic anthropology or in a broader term, symbolic and interpretative anthropology, addresses the study of cultural symbols and how those symbols can be used to gain a better understanding of a particular society. The theory assumes that culture lies within the basis of the individuals’ interpretation of their surrounding environment, and that it does not exist beyond the individuals themselves. Symbolic anthropology therefore aims to thoroughly understand the way meanings are assigned by individuals to certain things, leading them to a cultural expression. Part of this cultural expression can be indigenous musical performance through Juju musicians who eulogised celebrated personalities. Through this, higher social status and affluence were communicated in the society. The social stratification of society was reflected through Juju music as the music exhibits how symbols function within society.

2.1.2 Conspicuous Consumption Theory

The Theory of the Leisure Class as propounded by Thorstein Veblen in 1899, is also an appropriate theory for this research work. It is a socio-economic theory which emphasises the distinction between the upper and the working class, with respect to how wealth is used as a medium for building prestige and reputability in society. The specific aspect of the theory this work engages is the phenomenon of conspicuous consumption. The idea of

conspicuous leisure and consumption in the era of the oil boom (1970-1980) in Nigeria by the wealthy class is fully examined in the course of this analysis. Various means were deployed to showcase their affluence on the medium of different ceremonies ranging from birthdays to funerals, weddings, naming ceremonies and celebrations of chieftaincy titles, among others, in which notable *Juju* musicians, were invited to perform and entertain. In the introductory part of the book, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, Martha Banta reflects that “‘everyone’ appears to acknowledge the importance of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, through which Veblen’s 1899 analysis of the socioeconomics of affluent American societies introduced into the vernacular, provocative terms such as ‘conspicuous consumption’” (Veblen 2007: vii).

This has been adopted virtually in different societies of the world. Veblen’s work follows the model of scholarly analysis that rests its intelligence on an entire social system (Veblen 2007: xvii). Conspicuous consumption is a method of gaining high social status by expressing wealth. Veblen (2007) states that a means of showing off individual’s reputation during relaxation is to involve in ostentatious consumption of goods. By so doing the individual throws up expensive feasts where gifts are given to friends and participants, which eventually indicate a waste of time and goods. This conspicuous consumption style of living is usually adopted by the wealthy class and people in the city so as to compete with others with a view to receiving respect from the public. Furthermore, according to Andrew B. Trigg, Veblen’s theory highlights a leisure group of people who do not work but who usurp the goods produced by the working class. They deem it necessary to accumulate properties in order to publish and to retain their good names. As a result, an order which makes some people who possess property to earn higher status and honour exist in society while others who do not have property do not have status (Trigg 2001:100), thereby making wealth synonymous with possession of status and prestige.

In transforming wealth into status, the leisure class’s public performance is very significant. The reason is that, for individual’s status to be well established in society, the judgment of other members as regards the manner wealth is being displayed cannot be undermined. It is through this display of wealth that the notion of conspicuous consumption is unveiled. As identified by Veblen, extensive leisure events and spending lavishly on feasting and

services are the major ways of displaying wealth by individual. The level of individual involvement in these wasteful events is strong indication of their status and wealth (Trigg 2001:101). This act of spending money on consumption artifacts for the purpose of wealth display in society is labelled by Veblen as conspicuous consumption.

Furthermore, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* is not absolutely tied to conspicuous consumption because it is a substitute to utilitarianism hedonistic theory. It is maintained by Veblen that the instantaneous adoption of goods is intended to accomplish an anticipated desire with a view to increasing or maintaining social status (Hamilton and Tilman 1983:793). Generally, conspicuous consumption has been observed as a way of purchasing expensive “luxury” goods that are not more beneficial than their “non-luxury” goods irrespective of the price. These types of goods are usually given lofty advertisement by their producers who endorse them as “status symbols” for wealthy people (Charoenrook and Thakor 2015:3).

It is however appropriate to note that the concept of conspicuous consumption is not an alien concept to the Yoruba culture and practices. This is unveiled by N.A. Fadipe in his *The Sociology of the Yoruba*, the Yoruba cosmology vividly exhibited the idea of lavish spending even in the precolonial period, which in this context here is described as conspicuous consumption. According to Fadipe, taking the community as a whole, it will be found that a great deal of wealth produced during any given period is diverted from current consumption into capital. If individuals’ actions are considered, it would seem as if a great deal of the savings of the community represented just wealth temporarily diverted from consumption with the object of being used up sooner or later (Fadipe 1978:166). Alluding to the recent times, he argued that a great deal of conspicuous consumption of wealth goes on in connection with the funeral ceremonies of parents. Christians and Muslims spend more lavishly than others, that is in traditional ceremonies (Fadipe 1978:166). Fadipe could interpret this accurately, especially writing within the period of this study, when the activities of the lavish spenders took place.

Focusing so much on individual’s status by frequently feasting with a view to impressing others is an indication of conspicuous consumption (Moav & Neeman, 2010). Above all,

visible and expensive, goods are used as a means of elevating status. The ostentatious display of jewelry, designer clothes or luxury cars serves to exhibit one's pecuniary capability to other people (Lichtenberg, 1996; Wijnen 2017:9). Possession of wealth was simply valued as a reflection of efficiency, which becomes, in popular apprehension, itself a meritorious act. Wealth now becomes essentially honourable and confers honour on its possessor. Veblen averred that;

in order to gain and to hold the esteem of men it is not sufficient merely to possess wealth or power. The power or wealth must be put in evidence or projected in order to earn the esteem of others. And not only does the evidence of wealth serve to impress one's importance on others and to keep their sense of his importance alive and alert, but it is of scarcely less use in building up and preserving one's self-complacency (Veblen 2007: 29).

Wealth was put into use in various ways along this order by the wealthy class during the oil boom. Invitations were extended among the wealthy classes to exclusive places beyond the reach of those not in the rank. Mostly, it is being considered that consumption of unproductive goods is as honourable as human dignity while the consumption of the more desirable things becomes more honoured. Because luxury is believed to belong to the superior class, certain victuals or beverages are strictly reserved for them (Veblen 2007:50). This is also exemplified in the notion of 'wine of kings, king of wines'. This is a succinct description of the theory of conspicuous consumption as used in this work.

2.2 Conceptual Review

There is a growing literature on Juju music in Africa, Nigeria and Yorubaland in particular. However, there has not been any work that examined oil boom and Juju music in relation to conspicuous consumption, especially in the period of study. The aesthetic and euphoria of the period was greatly influenced by juju musicians in the spirits of the time in Southwestern Nigeria and in the whole of Nigeria. This chapter focuses on the theoretical framework and reviews of extant literature. This work has factored in the use of socio-economic theory on one hand and empirical data on the other as an essential part of the research process. It is against this background that this study attempts to review existing

studies and theoretical issues relating to music and consumer culture in the oil boom era in Nigeria.

There are numerous ethnic and regional communities, with tribal variations in musical styles resulting in the creation of various pop music forms such as juju, hi-life, *soukous*, *mbaqanga*, *makossa*, and many others (Fosu-Mensah, Duran and Stapleton 1987: 227). The review will focus on Yoruba *Juju* music and consumer culture under the following subheadings: origin of *Juju* music, impact of music and *Juju* music on society, historical overview of oil and oil boom in Nigeria.

2.2.1 Origin of Juju Music

Any discussion on the origin of juju music would have to consider Ogisi Aboyowa Arugha's work titled, "The Origin and Development of Juju Music: 1900-1990". He discusses the development of *Juju* from its beginnings and traced it to the early 1900s. His work terminated in the 1990s although juju music is still very popular and relevant in the twenty-first century. His research showed that *Juju* is indebted to numerous musical traditions such as church hymnody, European sea shanties, Western folk songs, soldiers' songs, minstrelsy and Yoruba traditional music. He gave a foundational trajectory of *Juju* music thus:

as Lagos occupies a central place in the history of popular music in Nigeria, it is very important to examine the social conditions that facilitate it becoming the hub of Nigerian popular music. It is significant to note that Lagos was an inconsequential Island inhabited by Awori fishermen before the 18th century, but with the advent of colonialism, its population increased enormously that it became a haven for those fleeing persecution and injustice and an important commercial centre (Ogisi 2010: 27).

There were external migrants, apart from internal migration, from Cuba and Brazil, other parts of Sierra Leone, the Gambia, the Gold Coast, and Caribbean, occasioned by the creation of British West Africa, as a consequence of which Lagos became cosmopolitan and a melting pot of several musical traditions/cultures (Ogisi 2010:27). In an earlier work, Ogisi (2009), presents an evolutionary trajectory of popular music and posits that popular music, a large entertainment and media dependent music type, has developed to the extent that it is the most patronised music in contemporary Nigeria. Popular music originated from the intermingling of traditional recreational music with the foreign entertainment music. In

the 1940s, Nigeria popular music genres such as *waka*, *sakara*, *Juju*, and highlife emerged wherein the latter dominated all other genres until the mid-1960s when it was eclipsed by the *Juju* vogue (Ogisi 2009: vi). His argument extends further that a number of factors which facilitated the emergence of the Nigerian popular music genres range from the socio-economic to the political, formal education, the newspaper press and the cinema.

“The Origin of Present Day Musical Taste in Nigeria,” considers Nigerian music on the basis of both its past and future and maintains that, since the present day trends and tastes are direct indications of traditional modes, it is important to consider its cultural environment and evolution (Lane 1956:18). In other words, music has been a veritable tool for historical construction and reconstruction of society. Oludare (2015:2562) explains the structural themes of popular Yoruba music in Nigeria, and also examines the use of variants and themes during the inception and current stages of *Juju* music. Further analyses focuses on both the development of motifs and the adoption of thematic plans in popular Yoruba genres to create new themes for the arrangement of songs into different sections. The themes are further developed into variants for the purpose of expanding the music and to eradicate monotony so as to create the required aesthetic musical value.

Treitler (1990: 299) deals with two focal topics: the first focuses on considering music from the historical perspective while the second focuses on the relationships that exist between history, the composition and performance of music. These topics are intended to throw light on the complex relationship that exists between the past and the present. This points out the interconnectedness between history and music. He further noted that the major concern currently in musicology should be on the consideration of music from the historical perspective. This will disentangle scholars from some historically enforced dogmas adhered to from the beginning of this century. A major task from which others will stem out is the focus on the historian’s consciousness of music existence. This puts an emphasis on the place of history in other disciplines including musicology. Although Treitler’s work looks at history and music from a historical approach, the aspect of consumption pattern was not included in his work.

Christopher Waterman's ethno-musicological study, as reviewed by James G. Spady, breaks new ground in documenting the social life of a musical genre. In so doing, he explores themes of change and continuity, style as a medium for publicly presenting an ideology in popular culture, and negotiating identity. He posits that the combinatory features which characterise popular music are universally centred on urban, professionalism, and mass appeal from diverse sources. These features were well established in the Lagosians' musical culture well before the advent of Western recorded technology and mass reproduction" (Waterman 1991:221). Lasisi focusses on Apala - a popular Yoruba traditional music and traces the origin of Apala as emerging from different Yoruba sub-groups. He clearly examines the great influence that traditional music wielded in bringing about change to Nigeria; he thus emphasises that the role that music and musicians play in bringing social change in society is more than usual entertainment. Late Alhaji Ayinla Omowura' music, popularly referred to as *Egunmogaji* was used as a case study (Lasisi 2012: 108-118). Ayinla Omowura was a colossus and was phenomenal in the Apala music as genre of popular music.

Aig-Imuokhuede (1975: 213) opines that the origination of *Juju* was from singers' practices of entertaining people at the bars or hotels. According to Alaja-Browne (1985), Tunde King together with his friends were recognised as the initiator of *Juju* music. They usually gathered at a mechanic workshop in Lagos in the evenings for the purpose of making music. The music type was not known as *Juju* music at this initial stage (c. 1929-33). It was a form of thoughtful song enmeshed in "native blues" and then accompanied by instruments such as box guitar and struck idiophones. The music allowed the use of creative expressions and it afforded Lagos boys during that period the opportunity to interact with one another within Saro Town or Olowogbowo (Alaja-Browne 1985).

Palm wine music, according to Alaja-Browne, developed from Abalabi, a native music for recreational purposes (Omibiyi 1981) and whose dancing style is analogous to the Ghanaian and Togolese Agbadza (Vidal, 1977: 84). Though the kind of music played by Tunde King together with his friends seemed to be a very popular palm wine music among guitarists in Lagos in 1925 (Azikiwe 1970), the transformation into *Juju* music came because their songs were composed in Yoruba and mostly grafted into strophic call-and-response pattern. This

pattern of song which is narrative in nature is usually embellished with wise sayings, Yoruba cultural anecdotes, and proverbs while any of the instruments such as guitar, *banjo*, *mandolin*, *ukulele*, *sekere* are used or a blend of the aforementioned instruments (Ogisi 2010: 29). Major factors that wielded influence on Juju development are the themes, contextual enactment, instrumentation, and the performance style.

After World War II, Juju spread outside Lagos to other Yoruba states in Nigeria. The spread can be attributed to the organised competition by Western Nigeria Television (WNT) in 1959. Among the participants, I.K. Dairo emerged the winner hence making Juju a well-known music genre in the south-western part of Nigeria. Subsequently, through I.K. Dairo's winner musical records titled 'Angelina' and 'Salome', *Juju* music became an internationally acknowledged genre, thereby making Dairo the leading and most celebrated Juju musician between 1959 and 1965 (Ogisi 2010: 30-31).

An article, by Jegede, "Popular Culture and Popular Music: The Nigerian Experience" deals primarily with one aspect of popular culture: popular music in Nigeria. He states that, although religion, the visual arts, the performing arts as well as literature (amongst others) constitute important junctures in the domain of popular culture, perhaps the most potent agent of the symptoms of this new culture is popular music (Jegede 1987:60-61). In this work, he examines juju music as one of the genres of popular music but did not feature the oil boom. In a related article titled, "Our Tradition Is a Very Modern Tradition": Popular Music and the Construction of Pan-Yoruba Identity", he examines currently prevalent popular music's functions in producing cultural identity among the Yoruba and reveals that humans' identities are from historical, relational, and conjectural perspectives mixed (Waterman 1990:367). It can therefore be established that a fundamental aspect of the Yoruba's identity is *Juju* music.

In the African musical landscape presently, the role of popular music cannot be underemphasised. However, it can be said that the scholar focus on popular music is at its embryonic stage in very many African countries. A reason for this can be attributed to the non-existence of African-related or focused theoretical frameworks that can advance popular music discourses (Emielu 2011: 371). Hence, there has been a misleading

misconception that exemplifies the inaccurate application of African music as the ones performed by Africans. But the only point of agreement emphasises that it is a form of music created by black Africans residing in the southern Sahara Desert or inspired elements resulting from black Africans irrespective of the performers. It was further argued that in reality there is no single definable music type called 'African music' (Fosu-Mensah, Duran and Stapleton 1987: 227).

Aning (1973:16, 20-21) emphasises that traditional African music is closely connected with African institutions existing during the pre-colonial era. This type of music has been able to survive both the influential Western forces and diverse acculturation practices, thus making it distinctive in the demonstration of idiomatic orientation when compared to the popularly current and art music labeled as the second category. The extension of this definition possibly comprises traditional entertaining music. The various societies in Africa possess numerous musical types of recreational music. This kind of music may be performed by individuals or by groups of individuals, who do not necessarily bind themselves into regular bands. They may gather to perform together (usually in the evening) upon the instigation of one or two people. Such music is often choral with little or no improvised instrumental accompaniment. Frequently, this kind of music is performed by women- for example, the *Ga adaawe*, the Dagomba *tora*, or the Akan *nwonkoro*. Children, too, have their own special games that include special kinds of songs. However, there exist types of music which are performed by musicians who band themselves together to form permanent groups and who specialise in a particular musical type. Such are the *nindo* music of the Gogo and the *manyananga* and *migobo* of the Sukuma of Tanzania. In Ghana, the Akan specialise in *adowa*, *sanga*, *akosua tumtum*, while the Ga play *tuumatu*, *tsuimli*, *amedzulo*, and the Ewe play *agbadza*, *gahu*, *agbekor*, *dzokoto*, and *akpese*. All these African music types adopt common artistic values such as melodic patterns, acceptable traditional scales, distinct rhythmical arrangement (horizontally as well as vertically), and part-singing systems peculiar to the African communities. In addition, the selection of instruments in ensembles respects traditional discrimination for tone colour and for qualities of intensity and density. Last, but not least, the selection of musicians, the purpose of, and the time and place for the

performance of any given music is given due consideration. Consideration of these factors, in fact, provides the creation of types of traditional music.

KSA: Melodies of Wisdom by Bamidele Adebayo clearly emphasises the historical trajectory of the evolution of music and juju music in particular. According to him, while the palm wine guitar music was being localised by Tunde King, some other musicians such as the Jolly Boys orchestra directed by Sunday Harbour Giant, Alabi Labilu, J.O. Oyesiku, Ojo Babajide, and his Rainbow Quintet and Julius Araba, and Irewole Denge (veteran palm wine guitarist), Ambrose Campbell (1919-2006), were involved in the performance of the same style. Throughout the 1930s and up till the Second World War, these groups of musicians usually put up their performances in hotels alongside Marina in Lagos. In this manner, Tunde King and other several musicians transformed, popularised, spread and sustained *Juju* genre. Nevertheless, the palm wine guitar music thrived and became *Juju* genre solely through Tunde King's ingenuity (Adebayo 2016: 74-75).

2.2.2 Impact of Music and *Juju* Music on the Society

Waterman (1982) conducted a study in Ibadan on the adopted social strategies and the influence on a *Juju* musician's social behaviour as well as self-identity. In another study, Waterman examined *sákàrà*, *asikò*, and palm wine music. His study focused on three syncretic styles in popular music as established in the diverse cultural and increasing nature of the Lagos population between the 1920s and 1930s. Findings suggest that each style has influence on the emerging performance patterns as it relates to urban African identity and the figurative expression of the changes in the dealings among social sectors. The dynamics of musical style formation in colonial Lagos were to a significant degree rooted in the effectiveness of music as a method for the enactment of identity. The continuing efflorescence of popular musical styles in cities throughout Africa provides clear evidence of the tenacity of indigenous values and modes of expression (Waterman 1988: 253). Waterman in all this did not delve into other areas like the oil boom, his main focus was on music.

Alaja-Brown (1989:231) identifies and evaluates from two perspectives the change in Juju music: the first is style which provides and identifies a bedrock against which continuity

and stability in the process of time can be measured; the second is innovation, the creation and diffusion of which are diachronically scrutinised against the contexts of culture as well as society. The relevance of music as a tool of addressing varied issues is reflected in Kwami (1994:544), who comparatively assesses school curriculums on music from Ghana and Nigeria, conducted a survey to identify the contradiction in Western and African music. Edet (1964: 111), also in, “Music in Nigeria”, posits that musical practice in Nigeria can be separated into three different categories for the purpose of analysis: indigenous music or tribal folk; Western-influenced inter-tribal music; and Western music. The first category includes all tribally based music, while the second category indicates Nigerian music that is rooted in a particular tribe, for instance, Nigerian jazz, Afro-calypso, High-life, the indigenous Church music, and the music written by Nigerian composers centring on tribal themes. Thirdly, non-indigenous Western music which needs to be assessed because of its endless influence on the other two categories. In Nigeria, indigenous music is still largely ethnically rooted. Consequently, the characteristics of the music, the musical practice, and the place of music in society, differ greatly from one tribal group to another.

Herbert (2003: 149) in “Social History and Music History” offers an outline of some traditions of history and music history, and a newer and more radical approach to historical examination and analysis and discusses the divergences and convergences between the two disciplines. The development of social history was arguably recent as a sub-discipline of history. *Times Literary Supplement* on April 7, 1966, famously dedicated most of its pages to an assessment of history, historical writings, and the British history profession (Herbert 2003:146-7). Herbert also argues further that music history has been conditioned since the nineteenth century by concerns that have been prevalent in musicology and that the perceived need to identify, verify, classify, and catalogue the sources for works that make up the body of Western art music has been central. In addition, especially from the late 1960s, music historians have sought to gain an understanding of historic performance practices. In the last decades of the twentieth century, the other underlying assumption of many music histories is that music is basically autonomous: that cultural and social factors relate contextually, rather than a more intimate or even causal, relationship with musical creativity or practice. The music historian’s task however is to supply more detail to the

musical "grand narrative," to fill in some gaps, or to tell the story with a different perspectives and emphasis— but the basic story is almost always, more or less, the same.

Oikelome (2014: xv) devotes the attention of his work to interrogating the trends in the stylistic features of Fela Anikulapo Kuti's Afrobeat music. The study examined the foreign styles noticeable in Afrobeat and those derived from other popular music idioms which established Fela as a music maestro. Content analysis of Fela's song was used to exhibit this and evidence of inter-textual relationship between Fela's music and Fuji, Apala, Juju among others, were noticeable, through the use of proverbs, illustrations and wise sayings. Fela successfully incorporated foreign and local styles into his Afrobeat music, thus creating a distinctive genre that established him as an accomplished musician both in Nigeria and the global music world. Another dimension of the impact of music is recorded by Ogli (2009: xii) which is centred on the music of Idoma people in Benue State whose context is known as *Ij'eyikwu*. The music deals with funeral rites of the Idoma people. It occupies a unique place in their culture as it attracts much attention and participation among its people. It is the Idoma society's statement of a fulfilled life and a medium for expressing sorrow, gratitude and communal grief. Music, therefore, becomes an instrument in the way their funeral right is observed and expressed.

Okafor (1991: 60-61) in "Music in Nigerian Education" maintains that in the Nigerian traditional society, music is an important part of education. In other words, in the traditional society, music is integrated not only with the arts but with life and that a person through song texts, learned the chronology and history of his land, the moral codes, the ethics and guiding principles of his land. He also learned how the society worked: about his own language and the things his people lived by. Through music all these were learned ranging from simple folk tunes to highly specialised ritual music, including chants, minstrelsy and incantations.

He also states how music has, in the modern time, become a means of education in various institutions. Right from palm wine music, it took the finger-plucking guitar playing style; it derived its strophic form and harmonic schemes from church music. Juju is also indebted to

minstrelsy tradition. Vidal further elucidates the place of minstrelsy in the origin of Juju when he stated that:

‘Minstrelsy is not new to Yoruba culture.... The minstrel of the forties was usually a one-man vocal band such as the Kokoro and Denge band. The Kokoro band for example, makes use of the tambourine drum with vocaling. Kokoro, who was popularly known as the “blind minstrel”, cultivated the habit of parading the streets of Lagos, singing ballades and songs in his powerful metallic voice and accompanying himself with his tambourine... Several of these one-man minstrels paraded the streets of Lagos in the forties’ (Vidal 1983: 3).

Euba (1976: 27) also lent his voice to the discourse that contemporary music in Nigeria may be classified under five broad categories, namely: traditional music, church music, concert music, music theatre, and modern popular music. Music in the traditional perspective is represented by pre-colonial musical types which have survived to the contemporary time. This music is by far the most popular and widespread in Nigerian culture and may be labeled as the characteristic Nigerian musical culture. Indigenous Nigerian church music has been created in an attempt to make the music used in Christian worship more relevant to the Nigerian cultural context. Modern Nigerian popular music is characterised by the use of musical instruments typical of Western pop music; these instruments are sometimes combined with local instruments. The idiom of the new pop music ranges from that which is found in *Juju*, in which the text is in Yoruba and which shows obvious links with Yoruba traditional music, to Afro-rock which is often a carbon copy of rock music as it is practised in Western culture. In between these two idioms is highlife, which is well-known in other parts of West Africa. By extension, creativity and performance are possibly the major factors of musical preservation and the surest means of perpetuating musical tradition. In spite of the new musical forms which have developed in Nigeria, the practice of pre-colonial traditional music has been sustained. Indeed, the fear that traditional music would die out in the face of new music does not seem justified and there has even been, in some cases, a mutually advantageous interaction between the new and the old. For example, although traditional music continues to be presented principally in its former traditional contexts, this music has in recent times also been presented outside the traditional contexts, using

techniques similar to those of concert and theatre music. Traditional music customarily has its being in a performed state but it would be wrong to think of Nigerian traditional music as simply a reproduction of existing pieces. Within the strict confines of traditional contextual usage, the musician has ample room for creativity and to add something new to musical tradition as it was handed down. So never has Nigerian musical cultures been regarded as a violation of indigenous idioms. Some of the elements of the music which Nigerians accept today as their traditional heritage have not always been part of this heritage and have been freshly introduced at various points in history. Nigerian traditional music in its most "classical" form contains identifiable foreign elements, from Arabic culture, from European culture (though rarely) and from other African cultures (Euba 1976: 28).

It can therefore be deduced that preservation does not necessarily mean keeping music intact and insulated from outside influences. The customary agencies that have been responsible for the preservation of Nigerian traditional music through history until the present time have always maintained a fine balance between continuity and change. Traditional music does not only continue to be practised extensively in contemporary Nigeria, but the aforementioned agencies have in the past ensured its preservation, (paramount among which may be cited are those social events which are typically surrounded by music and other arts) and effectiveness. The traditional musician is not only a performing but a creative artist and as long as he continues to cultivate his art through these twin media, the preservation of this art is assured. In addition to the social contexts in which Nigerian traditional music is customarily presented, new contexts have developed in the past few decades in which it is possible to listen to this music more contemplatively than had hitherto been possible. These new contexts have served not only to increase the number of opportunities for the performance of traditional music, but to expand the scope of presentation. In the traditional culture, important social events have customarily been accompanied with music and, similarly, important state events in modern Nigeria are usually occasions for the presentation of music (Euba 1976: 28-29).

Considering the experience of a renowned ethnographer, Malinowski, who remembers his musical education while in Leipzig and claims that he had "hardly ever missed a concert". In his diary, he noted how he might intensify his enjoyment of music. He well knew that the

degree of sensual surrender he experienced (what he called ‘musical hedonism’) depended upon his mood. Music had a penetrating, enriching and energising effect in his life. He said, “After listening to music I must control myself with a great effort in order to be able to work. I feel full of energy. And so, to concentrate enormously... to mark it out with strong resolve like a weir collecting and discharging vital energy, and to direct it towards productive work” (Malinowski 2004: 135-6).

Idamoyibo (2005: v) deals with how the adapted Ijala music types is one of the most demonstrative attempts so far made to incorporate Yoruba traditional music into Christian worship. It is an attempt to introduce and retain the traditional Yoruba music character in Christian church worship. The study interrogates the procedure adopted in varying the text and musical patterns of the songs in the traditional Ijala classics, and how the elements of the traditional form have influenced the new Ijala genre in Christian worship. Olusoji (2008: vii) interrogates a comparative analysis of how Islam, through the *ajisaari*, influenced Apala, Waka and Sakara popular music of the Yoruba people. *Ajisaari* is a concept which denotes Muslim bands waking people up early in the morning in the period of Ramadan fasting to prepare for the fasting of the day. It examines the origin and development of the genres, their performance and structure as well as major exponents and contemporary practitioner with a view to establishing their similarities. He points out that Islamic influence was evident in Apala, Sakara and Waka music genres especially in the incorporation of musical elements used in Islam such as chants and cantilations, excessive quotations from the Qur’an and so on.

Furthermore, as a result of the general acceptability of juju music in society, a narrative in the *Sunday Sketch* of May 1, 1977 was indeed a great day for Juju maestro, Sunny Ade and that not even Sunny Ade himself could have expected the fantastic crowd which defied the thundering rain to turn up at the dance for his coronation as musician of the year. In the words of the narrator, “people came from Lagos, Abeokuta, Osogbo, Oyo, Ilorin and further places to honour the great musician. Very few people danced. They all crowded round the stage, watching this extra-ordinary juju performer. People climbed on chairs and tables and seemed contented to stand there and simply watch. Two traditional rulers graced the occasion – Oba Lamidi Adeyemi III, the Alaafin of Oyo, who was chairman crowned Sunny

Ade and Oba Omowonuola Oyesosin, the Elejigbo of Ejigbo was also there.” They were both received by the General Manager of Sketch Publishing Company Limited, Mr Felix Adenaike (*Sunday Sketch*, May 1, 1977:12-13).

Clarke (2003:113-114) in his “Music and Psychology,” argues that principles of psychology are important and can assist to understand music in a clearer way and in variety of national and cultural perspectives, and that psychology rejects the idea of a sharp delineation between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’. Most people engage in listening to music because they find it meaningful, exciting or rewarding, be it from an aural point of view or behavioural or social perspective. Psychology with its various definitions, as the “science of mental life” (James, 1890) or as the study of behaviour (Watson 1919) should have lots to offer in comprehending music. Clark argues further that a very fruitful interaction between music and psychology is possible so as to encapsulate a much more richly cultural view (Clarke 2003:113-114). Thus, the construction of social meaning and roles within the framework of music making is an essential part of the teaching and learning process (Dillion 2001).

Corpataux (2002) notes that it is through the process known as “impregnation” that music knowledge is acquired in numerous cultures. He posits the difference between imitation and impregnation and that imitation is a voluntary act. By impregnation, he refers to immersion in the local culture through learning that take place. The concepts of culture and music, teaching and learning have been the major area of attention in music education research (Brennan 1992, Campbell 1996, Volk 1998, Lundquist and Szego 1998, Dunbar-hall 1999).

The global relevance and impacts of *Juju* music is important for our consideration as this cannot be underplayed. *Juju* musicians have travelled globally and entertained large audiences. For instance, when Sunny Ade with his team, returned in 1975, from the United States of America after a month and a half of extensive tour, Sunny Ade addressed airport reporters, given an account of his tour in the USA. He met personalities from all walks of life and a very large crowd of fans and well-wishers (*Nigerian Tribune*, September 13, 1975:12). Another evidence that shows the impact of *Juju* music was when The Golden Mercury of Africa, led by King Sunny Ade, completed a performing tour of four European countries. The tour, took the group to England, Belgium, Holland and Germany. It was put

together for Sunny Ade to work on his then forthcoming album titled 'Wait for me' as well as entertaining his European fans. The entertainment *Tribune* indicated that the managing director of Ibukun Orisun Iye Records Company Limited, Mr M. Ola Kazeem, was in Europe and ensured that the record was a masterpiece. He worked round the clock with Sunny Ade to give the album the necessary international touch. The album, according to a source, contained philosophical tunes, proverbs and thought-provoking messages (*Nigerian Tribune*, Saturday 12, 1989:7). Philosophical sayings and use of proverbs are critical features of Juju music and it was extensively employed in the album.

Likewise, Ebenezer Obey and his Inter-Reformers Band according to the information drew from the the *Lagos Weekend* (July 19, 1974:4) was noted to have a major impact on the music scene of the United States after a few shows. While in London, the band was reported to have given some of the US based students a special flavor of their *Miliki* sound. Their US tour was wholly sponsored by the band. The band disclosed that a number of Americans, blacks and white alike, took a keen interest in Obey's music. After much persuasion, the band extended its stay and had more shows in the US. However, it is disclosed that it was not possible because of a number of scheduled engagements for the band back in Nigeria. Back from his West African tour, inimitable I.K. Dairo band and His Blue Sports were preparing for a new album to be released early in 1977 (*Lagos Weekend*, December 31, 1976:8-9). Obviously, juju music has contributed immensely to boosting the image of Nigeria in particular and Africa at large, in the global scene.

Asobele (2002: vi & viii) 'Historical Trends of Nigerian Indigenous and Contemporary Music' is another profound piece written on music. His argument rest on the fact that music forms an integral part of the human life and this music varies from one region to the other or from one state to the other. But the most popular music of Nigerians in Yorubaland could be said to be *Juju*, as well as Sakara, Apala, and Fuji; Goje in the Northern part of the country, Highlife in the Eastern part, Funk, Afrobeat, and Reggae. Nigerian musicians have taken our musical heritage to other countries of the world such as France, Iran, USA, USSR, India, among others, and this attests to the validity of our musical heritage. In his book titled: *Juju Music*, Asobele speaks of the major and leading juju musicians such as I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade. His remark on I.K. Dairo was in connection with his

skillful use of the guitar and accordion with his sweet voice to give Juju another new dimension in the 1960s, a time when Highlife was the prevailing favourite of party goers and night crawlers. He developed music to the point that the music became popular nationwide. He speaks of Ebenezer Obey's unassailable position of prominence in Nigerian music and his *Miliki* brand of Juju music as well as how the history of music in general and Juju music in particular will not be complete in Nigeria without the inclusion of the restless efforts and the inimitable breakthrough introduced by King Sunny Ade into the music industry in Nigeria (Asobele 2002: 67 & 70).

2.2.3 Music and Culture

While culture has various definitions from different scholars, Edward B. Tylor presented a comprehensive definition of culture as "that complex whole which includes belief, knowledge, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor 1871). The branch of Social Anthropology referred to as functionalism was founded by Malinowski. He writes on the role that culture performs in any society by explaining that every aspect of the culture of a people, functionalism maintains that, past or present, serves a specific reason for the long-term maintenance of that society. The concept of culture as it is used in this work deals with music and especially juju music and how it became entrenched and a phenomenon in society of the oil boom period of the 1970s. It permeated the social environment in a pronounced way as members of the society, both elite and commoners, took great interest in listening to the juju music. Shuker (1998) insists that culture in English language is one of the most difficult words to define. A group of people cultivate both an identity for themselves and orderliness to everyday life through their beliefs, attitudes, and values. Through different forms of upbringing and socialisation, people are enabled and place things around them into categories and can draw conclusions about what life entails. Music is a veritable instrument of comprehending culture, covering cultural meanings. Culture and its role as a complex, multifaceted phenomena, is unique and its construction and shaping of music is outstanding. Music also reflects the culture, develops the culture, and its mediated reality. In short, music significantly influences the formation of culture (Amanzhol 2011).

Toynbee (2003:103, 110-111) in “Music, Culture and Creativity” discusses creativity in music and says in a clear sense that music is shaped by those who design and perform it. In any particular case, it depends on the division of labour that exists: instrumentalists, composers, and engineers all contribute in a direct way to shaping the musical text. Songs that are genuinely created must be established through evaluation. He argues further that Romantic discourse maintains that music came directly from the psyche of the creator and it comes from within and that creativity is not a heroic act but manifests as a cultural process. In other words, music is the product of creativity of the creator or composer. Culture is also connected with ideological foundations that determined the altitude and the peculiarities of nomadic civilisation and a special status of music (Amanzhol, 2011, Levin, Daukeeva and Kochumkulova, 2016).

Some cultures, it is essential to emphasise, considers music as a distinct phenomenon integrated with other experiences in cultural life. In many African cultures, music and dance, are considered communal activities; the idea of the West sitting silently while a performance is taking place is an anathema to these traditions (Cohen and Brooklyn, 2015). For example, the Igbos perceive singing, dancing, and performing with instruments, as one unified experience (Nattiez, 1990). Music and bodily movements are normally viewed as part of a single whole, and the cultural function of musical performances are intertwined with the sound. Similarly, the performance of dance and music cannot be isolated in Australian indigenous culture and song (Ellis 1985, and Payne 1988). Individuals, using the tool of music can continue to shape their identity and adjust their images to perform many roles or partake in many cultures. Across the globe, different realities, identities and truths are designed, maintained, and transformed constantly as a process. Kenneth Burke cited in Martin and Makayama (2010) writes that “all communities in all places at all times manifest their own view of reality in what they do. The entire culture reflects the contemporary model of reality”. Popular music also shaped the collective understanding of reality and can be used as a communicative tool between and among cultural group members. Ethnographic analysis of human cultures cannot be accurately created without scrutinising cultural symbols like music.

The relationship between peoples' music and culture choices are so intertwined with their identity, that it is difficult to determine how much of the identity formation is impacted by outside forces and how much of the identity is internally created and expressed through our music choices. DeNora (2000) stated that we reversibly act upon music while music acts upon us. Ellis (1985) highlights that one way of communicating in context is music making and that it is of particular importance in the indigenous Australian context. She further argues that music itself can communicate important information in the way that it is conveyed. Likewise, the importance of music in the process of communication was highlighted by McAllester (1984) in his work in North America among the Inuit.

In many countries on all continents, young people found their main leisure resource in music. In diverse ways, popular music is a characteristic feature of young people's lives and in a variety of contexts. New associations are being established between people and values or practices that contribute to the idea of popular culture. Bennett says that young people rely on popular music for entertainment and consume a lot of it. In recent years of technological breakthrough, popular music has become digital, portable, faster to download, and more easily accessible (Bennett 2000). Shuker (2008) posits that "all music consists of a hybrid of musical traditions, styles and influences". He adds that popular music scholarship is "extensive and very active" and discusses popular music as a "cultural industry." Because people are always immersed and surrounded by culture, music can only be conceptualised from a world viewpoint and perspective that we cannot separate ourselves from. This is because music is a product of the culture of any society.

2.2.4 Juju Music and Consumer Culture

Several scholarly works have been written on consumer culture and this will be appropriately examined. In the first instance, Ukah (2003: 203) uses the concept of consumer culture and relates it to Nigerian Christian Video-Films in connection with advertising and projecting divinity. The argument is that one of the practices of Pentecostalism that has seized popular imagination is the production of Christian video-films. It further reveals how these popular narratives negotiate both the cultural marketplace and the local worldview. It claims that the rhetoric of Pentecostalism as depicted in locally produced video-films is implicated in changing consumer tastes and behaviour.

Featherstone (1990: 5-6) presents consumer culture in three main perspectives. The first perspective is based on extending the production of capitalist-related commodities. These kinds of goods usually lead to the great amassing of material culture goods that are purchased for the purpose of consumption. This situation has brought about an increase in leisure and utilisation behaviour in the modern Western societies. Though some people considered it to be an indication of better egalitarianism and personal freedom, it is a subtle form of expanding ideological manipulation and 'seductive' containment among the people so as to prevent them from having better social relations with others. Secondly, from the sociological point of view, it is established that the resultant satisfaction acquired from goods is in relation to the opportunity that individual has in the social structure, thus indicating their ability to display and sustain their uniqueness during inflation. The intention is to adopt means through which goods can be used to create social bonds with or distinctions among others. The third perspective states that variety of bodily and aesthetic satisfactions are highly generated through the celebration of psychological pleasures and desired dreams in consumer cultural imagery. In other words, prominence is being given to consumption culture instead of the consumption that results from uncomplicated production.

Arnould and Thompson (2005:868, 871) synthesize series of studies focusing on experimental, socio cultural, symbolical, and philosophical aspects relating to consumption; these studies have been in operation over the past twenty years. The synthesis presents strong theoretical basis for the Consumer Culture Theory (CCT) commonly adopted in consumer research. The authors concludes that CCT has been able to establish unique theoretical facts required for making further enquiries into consumption and marketplace behaviours. The early scholars, who propounded the CCT, through the theory, stimulated other scholars to focus their investigation of consumption research on context, symbol, and experience so as to identify how they are manifested through consumption cycle involving the acquiring, consuming and possessing, and altitudinal processes and to be able to analyse them from the macro and micro-theoretical viewpoints (Belk 1987b, 1988; Belk, Wallendorf, and Sherry 1989; Hirsch-man and Holbrook 1982; Holbrook 1987; McCracken 1986; Mick 1986). The operations of this research plan, as explained by consumer culture

theory with regard to the symbolic, embodied, and experiential aspects of acquisition behaviours, as well as the socio-cultural complexities of exchange behaviours and relationships, has been in existence for the past 20 years (Fischer and Arnold 1990; Joy and Sherry 2003; Otnes, Lowrey, and Shrum 1997; Sherry 1990; Thompson, Locander, and Pollio 1990; Belk et al. 1988; Belk and Coon 1993; Deighton and Grayson 1995; Penaloza and Gilly 1999). In addition, another exemplary research case which emerged from the research agenda is gift-giving (Belk 1976; Joy 2001; Mick and DeMoss 1990; Ruth, Otnes, and Brunel 1999; Sherry 1983; Wooten 2000).

Furthermore, another focus that the authors consider is the emerging strategies involved in positioning brand in advertising. These strategies are congruent with the growth in the global market. Their argument is that proposition, operationalisation and experimentation of Global Consumer Culture Positioning (GCCP) should be applied as a new construct. It is a construct that relates a brand with a generally acceptable group of symbols assumed to be prevalent in global consumer culture, and that findings from different studies corroborate its validity. This therefore suggests that a great deal of advertisements have been utilising GCCP, instead of localising brand as a consumer culture or making it a distant culture. In view of this, theories relating to semiotics and communication were adopted in order to interpret and analyse the culture-based positioning strategies that can be adopted in advertising. Some hypotheses focusing on the adoption of GCCP were developed and tested, and in conclusion, a discussion of the implications was done and suggestions were given regarding further research (Alden, Steenkamp and Batra 1999: 75-76). Though from 1950 till date very many people have consumed numerous goods and services that are regularly quantified in dollars, this consumption style is not an indication of a consumer culture. In describing culture, it is stated that basically, "culture" has to do with the behaviours that individual imbibed from a specific setting or environment, and which are usually responsible for the differences in traditions, standards, and viewpoints. Also, it can be recognised as the basis for individual thinking, dealings and behaviours, thus influencing almost all daily activities. In other words, since culture is responsible for defining worthy and unworthy behaviour in almost every day transactions, consumer culture likewise

determines the standard and significance that is placed upon consumption behaviour (Harsch 1999: 556).

The idea behind consumer culture concept is that people's consumption pattern or behaviour is taken as their usual way of life. This idea can be very erroneous if the consumption pattern or behaviour is guided or controlled by only unavoidable human needs which are food, clothing, and shelter. In such situation, making attempt to reduce human general consumption will be defenseless, and the management of the environment would be unavoidably restricted to creating procedures that will facilitate the reduction of the environmental impact of fulfilling the inevitable desires. Furthermore, if consumption pattern or behaviour is determined by the necessity to achieve self comfort or happiness through psychological desires, in that case the general reduction of consumption because of the environment must seriously consider the possibly consequential disadvantages for reducing human comfort (Harsch 1999: 556).

Nevertheless, human consumption does not depend only on unavoidable needs nor is it for convenience or psychological improvement for the sake of being happy. Consumers see it as normal to consume goods and services for various purposes without any connection with necessity, comfort, or psychological improvement. People's consumption behaviour is always connected to cultural and ritualistic purposes, or they always intend to gratify their basic psychological desires closely related to the act of exchanging commodity. Because consumption has been made to be an end in itself by the consumer culture, it therefore tends to take precedence over other possibly more suitable ends.

Academics have documented a great deal of writings on consumer culture by revealing how very many people, towards the end of the 19th century, endorsed and honoured it while the significance of consumption was also condemned in the Americans' lives (Fox and Lears cited in Harsch 1999:557). In 1899, new ethical features about consumer were proposed in Thorstein Veblen's book titled *Theory of the Leisure Class* (Veblen 1899). In response to the ideas, it was declared by Fox and Lears that "pecuniary emulation" and "conspicuous consumption" were being ridiculed by Veblen, who said that though they were useful to society, they led to dishonesty. Lears, in his view, explained that there is a shift from a producer ethic which stressed and appreciated work, commitment, and investments, to the

ethics of a consumer, who believes in leisure, self-gratification, and spending (Fox and Lears cited in Harsch, 1999:557). In mid-twentieth century, there appeared to be a strong prevalence of consumer culture in America. This led to Richard Nixon (American) and Nikita Khrushchev (Russian) showing off the so-called superior lifestyle of the Americans in his "Kitchen Debate", by indicating that "44 million families in America own 56 million cars, 50 million television sets, 143 million radio sets, and ... 31 million of those families having personal homes." Victor Lebow, a retailing analyst, revealed that it is the massive production capacity of goods and services during the postwar era of the mid-twentieth century that gave the impression that consumption style is normal, thereby making the purchasing and utilising of goods to be rituals so as to satisfy the spirit and ego in consumption (Harsch 1999:558).

Lears (1999) observed that consumerism emanated from the desires and characters of the influential people in society. These group of people who made it easy for consumer culture to emerge are mostly whites, men, erudite, and wealthy Americans. They occupy various specialised and administrative positions in companies, higher institutions, government establishments, and media. The positions of these influential people together with the promising national market made it easy for the entrenchment of bureaucracy in the structure of the society, which in turn gave big organisations the opportunity to wield great influence on the people's lives (Harsch 1999:558). Thus, people not only consume products on the basis of their needs but also on the basis of leisure and conspicuous consumption.

2.2.5 Understanding Consumer Culture in a Developing Economy

Within the period of this discourse, Nigeria was and still remains a developing economy, on the basis of its economic parameters, growth and constraint to development. It should be noted that the surge in petroleum production and sales during this period, known as the oil boom, necessitated a drastic change in the consumption pattern of the society. A culture of profligacy and ostentation arose in which material goods were purchased as a symbol of possession and a mean to display wealth.

Development is a dialectical phenomenon in which the individual and society interact with their physical, biological, and interhuman environments to create in the process a

transformation for their own betterment and that of humanity at large. The experiences acquired and the lessons learned in this process are passed from generation to generation, enabling them to improve their capacities to make further valuable changes in their interhuman relations and their ability to transform nature. Development is, first of all, a phenomenon related to changes in human and creative energy, not in things. It is the sustainable development in the ability of the individual and the community to control and manipulate the natural forces and themselves and other individuals and communities for their own benefit and for the benefit of humanity as a whole. It is a way of realising the human potential to live a good and productive life. However, the distinction between developed and underdeveloped or developing societies is untenable because every society is still struggling to fully realise its potential creativity and probably never will. This is a progressive process that probably has no end (Nnoli 1981:36).

In other words, the meaning of development is integrally related to the process of eliminating the obstacles that prevent the positive transformation of the physical, biological, and socio-economic environment of a people. Therefore, development requires some measure of training in the art of using local resources as well as creative human energy that is centred on problem-solving rather than a wholesale imitation of the path to a good life that some societies have achieved (Nnoli 1981:36). Lewis has argued that just as poor economic performance contributes to the infirmities of the state, economic stagnation also arises from a generalised crisis of governance. The insecurity of rulers and weakness of central political authority exacerbates social tensions and creates a constraint to capital formation. The deep communal divisions of Nigeria significantly hinder economic growth and state formation which are themselves intensified by political privation and uncertainty. Nigeria, in the economic sphere has been going through sudden changes in the decades since independence, resulting in a long period of unproductivity following the height of the petroleum boom. The problems of rising poverty, flagging growth, and widening inequality arise from several factors, such as detrimental policies, an unfavourable economic structure, negative external shocks, and adverse political conditions (Lewis 2006:86).

Consumer culture, which includes both materialism and consumerism, has been viewed from the perspective of different disciplines, such as communication, theology, psychology,

cultural studies, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, and marketing. Irrespective of the approach in the disciplines, a fundamental feature of consumer culture is the relationship between people and material goods. Consumer culture, generally, is conceptualised as a social arrangement where the buying and selling of goods and services is not only a predominant activity of everyday life but also an important arbiter of social organisation, meaning and significance. Consumer culture, however, can be conceptualised as a day-to-day change in the taste of consumer behaviour which plays a vital role in society. 'Consumer culture' as a term refers to cultures where both mass consumption and production fuel the economy and shape desires, perceptions, values and creations of personal identity. Demographic trends, economic developments, and technologies greatly influence the scale and scope of consumer culture. Region, gender, social class, ethnicity, and age all affect the concepts of consumer identity and attitudes about the legitimacy of consumer-centred lifestyle (Singh 2011).

Likewise, consumer culture is characterised by the idea of modernity, that is, a world "no longer governed by tradition but rather by flux," and in which "social actors who are deemed to be individually free and rational" hold sway. Also, consumer culture means an economy in which value is separated from the material fulfillment of desires and the sign value of goods prevails. One of the crucial aspects of consumer culture is the pervasive and rapid circulation of commercial products. This happens when things produced for exchange within a capitalist market takes priority over and above things redistributed by government through the welfare state or exchanged among social groups through gift giving (Singh 2011:61-62).

Grant McCracken (1988), in a scholarly review of historical accounts of consumption and culture explains that there is a slight agreement on the backgrounds of consumer culture. Consumer culture started in England in the eighteenth-century when fashion was commercialised and this precipitated a mass change in taste. The new predilection for style, historians have argued, fuelled a demand for clothing which was mass-produced through technical innovations in the textile industry and mass-marketed through innovations in printing technologies that afforded wide-scale advertising. Don Slater (1997) adds that consumer culture came with a broad infiltration of consumer goods into the everyday lives

of people across social strata. The penetration of these goods ignites new sense of fashion and taste which in turn paved way for the development of infrastructures, organisations, and practices that benefit the new markets, namely: advertising, marketing and the rise of shopping.

In the developed economy, affordability in consuming material goods is easy on the part of the consumers. The poverty line is not that conspicuous because of the social system and welfare services that have been established in their economic structure. Contrary to the developing economy, the economic gap is conspicuous and visible, leaving the poor with no spending power, compared with the wealthy, the societal personalities who have enough money both to spend and to spray on musicians in the *ariya* or social occasions.

Nigeria, as a developing economy, has been grappling with its politics and the underdevelopment of its economy with no tangible success. It is still regarded as “a nation which cannot feed itself and cannot, therefore, be regarded as self-reliant in any meaningful sense” (Obasanjo 1979). It is still a developing economy, even though it is the largest black nation in the world, with huge human and natural resources. The general opinion that Nigeria is developing is therefore ill-conceived and false. It is based on a notion of development that commits us to a wholesale imitation of others and, therefore, to a wholesale repudiation of our state of being (Ake 1972, cited in Nnoli 1981:21). There is no doubt that Nigeria has experienced and still experiencing devastating and severe developmental, political and socio-economic crises. Nigeria’s evaluation of development framework unveiled components such as corruption, consumerism, incessant military coups/regimes, human rights abuses, ten per cent contract kickbacks, gender inequality, and failure in political and socio-economic policies. Plagued by such factors, instead of achieving sustainable development, Nigeria has been faced with what Dr Elise Boulding defines as ‘mal-development’ (Onubogu, 2004:72). The post-war experiences of both the developing and developed countries have caused a new perspective of understanding economic development. These experiences have shown that economic development is not brought about as a result of economic growth. Contrariwise, assisting diverse economy and the development of a complex is not the same thing as ensuring or stimulating economic growth. In the true sense of it, however, it is economies with more stable growth that usually

lead to sustained economic development. Growth is then a variable in the overall determination of economic development (Onubogu 2004:73).

Like most Third World nations, Nigeria's main strategy to cope with the problems of underdevelopment is rapid industrialisation. Despite the commitment to ensure the rapid development of the industrial sector towards self-sufficiency in three plan documents spanning almost ten years, the economy of Nigerian still exhibits all the features of a dependent neocolonial economy. The share of manufacturing and crafts was around 8 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 1978, averaging less than 5 percent between 1970-71 and 1974-75. The structure of the manufacturing sector reflects the power of the so-called "low-tech consumer industries" - food, tobacco and beverages and textiles- in added value and non-existence of the critical and special metallurgy and technical industries. Agricultural exports of some products have stopped or declined significantly, while food production has stagnated in the face of a growing population. What could have caused an unavoidable economic crisis came to a halt because of revenue from the export of a crude oil product, which represents about 75 percent of total estimated revenue during 1979/80 and about 75 percent of total revenue estimated foreign exchange receipts (Obasanjo 1979 cited in Fadahunsi 1979:106).

In the words of Onubogu, Nigeria should not attempt development through existing paradigms, but through paths that take into account their own socio-historical realities. One such reality, which has been avoided by past leaders, is genuine conciliation among the different ethnic groups, especially after the civil war. For too long, Nigeria's development strategy has been afflicted with endless hiccups brought on by the persistent drain on its human resources. No government has made concerted efforts to create a stable environment for Nigeria's professionals and other valued citizens. Rather, Nigeria's globetrotting leaders have appeared to give approval to the exodus of Nigerians by basking in the wasteful receptions organised by Nigerian expatriates around the world to herald their visits (Onubogu 2004:77). This has presented Nigeria as a country that lack focus and wherewithal to create economic development and sustainability.

The Nigerian State is a reflection of the economic and social structures and interests of the traditional classes in society. The inability of the professional (bourgeois) class in Nigeria

to develop self-reliant economic independence within the last two decades in any "meaningful sense," cannot be attributed to economic mismanagement alone, due to corruption or lack of motivation or modernising spirit, but with aspects of the political economy of the Nigerian State (Fadahunsi 1979:106-107). Nigeria has been termed the best example of the "paradox of plenty." Its natural resources, especially its light "sweet" crude oil, create great wealth that begets "extravagant corruption, deep poverty, polarised income distributions, and poor economic performance." Largely because of this paradox, Nigeria has not achieved its economic potential (Gordon 2011). In spite of its natural resources which could be channeled to making it become one of the advanced economies in the world, its development has been elusive. The masses are seen to have been marginalised and denied access to the national resources, which belong to all citizens.

Corruption is another factor hindering development. It has negative impact on development. Given its linkage with authoritarianism and inefficiency as an explanation of developmental failure, corruption has established catastrophic and corrosive impact on developing societies (Szeftel, 2000 cited in Arowosegbe, 2017). All the menace of development that kept developing countries from becoming developed are not unique to a particular developing country, but a critical feature of almost all of them. It is posited that the beauty of democracy does not reside in numbers but in the discipline and integrity of those running the political system; this lesson is apparently yet to be learnt by many Third World countries such as Nigeria and India which fell into that category. Elite's cake-sharing psychosis has continued to massively defraud the state of its resources. Those entrusted with the responsibility of sustaining it have failed dismally. Criminal cases involving highly-placed state officials are often soft-pedalled; economic policy is made hostage to the greed of the elite and other money-bags; the norms of decency and decorum—the known hallmark of democratic government—are given the goby; the public media are exploited not only to build and strengthen the image of the ruling party and its leaders, but also to disseminate misinformation and propaganda (Thakur cited in Arowosegbe, 2017:126-127).

Furthermore, given that corruption is acknowledged as a global problem, it is sad to note that most of the emerging democracies—especially in Africa and other developing countries—have not fared well enough in the fight against this menace. While Afghanistan,

Brazil, India, Pakistan, South Africa, and Venezuela are remarkable bastions, Nigeria offers the most dismal illustration of the *nouveau riche*, which owing to years of careless dissipation, dubious enrichment and riotous squandering, constricted a glorious future of limitless possibilities into a bleak vista of dependence, recrimination and regret (Arowosegbe 2017:128).

Therefore, larger percentages of the people who thrive in a developing economy like Nigeria are the upper class, the economically well-to-do. The upper class possesses the resources to cope with the challenges posed by the economic situation, which is discovered to be adverse to the poor people. Nevertheless, economic development should concentrate primarily on economic growth as reflected by the increases in the gross domestic product, industrialisation, capital formation, welfare services, the development of the infrastructure such as roads, electricity and railways, and increased economic efficiency (Nnoli 1981:29). The analysis above showed that, in spite of the oil boom, Nigeria remained a developing economy. This is not due to lack of human or natural resources but corruption and ineptitude from the political office holders, who were grossly guilty of self-interest and self-centredness.

2.2.6 Yoruba Juju Music Genre

Juju music is arguably the most popular of the genre of Yoruba popular music. It has been a veritable tool of social engineering over the years. People are entertained, and social events and parties are enlivened by the performances of these *Juju* musicians. Virtually everyone watched these musicians in admiration any time they performed. It is this historical trajectory this study explored. Collins (1977:53) affirms that juju music of the Yoruba was derived from a guitar-band music from the various palm-wine styles which were admired in Western Nigeria in the 1930s, and the most important of them being *kokoma* (*kokomba*), *gombe* and *ashiko*, which were played on local hand-drums, clips, maracas, rasps and the samba, a small rectangular frame-drum. The three neo-folk music were imported from Ghana, where *gombe* (*gome*) and *ashiko* appeared during the First World War and the *konkomba* in the 1930s.

In another perspective, Juju music was said to have emanated from the Salvation Army denomination, because of the introduction of the tambourine drum to the sect in 1920. It was said to have been 'borrowed' mostly because it has the potential of functioning as a 'talking' drum to generate interaction needed in musical situations. The tambourine drum usually termed as 'eight corners', was also considered in the 1930s by people of Lagos as possessing the power to heighten or stimulate a person's spiritual and mental consciousness. Based on this emblematic connotation, it later acquired the nomenclature 'juju' in the midst of Lagos people which the colonialists wrongly attached to something magical and fetish, by which they also labelled many traditional practices and beliefs of Africans. In addition, juju as music emerged from the need to strengthen the group's exclusiveness and identity. Martins (1966) stated that Tunde King's music, categorised as a form of popular music, emanated and was known as juju due to the reason that he (King) only performed at night in parlours of those who invited him and family compounds and never openly in Lagos streets. The need to consolidate the privileged, prestigious position and high standing of an elite group in Lagos society in the 1930s motivated the late-evening fraternisation. This need was met through quiet and private entertainment, where music was a characteristic feature of the events. It is therefore essential to see the style in juju music against the backdrop of several social, musical, and cultural influences, occasions and activities that have different meanings for the participants. This knowledge provides information with regards to the effects and functions of performance (Alaja-Browne 1989: 233-234).

Tunde King, the Yoruba mandolin player, is generally recognised as the earliest exponent of juju music in the mid-1930s. He fused these three imported styles with traditional Yoruba praise music to create this style. Juju music, however, came to dominate the Yoruba music scene in the 1970s. Two of its early innovators were the *ukelele* and *banjo* player Ojoge Daniels, who was popular in the 40s, and the guitarist Ayinde Bakare, who started his Inner Circle Orchestra in the 1950s.

I. K. Dairo became the most famous juju musician of all in the 1950s. He formed his Blue Spots band in 1957 and reigned supreme until 1964, when Ebenezer Obey formed the International Brothers (Collins 1977:54). Dairo literally recorded hundreds of songs and was awarded the Member of British Empire (MBE) for his success in the music field

(Collins 1992:85). He was the juju musician that represented Nigeria at the 1965 Dakar Festival of Arts. He played all over the globe and won a place among musicians from 16 countries of the world at a Tokyo musical jamboree where he was welcomed by a capacity audience that cheered him to success (*The Entertainment*, August, 1976:7). This study here captured this musical icon as one who has done remarkable feats in the Juju music genre.

Juju music made its debut in June 1935 at the funeral ceremony of Oguntola Odunbaku Sapara, a medical doctor by profession, who was one of the pioneers of medical practice in Nigeria. Prior to the funeral, Tunde King had restricted his performances to private gatherings. But after 5 June 1935, the date the newspaper announced the death of Dr. Sapara, King gave the Lagos community an opportunity to hear his music. It all began at the burial ceremony ("wake-keeping") held on Broad Street in Olowogbowo in honour of this departed figure. As Dr. Sapara was a distinguished member of the society, it was expected that the ceremony would attract large numbers of people from different walks of life. Although Tunde King and other area boys of Olowogbowo were not invited, they went nevertheless to pay their respects to the prominent Lagos-based personae, because they felt that they could not allow themselves to be left out on so important occasion (Alaja-Browne 1989:62-63). King's patronage subsequently expanded to include a number of wealthy and well-known residents of Olowogbowo quarters (Waterman 1990:64). It is noted that Tunde King, during such social gatherings regularly injected musical entertainment by adapting and selecting familiar sounds and structures. Members of his band usually accompanied King with suitable rhythms 'Guinea Gold' cigarette cans, empty palm-wine kegs and bottles and matchboxes (Alaja-Browne 1989:231).

From primordial time, the practice of music has been well embedded in the activities of humans. Music is meant to enable man to come to the consciousness and understand his past, and contribute to the shaping of the present and future. Music allows humans to express as well as document himself – his emotions, such as joy, disappointments, hopes, and sufferings, through the several media of the arts, such as music (Ihekweazu, 1985). Therefore, by this performance, man's activities and historical event have been canonised through music.

A popular music bandleader once said to Waterman: "Our tradition is a very modern tradition" (Campbell and Waterman 1995: 38-39). A good antidote to the conceived stereotypical image of "darkest Africa" is a deliberate study of Yoruba popular music, to the idea that tradition is synonymous with stasis and as a terrarium for ancient culture. It is interesting to note that music is interrelated with religion, kinship, politics, and economics. It is used as a tool of celebrating different stages in the human life and is intertwined with other genres of expressive behaviour such as visual and plastic arts, poetic speech and dance. Yoruba music comprises literally hundreds of dozens of instruments and named genres. It ranges from secret performances linked with "deep" powerful rituals to the public performances of popular music superstars -- public performances broadcast on television and radio and sold by cassette vendors (Campbell and Waterman 1995: 38-39).

On the characteristic feature of Juju music, it is pointedly unveiled that Juju music may be schematically characterised by a number of core features which are listed thus: (1) predominance of binary structure; (2) alternation of sung sections with sections of percussion or guitar solo; (3) call-and-response, leader-and-chorus singing; (4) predominance of diatonic melodic material, with frequent use of the flatted third and seventh degrees; (5) frequent alternation between duple and triple rhythms in the sung melody; (6) hierarchically arranged guitar accompaniment, involving both strumming and interlocking single-string patterns; (7) alternation between two tonal centres, generally I and V; (8) harmonisation of melodic lines in thirds and sixths; (9) the importance of linguistic factors (such as the Yoruba tonemic system) in the formation of melodic and rhythmic patterns; and (10) the clear differentiation and layering of instrumental timbres, creating a dense polyrhythmic texture (Waterman 1982: 60). These characteristics itemised by Waterman are no doubt peculiar to Juju music from a musicological perspective, but this has not left out some essential features of Juju music in regard to historical analysis of the genre. All these features with textual and lyrical analysis of the songs revealed the beauty of Juju music. Juju music is extremely percussive and deeply relies on vocals or oral aesthetics being that the heart of the Yoruba music is an extravagant articulated language, formulaic speech (poetry metaphors, and proverbs), and a profound tradition of oral history, these are foremost part of traditional Yoruba cultural identity. Yoruba percussion differs and

aggregate to the instrumental aspect of the music (Yussuf and Olúbòmèhìn 2018:65). According to Barber (2007:2, 4), texts are social facts and are used to do things: they are forms of action. Texts are commentaries on and interpretation of, social facts. They are part of social realities.

As a practitioner of Juju music, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey delivered a lecture at Sheraton Hotel, Ikeja on the invitation of the Rotary Club of Agege. Obey, as Juju musical icon, presented a vivid perspective to the origin of juju music. According to him, although juju music as mentioned above started in the 1920s, he claimed that juju music started per se in Nigeria in the early 1930s and was established by those Obey referred to as “fathers” of Juju music, namely, Pa Tunde King and the late Ayinde Bakare. The prominent players of juju music included Ojoge Daniel, Rose Adetola, C.A. Balogun, late Tunde Nightingale, J.O. Araba, Ade Ade and others. In clarifying the concept of juju, he said, Juju music had nothing to do with black magic. He credited I.K. Dairo (MBE) as the artiste who modernised Juju music in his own style. The modernisation of Juju music extended to late Tunde Nightingale alias “*Owanbe*”, and further modernisation was carried out by my humble self (Obey referring to himself) “when I added bass guitar, first and second guitar and more talking drums, followed by my good friend Chief Sunday Adeniyi Adegeye *a.k.a.* Sunny Ade” (*The Punch*, April, 1988:9). This source also revealed thus:

But strictly speaking, I.K. Dairo is the father of modern juju sound. His band was launched to fame in the late 1950s by the then newly established Western Nigeria Television. I.K. Dairo’s music swept the whole Federation like bush-fire while Kayode Ige trailed behind in popularity. Later, Tunde Nightingale emerged with his own ‘thing’ and originated ‘Owambe’ sound (*Daily Sketch*, October, 1971:14).

Juju music, as it is generally accepted, started by ingratiating itself with the Christian sect and won the approval of Christians who invited such musicians to play at naming, funeral and wedding ceremonies. Undeniably, Juju music still thrives in contemporary times and has since broadened its reach to encompass professionals, Muslims, business tycoons, (*oyinbo oni moto, oyinbo elepo,*) and even the military. Juju music catered for the perceived, imagined or real needs of Nigerians, particularly the Yoruba; the consideration of Juju music

is because of its assured adequate financial recompense. Jegede (1987:62-63) further noted that:

These two artistes, Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade, elevated praise-singing into art and their patrons responded by pasting wads of local currency on their forehead during live performances. The word 'spraying' was thus added to the social vocabulary of Nigerian popular music. Social gatherings, particularly, among the Yoruba, were organised to revolve around the juju musician. "Celebrants" competed with one another to out-spray the juju musician, whose favorite line on such occasion would end in '*b'oti nnawo l'owo nwole*' a Yoruba phrase which means "he spends from a self-replenishing purse".

Akanmu Adebayo also noted that as the musician sang, the celebrant or target audience danced and 'sprayed' the musician with money. The more he spent, the more he was praised, and the more he would spend.¹ The increase in the utilitarian value of Juju music that occurred in the 1970s is traceable to the oil boom. According to this author, the Juju musician reached the zenith of patronage during the 'seventies when Nigeria was literally awashed with currency accruing from its oil boom. The Udoji Award, granted to the workers by the General Yakubu Gowon government, laced everybody's pockets with extra loads of naira notes (Jegede 1987:65). Fusing the oil boom with music, Akin Ogunmade-Davis, in *Lagos Weekend*, January (1976:8-9), explained that Nigeria's economic buoyancy was closely tied to the oil boom which made it possible for the Federal government to earn from the oil trade revenues ranging from 3-4 billion naira annually. The generalisation is valid that in all countries which enjoy a boom in their petroleum industry, the economic fall-out effect is immediately felt in the music and record industry. There is often a lot of activity in the music market. This is because after many persons satisfy their basic human needs for good nutrition and decent housing, people tend to think of their leisure and amusement through the enjoyment of music. Thus, the spending power of consumers increased tremendously in the period. Recording companies and artistes made more money; the sale of records jumped to unprecedented levels. The tremendous jump in record sales was also

¹ Akanmu Adebayo, "Two Elites in Recorded Popular Music, 1960-1990s", 29th Iwo Day Celebration, N250 Million Development Appeal Fund, Oluwo Stadium, Saturday 21st December, 2019, p. 169.

manifested on the juju music scene as we saw in Obey's "Board Members". Also, the recording industry enjoyed other advantages at the time. For example, the wax used as an essential ingredient in the making of records is a by-product of the crude petroleum industry (*Lagos Weekend*, January 1976:8-9). So, the interconnectedness of Juju music with economic reality is significant.

Juju musicians, right from the 1940s, introduced some novel instruments and started creating innovative musical developments. *Gangan*, the Yoruba talking drum, was introduced by Akanbi 'Ege' Wright which, in the words of Vidal (1983:7), became controversial issue among juju musicians who thought *gangan* drum could not provide the equivalence innovation like the juju drum. Likewise, Sunday Harbour Giant introduced the organ, the mandoline and penny-whistle flute, this came about through group rivalry other than by any conscious need and effort to ensure conceptual change in the simple stylistic structures of light and cool musical entertainment (Alaja-Browne 1989:234). Tunde King, as a great personality, by the mid-1940s, acted as an influencer on a younger generation of players. Having experienced his powerful musical style, the decision was to emulate King's achievements and therefore influenced the general public into coming to terms with juju as a major popular music. Musical change developed from adaptations of such stimulated practice and by these values and concepts were delivered and later formed different ways of expression. It is these that provided a basis for the initial common stylistic features. Musicians who shared this common approach to the music included Ayinde Bakare, Ojo Babajide Daniel Ojoge Aleshinloye, Tunde (Nightingale) Thomas and Alabi Labilu, J. O. Araba. This is indeed very significant as juju music remained and continued to be a fundamental musical genre and popular all through the 1940s. Important events occurring in people's lives both as a community and as individuals were reflected by the texts of juju music. Their moral perspective was both informative and reflective, and as a result of this they provided opportunities for the communication of messages and thoughts about immediate incidents or events connected to the moral and social life of those involved or to society at large (Alaja-Browne 1989:235). Thus, juju music is a tool to communicate significant historical and economic events in society.

Though, beginning in the 1950s with the new awareness that preceded political independence and deepened over time, juju players started responding and adapted to changes in the social organisation. This required corresponding changes in style, performance contexts and performance practices. Thus, what up to the period had been light and solemn leisure music, which had evolved partly as entertainment music and partly to celebrate important events, became very popular urban dance and party music (*'Ere a faaji alariwo*). As mentioned earlier, the first major break between old and new juju music happened, with the emergence of I. K. Dairo. He contributed in a significant way to the development of juju music, and this can be traced to his introduction of the mouth organ and accordion (Vidal 1983), but more from his exploitation of the highly distinctive modes of musical expression characteristic of a sub-ethnic group of the Yoruba people known as Ijebu-Jesha. Consequently, Dairo began to move away from the cosmopolitan tone of the musicians that came before it, favoring regional styles of singing, melodies, verses, rhythms, and expressions close to the experience of the common man in the village. By this, Dairo established a school of regional exponents of juju music as well as broadened its appeal among the different regions of Yorubaland and beyond. According to Roberts, "He produced music that was new but asserted its modernity within a framework of the past" (Robert 1972:251).

The value of Dairo's innovations was noticeable in the aesthetic basis of the style in juju music, and also contributed to the expansion the tradition. With the political settings in the 1950s and the new social system, Dairo's musical dexterity and creativity laid the foundation for greater identification with the Yoruba values and cultural heritage. For him, the role of traditional Yoruba musical expression was contemporary instead of historical, especially at a critical period in the history of the country. Alternative modes of expression were inspired to him through Juju which he successfully explored, and his techniques suited both his music and the concept of music of his audience. New criteria and musical preferences were established through these conceptual changes which led Dairo's followers, who usually were regional proponents, to reject the original style of the Lagos school, and also to begin to search for modes of expressions that were distinctive which could use Dairo's innovations as the bedrock for their own creative output (Alaja-Browne 1989:235-236).

The "nationalisation" of Yoruba juju music also has been attributed to I. K. Dairo who was said to have started the process in the 1960s through his albums and performances at various places. He projected juju music till it was well known in the country. Names of different ethnic groups such as people from the northern part of Nigeria were recorded in his albums. He was the first to use the Yoruba talking squeeze drum with juju music, which, until then, was hardly distinguishable from highlife. In the mid-1960s, during the Nigerian civil war, highlife bands disappeared in Yorubaland, as most of the dance band musicians were from the east of Nigeria. This demographic factor accounts for the dominance of juju music as an acculturated principal genre in the western region, in place of highlife which distinct roles were played by the likes of Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade (Collins 1987: 187-188). Dairo was largely responsible for the regional success of the Decca West Africa label in the 1960s and 1970s. To attest to his quintessential impact to juju music, an American manager of King Sunny Ade, Andrew Frankel, noted one of the records' Original Music label brought out in homage to Dairo (1990):

In 1975, his career took a sudden downturn. A deeply religious man, IK Dairo increasingly devoted his time to the Cherubim and Seraphim church movement in which he was already a prominent figure. He preached regularly in the church built at his primary residence on Kehinde Dairo Street, one of the several streets named after him in Lagos, and integrated juju music into his services (Servant 2003: 29).

Dairo had imbibed the spirit of juju music to the extent that he not only performed at social events in society but also ingrained Juju music into his style of worship in his church. Modern juju music, as performed by such stars as Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade, showed the effects of acculturation and modernisation. Yet juju remains, in terms of musical features and social function, very much guided by traditional Yoruba values. Juju music's contemporary appeal had been intensified through dissemination via phonograph records, cassette tapes, and radio, such social category boundaries as those delimiting rich and poor, Muslim, and Christian, old and young, and urban and rural (Waterman 1982:59-60). Ebenezer Obey and Sunny Ade are now prominent juju music performers and they have become musicians with globally best-known "African-pop" styles. Sunny Ade has added another instrument known as the pedal steel guitar to the two or more electric guitars, bass, and large percussion section of his band. The use of

synthesizers has also aided contemporary juju bands to produce highly polished "studio" sound. Juju groups combined the traditional functions of social-dance drumming and praise singing while they performed both at neo-traditional Yoruba ceremonies (funerals, weddings, naming ceremonies,) and urban bars. Even though Western harmonies are utilised, juju music is organised around a series of interlocking ostinato parts played by the drummers and guitars and leader-chorus call-and-response singing (Turino 1992: 165).

This call-and-response patterns are short song forms, loosely fitted poetic text (*asayan oro*) weaved to elicit something meaningful (*esa*) punctuated by intermitted choruses by the leader and the chorus of dancers all (performed) in the context of a soft, light entertainment music (*ere faaji ti ko pariwo*) (Alajah-Brown 1989:231). According to Labi (2003:206), it is a form in which the solo and chorus parts alternate. At times, an introduction may be sung by the lead singer or by two or more singers – one after the other. Sometimes the lead singer may return to the introductory material after the chorus entry before letting the alternation principle unfold. Thus juju music has had a very fascinating history from the 1920s to the present. It reached its glamorous height during the period of this study when it was heightened, where conspicuous consumption was maximally expressed and projected by wealthy Nigerians as a form of gaining higher social status. Thus the utilitarian value of Juju music, right from inception, extended to the contemporary times.

2.3 Empirical Review

2.3.1 NIGERIA IN THE DECADE OF THE OIL BOOM, 1970-1980

2.3.2 Overview of the Phenomenon of the Oil Boom in Nigeria

As a significant event of the period, it is now appropriate in this review to consider the phenomenon of the oil boom. According to Aina (1993:414) the Nigerian Bitumen Corporation discovered oil in a location which is 200km to the east of Lagos State in 1908. The efforts of the company were abortive because the start of the First World War in 1914 made the company to abandon the drilled shallow wells. The sole right given to Shell D'Arcy in 1936 for hydrocarbons all over Nigeria gave it the opportunity to discover oil in Oloibiri in 1956, thus leading to the production of oil in 1958. This situation gave other international companies, such as Mobil, Safrap (currently ELF), Texaco, Agip, and Gulf (presently

engaged by Chevron), who are involved in oil discovery and production, the opportunity to move into Nigeria in the early 1960s. The companies' employed techniques included geological search, seismic refraction, gravity, and simple single line seismic reflection methods. At this time, the drawing of the entire Niger Delta gravity incongruity map was done. This map was very valuable in designing many 2-D seismic surveys which took place in the 1970s. *Shell D'Arcy Exploration Company's* experience regarding oil discovery in Nigeria in 1937 was a turning point in oil and gas resources in the Niger Delta region and thus led to a great commercial oil discovery in the same region. The surveying of oil using seismic started in eastern Nigeria, making Enugu the temporary oil company's headquarters. In addition, *Shell Company* was granted the opportunity to begin exploration along the coast of Lagos, Nsukka, Okigwe-Afikpo, Port-Harcourt, Benin City, Cross River and Forcados (Agahino, 2009; William, BPA/18079/4/41). The concentrated exploratory activities in these regions were the result of previous discovery of large quantities of oil by the *Nigerian Bitumen Company* in the eastern part of Delta region while carrying out a seismic survey according to the report of Wyllie, the company's geologist, in 1933 (Raji and Abejide 2013:22)

Eko, Utting & Onun (2013:82) add that the first ten years of previous century marked the beginning of the development in the Nigerian petroleum industry. The implementation of some geological works were done, in the old Western region three great oil wells were drilled and were deserted in 1961. Nevertheless, the initial discovery of the first commercial crude oil by Shell happened in 1957 and production of oil started in the following year, 1958. In 1961, five oil companies were given ten oil prospecting licenses, two to each company, by the Federal Government on the continental shelf. The area covered by each of the license was about 25,600 square kilometres and the expected payment from each was 1 million naira. As a result of these agreements, oil discovery and production began on a full-scale of on-shore and offshore. As a discovery of oil in commercial quantities was done at Oloibiri in the Niger Delta, additional discoveries at Afam and Boma made Nigeria an oil-producing country.

It is remarked by Abiodun that although the initial discovery regarding crude oil in Nigeria started in 1908, its full operation started in the 1950s and became extensive not until the

nationalisation of the Suez Canal in 1956. The locations of the first established oil wells in the country then were at Oloibiri and Afam in the then Eastern Region, and subsequent intensive activities in the exploration for and the exploitation of crude oil were concentrated in the east of the Niger River. Although discoveries of crude oil had been made since 1958 in the Mid-Western State, which is west of the Niger River, commercial production did not commence there until 1965. Prior to that date, the then Eastern Region was the only area of commercial crude-oil production in Nigeria (Abiodun 1974:253). Research focusing on the impact of oil in Nigeria revealed that the contemporary Nigeria is inseparable from oil (Falola, 2002) because it has been the country's main revenue supply.

Karl Maier in his *This House Has Fallen: Midnight in Nigeria*, is a great volume in this regard. One of the blurbists, Richard Dowden, noted on the book thus: "The best book on contemporary Africa for years". Meanwhile, Maier (2000) reveals that Nigeria is in a sorry state, a victim of large-scale corruption, the excessive political ambition of its leaders (especially the military), a grossly mismanaged economy, and a reckless competition for power and resources among the leading members of the various ethnic groups. The book clearly discusses oil and gave an account of the political crisis and marginalisation of the minorities in the Niger Delta, which was the very reason that led to the mobilisation of the Ogoni in the region. The politics of oil is equally mentioned, as this is the area that produces the country's wealth (Falola 2000:396). In the same vein, Pegg in his study of Karl Maier's book found Maier explaining that among the most heavily populated countries in the world, Nigeria is ranked tenth because one out of every six Africans resides in there. Nigeria is a very important country because of ethnic diversities and bountiful oil reserves. He points out that in spite of all these enormous resources, Nigeria is bedevilled with varied challenges that are militating against its development. He passionately pleaded in his book that, because of Nigeria countless problems, much attention should be focused on her by the international community so as to prevent her from exploding (Pegg 2000:506).

After the survival of Nigeria from the civil war, her ability to recover was largely based on the heavily generated revenues from the discovered oil during the 1970s. Few years later, this discovery made the country to experience oil boom which led to the flow of money in the country. This situation made it possible for having the financial resource required for

meeting virtually all proposed developmental plans. As a result, there was a shift in the postwar literature to analysing the oil boom outcomes. Generally, the world, starting from 1973, went through an oil surprise which became prevalent in Nigeria until the mid-1980s. This wave initially had positive influence on the country, but led to economic tragedy because of the corrupt practices, negligence and military rule. It is further argued that literature focusing on the discovery and production of oil from the 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s suggest that the oil industry and the oil companies located in different places of the world will experience positive influence. Thus, resources were channeled into the oil industry because of its envisaged rapid economic development. For this reason, some scholarly works had to focus on developing such promising industry and the required capital for sustaining it with regard to the technological and geographical aspects (Genova and Falola 2003: 136).

In the mid-1960s, there was a shift in focus from the introduction of discovering methods to the oil industry to identifying sustainable strategies and most effective ways to utilise oil for economic purposes by the Nigerian government. The country's concerns were that the country's oil wealth would be exploited by foreign oil companies and thus bring about retardation in its development. This issue was documented by Scott Pearson and R. K. Dickie in their works focusing on the various initial efforts made towards the regulation of the oil industry (Pearson 1970). The outcome of the oil boom led to an oil bust enduring till 1990, which in turn largely led to a fall in oil price because of the acceptance of excess oil barrels. This situation had a serious effect on the Nigerian economy thus stimulating varieties of responses from scholars regarding the causes and possible solutions. Many scholars presented write-ups on the short period of the economic shift from the combination of the oil boom and bust. Because Nigeria experienced economic instability during the oil bust, serious criticisms were levied against the government. In August 1980, there was an allegation regarding the loss of N2.8 billion in oil money, thus stimulating discourse regarding corruption in the media." The public was given broad-spectrum of information regarding the oil industry by reviewing the historical development of Nigeria's oil and presenting information about oil revenues and its levels of production (Quinlan, 1980: 98-99). Fela Anikulapo Kuti in his song "Army Arrangement" also vividly vocalised the N2.8

billion oil money that disappeared at that period and that corrupt officials have taken over, who eventually claimed the money did not disappear. According to Onimode (1982:168), the most profitable period of the oil boom was between 1973 and 1983 in the Nigerian history after the colonial era. During the period, Nigeria experienced an unusual positive growth in her economic activities because the petroleum industry in Nigeria was commercialised, thus increasing her foreign treasuries to US\$5.203 billion in 1976 from US\$222 million in 1970.

Klieman (2012: 156) clearly unveils that there is always a neglect of the civil war period in Nigeria (1967-1970) whenever analyses regarding the Nigerian oil are being done. It was at that period that the establishment of the various arrangement, guiding principles, and political relations which brought about the unique formation of Nigeria's oil curse was implemented. It was revealed that an engaged tax clash by oil companies in the U.S brought about high tension in the various regions and among ethnic groups, thus leading to an outbreak of the civil war. During the oil boom before the outbreak of civil war, Nigerian government was subtly convinced by the U.S. independent oil companies that the imposition of the then recent Libyan-style tax laws has the high possibility of preventing Nigeria from engaging in commercial activities. It was stated that any region operating such tax laws could be subjected to abject poverty. This suggestion aggravated the tensions between the ethnic groups, thus wrongly intensifying the chances of the war. Also, the major players in this scenario, such as the armed forces administration, during Yakubu Gowon's regime, foreign oil companies with their governments, and Emeka Ojukwu, the leader of the secessionists—decided that matters relating to oil should not be revealed to the public. This led to the introduction of opacity by the Nigerian political economy of oil as a form of principle. This policy is an intentional means of keeping away information about the mode of operations relating to production, incomes, record-keeping, among others. Oil price shocks have had serious influence on the global economy.

In the 1970s, the USA and several countries in Europe experienced a serious recession which was heralded by oil shocks caused by the skirmishes in the Middle East at that time. A study was conducted by Olomola and Adejumo (2006:28, 33) in Nigeria on oil price shock's influence on production, inflation, rate of money exchange and supply of money,

making use of periodical information between 1970 and 2003. Findings showed that oil price shocks had a significant effect on the rate at which money is being exchanged. It can therefore be inferred that the increase in the oil price has high probability of increasing resources that in turn increase the exchange rate value. Several studies in this regard point to the fact that the increase in oil prices brought about reduction in the output and intensified the inflation rate during the 1970s and early 1980s. However, the motivation for this current study is that, it is the response to the monetary policy that led to the instability in the total economic activity, not the oil price shocks. It is emphasised that oil price shocks are not significant enough to have influence on production and the rate of inflation in Nigeria within the study's focused period. Similarly, Iwayemi and Fowowe (2011:603) carried out a study on the oil price shocks' effects on an oil-exporter in Nigeria. Findings revealed no significant influence of oil price shocks on the majority of the macroeconomic variables in Nigeria.

Ikelegebe's (2005) work reveals the cause of the economic crisis in the regions of the Niger Delta with abundant oil. It is made clear that the root of the economic war is greed, leading to severe conflict for the control of the oil. The various communal/ethnic conflicts within and outside the nation took place because of the control of the resources, and this brought about the stealing and trafficking of the processed and unrefined oil since the 1990s. There was heavy involvement of struggles within the Niger Delta region in opposition to the Nigerian State and the international companies dealing in oil. Serious restiveness together with different insurrections and upheavals saturated the Niger Delta region. This long oil exploitation period, dilapidation of the environment and neglect of the state led to the marginalisation and exploitation of the citizens thereby producing serious resistance mostly from the youths in the region after two decades.

Furthermore, focusing on the influence of the oil, Ikelegebe (2005) examined the adopted Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives of the Multinational Oil Companies (MOCs) in the country and the community's response to the initiatives. His main analysis is on why stakeholders in the producing communities are skeptical of the continuing outcome and recipients of the initiatives. A study conducted by Eweje suggests that for there to be a well-established cordial relationship between the host communities in

the Niger Delta region and the Multinational Enterprises (MNEs), there must be implementation of initiatives/investments which will ensure community development. This is one of the expectations of the host communities because they desire developmental projects that will sustain and ensure prosperous future for the people or youths in the communities. Thus, various companies have demonstrated that they are socially responsible by being committed to implementing developmental initiatives such as offer of scholarships, construction of classrooms and employment of teachers for local communities. The author establishes that it is only the CSR initiatives that are envisaged by the host communities to produce economic, social and environmental developments that can quell the Niger Delta conflict, not the laudability of CSR initiatives.

Okolie (1992: 200-201), in his summary of the oil boom, stresses the ignored aspects. First, he emphasises how the oil boom made Nigeria, among the privately-owned financial markets in the world, to be credit-worthy and thus preventing the country from experiencing developments within it. According to him, a major foreign exchange earner relied upon in Nigeria not later than 1965 was the oil, and during the early 1970s it became the major source of foreign exchange because of the coaxed increase in oil price by the OPEC. Since there was drastic reduction in the exportation of agricultural products, there was great increase in the oil production during the 1970s. Ninety per cent of exportation was accrued to oil while 80 per cent of the sources of government's revenues was accrued to the same oil.

This increase in the oil revenues prompted the then military government to enact decrees that placed extra control of resources and power in the hands of the Federal government than the constituent states. The Naira was also given a high value so as to reduce the cost of importation for the purpose of development. Various developmental projects such as schools, roads, bridges, hospitals, ports, sports stadia, etc., were executed. The new wave of construction boom led to the influx of people from the rural areas into the urban centres, thereby leading to a drastic reduction of the agricultural labour force. Though at the initial state (1970-75) Nigeria did not totally depend on aids from external countries because of the revenues from oil, in a little while the government realised the necessity to borrow from external sources to maintain the already heightened expenditure level. The dependence on

credits from privately-own banks as a substitute for bilateral aid granted the state the opportunity to focus on decisions of main concern to the nation.

Madujibeya also has observed that the growth experienced by the country's petroleum industry within its fifteen years of oil discovery has been so rapid. The commercial production of oil which started in 1958 correspondingly led to the huge increase in the production and exports of the crude oil; the huge increase in the production of the crude oil from 112-118 million tonnes in 1974 from a meagre 257,000 tonnes in 1958, at the same time brought about the huge increase in exports to 110 million tonnes from 230,000 tonnes. This situation caused significant increase in the crude oil reserves to 4,800 million tonnes in 1974 from a meagre 17 million tonnes in 1958, making the established and credible reserves to become 7,000 million tonnes. Apart from the increase in crude oil, there was a discovery of associated and non-associated natural gas reserves which were projected to be about 45,000 cubic feet at the end of 1974 (Madujibeya 1976: 284). The article considered into the contributions that the oil industry has made in the Nigerian economy and highlighted possible factors that can weaken the contributions and gave suggestions regarding the increased impact by the oil operations on the economy (Madujibeya 1976: 285).

Adams (2016: 104, 107.) in "Diversification of Nigeria Economy through Agricultural Production" asserts that since the discovery of petroleum in 1956, substantial contributions have been made to the Nigerian income, especially in 1970 a period of the upsurge of its crude oil price. Little did the government know then that the constant huge revenue from the oil sector will be severely affected by the oil price reduction. He posits that the government should take adequate measure to diversify in order to ensure stability and feasibility in the nation's economic growth and that the dependence on a mono-economy by any government has the high possibility of bringing the economy of such nation in complete shambles. For this reason, the only way out of the current economic crunch is for Nigeria to diversify her economy.

Watts adds a detailed account of how Nigeria, being in the 13th position among the leading and exemplary petroleum and oil producing nations, largely depended on deriving 80

percent of her revenues from petroleum products, 95 percent from export receipts, and her foreign exchange wages were 90 percent, indicating how deluded it has been regarding the huge production period of oil. Not taking cognizance of the disappearance of \$50bn out of the sum of \$270bn incomes derived from oil streamed into the country's exchequer since 1960 is an indication that Nigeria has been highly deluded as an oil nation. The author restated the level of marginalisation and disqualification experienced by the Niger Delta, a region that produces oil, with regard to profiting from the oil being produced by the region. This has led to several forms of violence in the country. The control of the produced oil was taken over by new social forces from traditional power structures, thereby causing conflicts in several situations, despite the differences in age, ethnicity, class, and so on (Watts 2004:50-51).

Also Watts (2008:27) in another work speaks about the new-found struggle to possess Africa as a situation for the upsurge of global forces. The neoliberal policy of the military and the Global War on Terror (GWOT) made it possible for oil to be produced in different places and in large quantity within Africa, thereby giving precedence to oil and gas investment instead of making foreign investment in Africa while trying to adjust the neoliberal system within two disastrous decades. The author further explains that though Nigeria has been a very significant producer of oil and gas in Africa, in whom the US is very interested, it became a great failure because it depends solely on oil production for its development. This situation brought about the growth of different forms of armed insurgencies in the Niger Delta regions, where oil is being produced, rendering the whole region out of control since late 2005, when a new armed group named the Movement for the Emancipation of the Nigeria Delta (MEND) emerged. In his conclusion, he states that the ungovernable situation is a replicated style adopted all over the Gulf of Guinea and that it is a system that properly suit the intended vision of America imperialism, which is to forcefully adopt the region for military use. Globally, conversations regarding oil have been always controversial. It has been well-observed by Chamberlain Peterside that predominant energy resources, which have been very important for over fifty years for the world economy, are hydrocarbons, and likewise in Nigeria (Peterside 2004). The explanation for Nigeria's case varies. First is that, 99% of Nigeria's foreign trade earnings depends solely

on oil. Secondly, the people's wellbeing and the environment where oil has been explored and exploited have constantly been negatively affected. Thirdly, the uneven distribution of the proceeds from oil exploration and exploitation have brought about internal crisis: oil-producing communities are agitating that better allocations from the oil proceeds should be given to them and that the implementations of some environmental standards should be upheld with regards to the operations of the oil industry in their region (Akhaine 2010:91).

Andrew Apter arrived in Nigeria in 1977 and, recounting his experience, said that the oil boom was accelerating and that he was amazed. Nigeria was on the move. The dollar was worth \$1.60 and he was happy to get one for one on the black market. This situation indicates how strong the economy was in that period. In the same vein, Apter describes the bumpy road of how the festival (FESTAC) came about, but interprets it as a mirror image of oil-driven development, a kind of mirage of money without real growth backing it up. Thus, the oil boom became a catalyst for Nigeria's economic development and became Nigeria's undoing because it was not properly managed.

2.12 Oil Boom in Nigeria, 1970-1980

The oil boom brought about huge revenues, huge expenditures and at the same time corruption and economic shambles in Nigeria. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was established in 1960 and Nigeria joined the organisation in 1971. The discovery and production of oil brought about ten times increase in exportation within 1970 and 1980 and increased in importations by 11 times. Nigeria could not record surpluses only in two years out of the past ten years in its existing payments' balance. According to the economist Andrew (1982:23-29), any country that so much desires to acquire too many goods and services from the foreign countries cannot have enough wherewithal to pay for the goods and services. For instance in 1980, out of the projected GNP oil revenues, one quarter of it was reversed for the GNP composition. In 1970, oil exportation took 58 percent, 93 percent in 1975, and in 1980, 90% of all exportations was based on oil. The derived profits from the exportation of oil formed 90% of the government's revenue.

As a result of the huge revenue from oil, the intended programmes being carried out were abandoned. Because of the lack of knowledgeable and trained personnel to man production

and spending from the oil revenue, foreigners were given production licenses to take charge of the operations, thus making Nigeria an ineffective OPEC member. Most of the necessary tools and expertise required for building oil wells, processing of oil, and other equipment were brought from the foreign countries into Nigeria. Also, in the 1972-73 financial year, the profit accrued from oil constituted over 50% of the whole income of the federal government. Between 1973 and 1976, when oil profits got to a climax, 81% of the whole income of the federal government income came from oil, contributing 5177 million (Igbokwe 1983: 29-32). The percentage of profits that come from oil to the state and the federal is 80%. The oil influence on the GDP is not significant when compared to the contribution it is making to exportations or income of the government. The GDP component of crude oil in the 1977/78 financial year was 22.1%.

Lubeck (1977:5-10) states that the population of persons involved in the production of oil in Nigeria is less than 5,000 out of approximately 80 million people, meaning less than 1% of the population. This situation is due to the capital intensive nature and the requirement for persons with extremely specialised expertise. It is revealed by Adani (1981) that in 1974 the exact figure of the employed staff in the oil industry for the entire categories was 4,838. Also, the low standard of industrialisation, technology, and consumption patterns brought very weak linkages to the economy. In spite of the benefit the oil economy brought some problems however emerged, which among others, are the following: (1) because of the high flow of money into the economy, high rate of inflation was experienced. This could be seen in the increasing rate of the Consumer Price Index (CPI) from 52.8 percent in 1970 to 217.9% in 1980—indicating 165.1% rise in 10 years, in which 1975 was used as a basis (2) the rural sector experienced more adverse internal trade terms compared with the urban sectors (3) Migration to urban centres for labour, (4) Restricting access to supply and the managing of finances by civic institutions and (5) intermittently increasing workers' salaries with no commensurate output, such as the well-known "Udoji Awards" and the "Williams Awards". It should be noted that government's extensive spending on infrastructural constructions, such as roads, bridges and ports, has brought about high inflation rate. The reasons are that most of the required items for the constructions are imported and that the projects' numbers are numerous and of great magnitude.

Prebendal politics in Nigeria have addressed several aspects of the crises. Joseph (1983:21) focuses his argument on the influential groups' socio-economic inclination, the significant development in the economic role of the state, the shifting of the country to an exporting economy of mono-mineral in nature, and the diverse competitive patterns employed in order to gain access into public assets in all the Nigerian sectors. Being dissatisfied with the Second Republic's achievements and the increasing concern regarding its viability are the combinatory outcome which reflected in those basic problems. The dominant and the economically viable class controlled the economically sound period of the boom. Also, Richard Joseph in *Affluence and Underdevelopment: The Nigerian Experience* demonstrates that the intended continuing economic development met with adverse reactions from both Nigerians and their policy-makers concerning the country's oil wealth. It is surprising to many oil importing countries to discover the intensity at which the question, 'Is Oil a Blessing or a Curse?' is contested among Nigerian scholars. Nevertheless, having been able to pay the price for its affluence is the only solved problem by Nigeria (Joseph 1978).

Forrest (1986:4) in *The Political Economy of Civil Rule and the Economic Crisis in Nigeria, 1979-84* also alludes to how the state engagement and the guiding principles of the economy strongly interact with both the market and socio-political forces in the administration of President Shagari. Also, he investigates why democratic politics, or what is better known as politicians' rule wrecked the economy. The reign of National Party of Nigeria was so weak that it was unable to establish useful economic policies. The debate on economy and rivalry in politics focused on sharing state's investment and associating the federal and state together. The processes involved in the formulation of necessary policy relevant to public economy focused only on how to achieve the sharing of state investment and elections. All through, the identified development in the 1970s economic expansion were strengthened, part of which comprised discipline in the public economy and defeat of financial management.

In *Oil and Nigeria's Economic Development*, it is argued that there have been various positive contributions of the oil industry to the economy of Nigeria. He itemised the contributions as follows: creating job opportunities; encouraging the local spending on

goods and services; adding to government incomes, to the gross domestic product, and to foreign trade treasury; and energy is being made available for industrial operations as well as trade. The inception of commercial production which began in 1958 greatly increased the production and the exportation of goods and services. Given a statistical basis, for instance, there was an upsurge of crude oil production to 112-118 million tonnes in 1974 from a meagre 257,000 tonnes in 1958 while its exportation rose to 110 million tonnes from 230,000 tonnes, simultaneously. Also, the reserves of the crude oil were drastically boosted to 4,800 million tonnes in 1974 from a meagre 17 million tonnes in 1958 (Madujibeya 1976: 284-285).

The story of oil also manifested in songs, Ayinla Omowura in his song states that General Yakubu Gowon rewarded public servants with money after the civil war, popularly known as “Udoji Award” in 1974. Omowura coined the title of his song, *Ire Wole De: Owo Udoji*, and in the song appealed to the citizens to rejoice with the public servants in Nigeria as the government has rewarded them with Udoji money. This was one of the effects of the oil boom on the Nigerian people. Ayinla Omowura’s work is an example of classics as *Owo Udoji* and the likes, which have remained evergreen simply because of their depth, engaging themes and the artistic creativity that went into their production (*Sunday Punch*, 2000:27).

Oil has contributed greatly to the economic growth of Nigeria. Early 1970s exploitation of unrefined oil brought about transformation in trade equilibrium of Nigeria. The country experienced huge surpluses which alleviated her from her chronic deficits, thus resulting in the surge of the volume and value of crude oil. The increase in imports (caused by the oil-boom mentality and reduction in exports of crude oil which result from the economic recession in the world led to fall in surplus in the mid-1970s and this later brought the country to a deficit by late 1977 (Dayo and Adegbulugbe 1987:31).

It is argued further that by 1973 the country was already established in the production and exportation of power thus making her to be among the leading countries dealing in such business. Also, it has become producer and exporter of low-sulphur crude based on the activities of various international oil firms working in large-scale exploration for over fifteen years. The peak of production was attained in 1974 with about 2.3 million barrels

daily. There was increase in production of crude oil annually at the normal rate of about 37.0 percent from 1958 to 1977 (Dayo and Adegbulugbe 1987:33-33). The establishment of a new refinery in September 1965 was as a result of the opening of 25 servicing companies together with their respective offices in Port Harcourt. At that time, there was a report by the American embassy in the country regarding the Port Harcourt oil boom. The report stated that 1964 was the year that Nigeria left the marginalised status of being a producer of oil to becoming one of the major producer of oil with great prospect in the world (Klieman 2012: 157-158).

In 1965, the production of oil from the onshore in the East and offshore in the Midwestern Region was carried out by Shell and Gulf, respectively. Four out of the other five companies, which are Azienda Generale Italiana Petroli (Agip), Philips Petroleum Company, Amoseas, Société Africaine des Pétroles (safrap), and Mobil had discovered crude oil and were already at the developing stages. The fifth one, Tenneco, had also been given permission but could not find oil. The increase in the production of crude oil on a daily basis to 301,352 barrels in August 1965 from the usual 84,000 barrels, which was also on a daily basis in January 1964 led to a corresponding increase of £60 million in the profits gained from the exportation of oil, which was formerly £20 million. This upsurge in production placed Nigeria in the thirteenth position among the other leading producers of oil globally. Practically, the production of oil was done in the Eastern Region (while Royal Dutch Shell made a production of 83 percent, the safrap had a production of 9.4 percent by). At that time, the distribution of the profits from the oil was as follows: the regions from which the oil were explored and exploited were allocated 50 percent of the rents and royalties, the Federal government was allocated 20 percent, and the remaining 30 percent of the allocation was distributed among the other regions according to the size of their population. The aforementioned system of allocation was tolerated at the time the exportation of agricultural product and natural resources, such as tin and manganese mined in the North, were the mainstay in Nigeria (as each region produced its own). The rate at which profits from oil grew made the northerners skeptical of being left behind with regard to the distribution of the oil revenues. In addition, a lot of tension mounted as there was sudden increase in the discovery of oil in the Midwest. This situation brought about the production of oil by Gulf

Oil in that region in 1965, which in turn made the region to be attracted to other industries, such as liquefied petroleum gas, stock feed, and fertilizer plants, which began to compete for spaces to establish their companies both in the Mid-western and Eastern regions (Klieman 2012: 157-158).

Fenske and Zurimendi (2017) also examine the possibility of the benefits to be accrued to African ethnic groups with regard to the sudden increase in the oil prices of producing countries. In order to ascertain this, an assessment of the influence of the distribution of the changes in the price of oil on different regions and ethnicities was attempted. But the study's serious limitation was that there was no data that gave detailed information about the living standard of individual in the country for a substantial period from the national level to the regional level. Okolie (1995) argues that agrarian policies of Nigerian states since 1970s do not only result from the oil boom and slump but changes in international systems of credits also contributed to it. Landmark constructions took place in urban centres during the era of oil boom which led to migration from rural areas to the urban centres and this depleted the agricultural workforce in the rural areas. In order to provide adequate food for the increasing population in the urban centres, the cost of importation was reduced by high exchange rate that is supported by oil revenues. This increased the taste for imported food items and discouraged local farmers from producing food crops.

The choice of musicians in the oil era was explored by Brennan, he unveils that understanding the shift in political economy and religious activities and how they relate with each other is important. In this instance, the study considered the *Ayo ni* album, the song by a church choir and its stance on Nigeria's post-colonial political economy. It highlights the experiences of middle class Yoruba members in the new political and economic order of the oil boom. The author discusses the pressures and possibilities that arose from the conspicuous consumption and the huge circulation of wealth among the elite (Brennan 2010).

Indigenous gospel music in Nigeria and its contextual significance was examined by Ojo (1998). He argues that the development of indigenous gospel music in Nigeria transcends the church into public domain where it is used as a tool for enlightenment and entertainment

which is directed towards social reconstruction of the Nigeria society. The author concludes that the message of indigenous gospel music is expressed across cultures and this makes it gain a larger audience across the country and as an effective tool for social transformation. The patronage of the music was anchored on the fact that the messages are germane and of positive social and moral contributions to the society.

Walker carried out an assessment of the changes that took place in the structure of the cocoa industry prior to the oil boom period, and at the same time did an analysis on why the rehabilitation programmes carried out by the government failed throughout the periods (Walker 2000:71). The work discusses cocoa economy in relation to oil boom but not juju music. It attempted an assessment of the economic activities in Nigeria so as to detect any possible problems and relate it with the Malaysian context focusing on vision 2020. Findings showed that both Nigeria and Malaysia desired to become countries with highly developed economy by 2020. Though the background of Nigeria's economy from the oil boom period in the mid 1970s was model of economic growth in Africa, the misfortune that came upon the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of about \$43 billion brought about a serious decline in the country's economy in 1981, thereby making the total income by individual to decline from \$1150 in 1991 to only just \$300 in 2001 (Okezie and Amir, 2011:368.).

In 1971, it was noted that the production of crude oil in Nigeria by the Shell BP Petroleum Development Company (Nigeria) Limited had risen from 450,000 barrels daily to 1.5 million barrels daily. The increase in the production was as a result of the company's accelerated pace of development mounted subsequent to when the Civil War ended. The Managing Director of the Company, Mr P.B. Baxendell told over 9,000 people that attended the official opening of the £250,000 new office built along Oguna road in Port Harcourt that when the war ended, the management of the Shell BP spent approximately £70 million on new projects in Nigeria. He also said that one of the first reactivation programmes implemented by the company after the end of the war was to rebuild and repair all damaged equipment and facilities with which the company was carrying out its operations (*Nigerian Tribune*, June 19, 1971:4). General Olusegun Obasanjo in 1977, likewise made this assertion while addressing the inaugural meeting of the Board of Directors of the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation in Lagos. He noted that oil contributed 85% of the Federal

government annual revenue and that it earned about 90% of the country's foreign exchange. The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation, Obasanjo emphasised, was not one that the government could allow anyone to toy with or allow pettiness and narrow mindedness to hamstring; adding that it must take off and perform effectively (*Nigerian Tribune*, July 2, 1977:16).

Furthermore, *Nigerian Tribune*, December 26, 1981, recorded that Nigeria generated additional 38 million barrels of crude oil in October of that year. It was a statement by the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) that there was an increase of about 17 per cent in export compared with the figures recorded in September of the same year. The corporation said that the increase was due to the gradual recovery of the world market demand for Nigerian crude oil, which was due to government's decision to grant discount on Nigeria's crude from the month of August. The NNPC said that additional 5 million barrels of crude oil were supplied to the three refineries in the country and that the refineries operated satisfactorily during the month under review (*Nigerian Tribune*, December 26, 1981:11). These are indications of an oil dominated economy.

Adedipe (2004) argues that during the oil boom period, changes in the prices of crude oil were reflected in the exchange rate, thus leading to hype in the naira due to the corresponding great upsurge in foreign exchange incomes. The increase in foreign exchange earnings made it possible for the wealthy class to accumulate and display wealth within the period. The naira was attached to the GBP (i.e. British Pound Sterling), but when it was floated in 1972, the naira was attached to the US Dollar. Nevertheless, naira was attached to the currencies of the 12 major partners trading in crude oil with Nigeria in 1978. Furthermore, there was heavy movement of people from the rural area to the urban centres during the oil boom. This movement led to the reduction in the rural population, thus negatively affecting the production of agricultural products (Adedipe 2004). Nigerians neglected agricultural and manufacturing activities and went in search for jobs that depended solely on crude oil as their means of sustainability during the oil boom in the 1970s. This situation therefore made oil and gas to amount to more than 98% of the incomes received through export while the Federal government's proceeds from the same oil and gas amounted to 83%. Between 1960 and 1969, the total GDP of Nigeria annually was 0.6%,

and it was an era that was infiltrated by political conflicts, civil war and a period that agricultural production was given precedence in the economy. But between 1970 and 1980, the total GDP of Nigeria was 8.4%. It was an era of the oil boom, thus leading to making great infrastructural investments (Nwoba and Abah 2017: 86, 94).

In his analysis of the oil boom and agricultural activities, this author gives an insight into the possible reasons for the neglect of agriculture. His conclusion contradicts the conventional arguments that peoples' mad rush from the rural area to the urban centre for white-collar jobs led to the decline of agricultural production. His statistical presentation of the findings suggests that the neglect of agricultural activities could be attributed to the spread of Dutch Disease, natural blight, rent out phenomenon, and so on (Ammani 2011:6). The final analysis of the empirical findings suggest that during the oil boom the allocation given to the agricultural sector was greatly increased and that it was even higher than the allocation given to Health, Education or Defence sectors. It was therefore concluded that all the financial resources required to fuel other sectors as well as the economy was mainly derived from the oil revenue. For this reason, any glut or decline regarding crude oil price globally will definitely have great effects on the economy and citizens, either directly or indirectly (Ijeh 2016:8).

The comparison of Nigeria's experience during the oil boom and Indonesia reveals that there was an incredible contrast in the real activities and the established policy throughout and after the oil boom. The study conducted an analysis to identify the relationship that prices of oil, debit, price increases, and actual increase in the exchange rate have. Further analysis included the comparison of Nigeria and Indonesia's rate of financial exchange, agricultural and foreign borrowing strategies. The Nigerian activities throughout and after the oil boom were analysed while the policy adoption strategies of Indonesia was compared with that of Nigeria. The comparison revealed the following similar trends from the two countries: both were high exporters of crude oil, relied on agriculture and key sectors to provide the major resource for other forms of exports, and operated commercial policies which protect manufacturing industries that gulp so much capital (Pinto 1987: 419). Findings revealed that the contribution made by oil brought about positive and significant development to the economy. However, government's inability to properly regulate the

crude oil prices brought about several negative consequences on the economy. The author therefore asserted that the oil and gas sector is still a significant segment with great potential for facilitating industrial progress in Nigeria. However, the mismanagement of this significant sector by the nation's leaders has shattered the benefits to be enjoyed by the public, thus prompting this question: how possible is it for a man to suffer while in the midst of plenty? (Amaghionyeodiwe and Udejaja 2003: 89).

One of the attendant challenges of oil in Nigeria is security. Olayiwola and Okwechime (2007) succinctly interrogate the security problem being encountered in Nigeria in a paper titled "Oil and Security in Nigeria: The Niger Delta Crisis". The authors in their assessment focus on the state of security and oil in the country by making particular reference to the Niger Delta crisis, which ensued because of the region's significance in Nigeria. It is being argued that, apart from the security threats confronting the nation in general, the persistent crisis being experienced in the oil producing regions has constituted a serious threat to people's lives in that area. Because food, security and environmental safety are germane to the security of any nation, the depletion and damage of Niger Delta environment which is a great source of revenue for them is an indication of serious threat intended to annihilate the people in that region (Owolabi and Okwechime 2007). This study analyses the politics involved in the removal of oil subsidy aside from the economic propaganda that formed the foundation for its removal. Put differently, the paper examines the interplay and face-off between the contending parties on the issue of oil subsidy and the politics government played with its intended or actual removal. The essence of a subsidy is to allow people of a particular territory to buy goods and services either produced by government or other organisation at affordable prices. Price subsidy connotes a benefit to buyers and consumers whereby the purchasing price of a commodity is below the cost to the sellers and the producers. In the case of Nigeria domestic oil pricing, there are two identified ways to subsidy. First, there is explicit subsidy where oil products are made available to the consumers below the cost price. Second, is implicit subsidy, calculated through the use of marginal opportunity cost. Here, it is assumed that there are alternative markets, more often involving domestic and international markets. As it is presently in the Nigerian situation,

when the price is lower in the domestic market than what obtains in the international market, the difference is taken as a subsidy (Nwosu 1996: 82).

In Nigeria, at various times since independence the government has made use of the subsidy instrument to cushion the impact of her economic policies on the citizens so that the carry over effect makes the citizens to see subsidy as a right. The oil boom era ushered in the broadest spectrum of government's benevolence in subsidy in which everything was subsidised from pilgrimage, air travel fare, importation to locally manufactured goods. The people were encouraged to spend since non-spending was a problem to the government (Ayagi 1990:10). William R. Stanley also lent his voice in his paper titled "Socioeconomic Impact of Oil in Nigeria" in which he maintains that substantial infrastructures required for the development of society have been generated through monies and imbursement derived from the oil industry, which has been a significant source of revenue, but it is still being confronted by various concomitant environmental and social problems (Stanley 1990:67).

Omojola (2009: 255-256) also posits that the oil boom period in Nigeria, which lasted from 1970 to 1978, brought significant changes to the political and social environment in the country by the actions of the political class who went on a spending spree. Salaries of civil servants were increased, while political leaders and their beneficiaries benefited in varying degrees from the increased flow of capital into the economy. The social atmosphere was livened up as wealthy politicians and businessmen and women organised social parties (ariya) to celebrate weddings, commemorate new houses, and bury (even rebury!) dead parents. At such parties, musicians would entertain and recite epithets of their wealthy patrons in exchange for an instant cash reward. The element of praise, a predominant feature of Yoruba ceremonial music, was easily used by musicians to boost the ego of their patrons.

It was within these social and economic conditions that another musical genre, known as *Juju*, which is well-known for making use of praise name (*oriki*), extensive dancing, and fascinating talking drums (*dundun*), became a preeminent music among the political elite in Yoruba land. As a neo-traditional form, this new music evokes indigenous Yoruba traditional performance practices as found for example in traditional funerals and annual festivals. *Juju* performance, being a classic form of Sunny Ade's and Ebenezer Obey's

music, was well suited to serving the needs of the new social atmosphere, especially in the big cities of Ibadan and Lagos. Highlife music, in spite of its nationalist appeal, seemed incapable of adequately fulfilling the social demands of the Yoruba elite of the oil boom era. First, *oriki* are rarely employed in highlife. Second, the employment of a predominantly Western instrumentation and the preference for European-type performance spaces (as provided in night clubs and at dinner parties) made highlife less suitable than the new *Juju* music for serving the needs of the elite. It is also important to mention that the Nigerian elite kept on evolving. It had now begun to shed its overtly Western outlook for a more Afro-centric identity in line with the call for cultural revival especially before and immediately after independence. The development of *Juju* thus marked the relative eclipsing of highlife music. Victor Olaiya, who had until then dominated the Nigerian music scene like a colossus, now had to assume a new role as a master musician of yesteryears. In a manner that reflected an appropriate reading of the new social environment, Olaiya would henceforth limit his musical activities to entertaining a fast diminishing highlife clientele within the premises of his Stadium Hotel in Surulere in Lagos (Omojola 2009:256).

Ekwueme (1983) also adds that the preeminence of *Juju* on the Nigerian musical scene may have materialised at an opportune time because of several factors. The massive movement of the eastern region people away from Lagos, most of whom were highlife musicians, brought about a huge space in the musical scene of Lagos and this was consequently filled up by *Juju* music. Nevertheless, Adebayo (2016:75-76) avers that national recognition was given to *Juju* genre because of the ensuing excessive opportunity made available for cash conversion during the oil boom period. This situation gave many Nigerians the opportunity to also quickly associate with musical bands, buying of musical tools as well as making recordings, thus making *Juju* to become a prominent genre in 1972. It is also surprising that Sunny Ade's 'Dr. Sehinde' and Ebenezer Obey's 'Board Members' popular records were released at that same period. All these led to the *Juju* ascendance on the national music scene. This situation was to the advantage of great *Juju* musicians such as Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This study adopted descriptive and case study research designs. In this study, the case study design involved selecting specific cases of objects and subjects of research. The subject of research are different social elites like Chief Rasak Okoya, Bisilola Edionsere (Cash Madam), Jide Adeniyi, and Gboyega Adenaike (Currency Controller), Chief Henry Fajemirokun, Eji Gbadero, Chief Azeez Arisekola, Akanji Adefowope, Chief Samuel Adedoyin, I. S. Adewale, Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, Chief MKO Abiola and Bode Osinusi who were linked with *Juju* music during the oil boom, while the object of research included the *Juju* musicians like King Sunny Ade, IK Dairo and Ebenezer Obey and some of their selected musical productions during the oil boom. The case study was adopted to examine the nexus between *Juju* music, oil boom in Nigeria and the making of social elites, as well as how the oil boom influenced *Juju* music and conspicuous consumption. Data collected from different historical sources were historically interpreted and analysed.

3.2 Study Area

The study focused on the analysis of the works of three *Juju* musicians – I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey-Fabiyi and Sunny Ade, covering the towns and cities of Southwestern Nigeria, where the activities took place. After the Civil War of 1967-1970, highlife musicians relocated to the East and *Juju* music dominated Yorubaland due to its employment of praise poetry, Yoruba anecdotes, and proverbs and so on, in the praise of dignitaries and celebrated figures. The musical output and performances of these icons were examined with reference to the oil boom period in Nigeria. The selection of the musicians’

songs hinged on the fact that their songs contain profound volumes of information relevant to the period under consideration. The study focused on the lyrical and textual analyses of their musical texts with emphasis on the social and economic activities, historical events, and consumption patterns during the oil boom period in Nigeria.

3.3 Sampling Size and Sampling Technique

The sampling technique was purposively selected. Respondents who lived through the period and fall between middle and old age were selected based on their knowledge of the period and across different discipline and life strata. Thirty songs from 10 albums by the musicians based on their contemporary relevance were selected. Interviews were conducted across Lagos, Ibadan and Oyo.

3.4 Method of Data Collection

Data for this study were collected through primary and secondary sources.

3.4.1 Primary Data

Primary data was gathered through in-depth oral interviews from Lagos, Ibadan and Oyo town. Information were culled from lyrics of songs (textual analysis of songs), newspapers from the National Archives, Ibadan, information elicited from uploaded *Juju* songs, and other information in the categories of primary data from libraries and research institutions. Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey was interviewed via zoom.

3.4.2 Secondary Data

Secondary source of data was derived from relevant books, journal articles, biographies and unpublished theses focusing on the oil boom, *Juju* music, celebrated personalities during the oil boom of the 1970s and 1980s and responses from the people who were consumers of *Juju* music in the period.

3.4.3 Newspapers from the National Archives, Ibadan

Archival documents such as different newspapers were sources from which the researcher gathered information regarding the oil boom, the history of *Juju* music and the musical icons, and enlightened figures' comments on *Juju* music and the oil boom from newspapers in the era. Information gathered from newspaper articles, features and news reports of social

events at that period facilitated the understanding of the extent of appeal, rate of acceptance, and the pattern of the consumption of *Juju* music by the people at that time.

3.4.4 In-depth Interview (IDI)

In-depth oral interviews were utilised to gather information regarding the origin, trends and dynamics of *Juju* music. Elderly people who were eye-witnesses of the performance of *Juju* musicians during the oil boom period were interviewed from different areas of Yorubaland such as Ibadan, Oyo, and Lagos. Their perspectives on the research questions were elicited and documented. Some persons who were close to the musicians were also consulted to elicit related, relevant, and useful information.

The interviews involved face-to-face interactions with respondents in which oral questions were posed by the researcher to elicit oral responses from the interviewees. Interviews were carried out with individuals considered to be important and knowledgeable in the theme of the study. Twenty-two persons were interviewed across cities and towns. The face-to-face oral interview often offered an opportunity for spontaneous response from the informant and an opportunity for the researcher to seek further clarification where necessary; hence, more information was elicited through follow up questions from this method of data collection.

3.4.5 Songs as Historical Data²

Information was culled from lyrics of the songs of *juju* musical icons (I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey-Fabiyi and King Sunny Ade) as historical data for the work. Their songs were textually analysed because they directly address many of the issues in the period of study.

3.5 Method of Data Analysis

² “Their Songs, Our Data...” is a term that has been previously used by Professor Olutayo C. Adesina in his paper, “Their Songs, Our Data: Yoruba Popular Music and Socio-Economic Commentaries, 1960- 2000, a paper presented at the VI Annual Meeting of the African Economic History Network, University of Sussex, 21-22 October 2016.

Data analysis was by content and text analysis. While content analysis was used to analyse indepth interviews, text analysis was used to analyse the archival data. The National Archives, Ibadan was consulted. Newspapers, different national dailies within the area of this study, 1970-1980, such as: *Lagos Weekend*, *Daily Sketch*, *Nigerian Herald*, *The Punch*, *Morning Post*, *Nigerian Tribune*, *Nigerian Tide*, *Times International*, *The Entertainer* and so on, were consulted. Since this research is both an economic and social history, especially the one that has to do with popular music, a period of boom, conspicuous consumption and entertainment by musicians, in this case, Juju musicians, *Lagos Weekend* and *The Entertainer* proved to be the most informative, realising that Lagos was a centre and major hub of the activities of the period. These papers were accessed with great effort of page-by-page consultation to elicit relevant information.

Content analysis was used to analyse indepth interview. In spite of the limitation posed by the Covid-19 in the period of the field work of this study, we were still able to realise information especially from Lagos, Oyo and Ibadan. The substantial parts of the old sires who were celebrated personalities interviewed were located in the cities mentioned above based on lyrical content of the Juju musical icons. Through these lyrics, information about wealthy icons from Lagos, Ibadan, Oyo, Ijebu, Ijesha, Iwo, Ogbomoso, Abeokuta, and so on were also elicited. We made effort to expand the scope of our interview to people in the diaspora, two other people were consulted from the United States, one of which was interviewed. The other one linked us to a scholarly paper he had written in that area, which proved to be very useful. Interviews were done through digital voice recorder and painstakingly transcribed and analysed in the work. The songs of the musicians also were used as data in this study. Relevant songs to the subject matter were selected, listened to through the aid of headset and meticulously transcribed. Information culled from lyrics of these songs were presented and subjected to historical analysis in line with the research objectives. This yielded abundant information that the work immensely benefited from.

Libraries and research institutes such as Kenneth Dike Library of the University of Ibadan, Jadeas Library, African Heritage Research Library, Adeyipo Village, Ibadan, Institut Francais de Recherche en Afrique au Nigeria (IFRA-Nigeria) and Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research (NISER) were all consulted.

3.6 Limitation of the Study

During the process of data collection, it was difficult getting access to some old people who really were subject of the study. Covid-19 in the period of the field work posed a major challenge as the intended interviewees refused to give audience to the researcher. Large number of people declined the move to interact with them in spite of the plea that the information is strictly for academic purpose. In spite of these challenges, we were still able to realise information especially from Lagos, Oyo and Ibadan.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Analysis and Discussion of Result

This section presented and discussed the results of this research work. Larger percentage of the information in this section was drawn from fieldwork. And it addressed the core issues of the research. It interrogated the interrelatedness of Juju music, Nigeria's oil boom and consumer culture which enabled an intellectual tracking of socio-economic dynamics, development, trends, and issues between the period of study which is 1970-1980, as it underscored socio-economic ramifications and realities of the period. It elucidated the association between and among economic development, oil boom, consumer culture, Juju music and the elites in Yorubaland. It also revealed the representations of conspicuous consumption in Juju music and the oil boom period. Celebrated personalities were used as case studies to show the impact of the oil boom and Juju music on the socio-economic, cultural and traditional aspects of the Yoruba society. It is an intellectual engagement of the social ramifications and realities of the prosperous period of the oil boom. Table 1 presents the details of the interviewees.

Table 4.1: Table showing the list of interviewees, their Names, Occupation, Age, Gender and Date of Interview

SN	NAMES	OCCUPATION	LOCATION	AGE (Years)	GENDER	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1	Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide	Retired	USA	75	Female	02/04/2021
2	Emeritus Professor J. A. A. Ayoade	Retired	Ibadan	81	Male	28/04/2021.
3	Chief Lekan Alabi	Journalist, PR Consultant	Ibadan	67	Male	18/03/2019
4	Professor Tunde Lawuyi	Lecturing	Ibadan	69	Male	2020
5	Chief Samuel Adedoyin	Industrialist	Victoria Island, Lagos	86 & 87	Male	25/02/2021 & 29/09/2022.
6	Professor Nelson Fashina	Lecturing	Ibadan	60+	Male	27/08/2020
7	Pa Ogungbade Benjamin Ibidiran	Retired Civil Servant	Ibadan	78	Male	24/04/2021
8	Mrs Oloyede	Trader	Ibadan	60	Female	24/04/2021
9	Mrs Ayobami Adeoye	Trader	Ibadan	55	Female	24/04/2021
10	Mr Adetola Tobun	Retired Naval Officer	Ibadan	65	Male	24/04/2021
11	Alhaji Ali M.O	Electrician	Ibadan	70	Male	24/04/2021
12	Alhaji Raufu Lawal	Vulcanizer	Ibadan	72	Male	24/04/2021

13	Mr Adebisi Aderibigbe	Security Personnel	Ibadan	62	Male	24/04/2021
14	Pa Kehinde Ogunmola	Farmer	Oyo	80	Male	26/04/2021
15	Mrs Banjo Adebowale	Trader	Lagos	79	Female	27/09/2022.
16	Mr Peter Agbede	-	Ikosi-Ketu, Lagos	69	Male	27/09/2022.
17	Mr Joseph Ayodele Ifabiyi	Retired from NTA	Obalende, Lagos	65+	Male	28/09/2022
18	Mr D. O. Sonaiké	Retired Banker	Lagos	80	Male	28/09/2022
19	Mr Rafiu Bello	Book Seller	Falomo, Lagos	73	Male	28/09/2022
20	Mrs Funmilayo Ogunsanya	Trader	Ketu, Lagos	70	Female	28/09/2022
21	Mr Olusegun Ojo	Lawyer	Lagos	52	Male	29/09/2022

Source: Author's compilation

Considering the subject of the oil boom, Nelson Fashina explained that the 1970s were usually referred to as the oil boom years in which Nigeria, especially Lagos, emerged as a pro-capitalist petro-naira economy that dominated the economy of West Africa and got noticed in the whole world. And that the kind of super crazy petro-naira economy was a shock to the erstwhile life of agrarian economy and of excruciating poverty for many.³ **(IDI, Professor Nelson Fashina, Department of English University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 06/06/2020)**. Noting that it was a massive shift from agricultural economy to oil economy.

Fashina, in his reflections on the desire of people to maximise the oil money and the way the musicians' capitalised on this weakness to enrich themselves, says:

And so this indigenous culture became transposed to the then modern stage in the 1960s and 1970s with juju music to the extent that the juju musicians basically made their money on praise singing, singing of lineage, family, community, royal dynasty or well-to-do individuals. This was factored on already existing ancient infrastructure whereby our people in preliterate times, in precolonial times used to also give money to whoever sang their praises. And so the juju musicians were able to leverage on this weakness of society to make money. In our indigenous oral culture singing of praises especially of the kings, royal personalities, chieftains usually brought out the idea of gifting through money and so the musicians simply transferred that to the modern state in actual juju music.⁴ **(IDI, Professor Nelson Fashina, Department of English University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Male, 06/06/2020)**.

The analysis of Veblen (1899) formed a clear representation of what was experienced in the oil boom period in Nigeria. It was a season of public display of economic power and ostentatious consumption of goods to earn social prestige. Wealthy individuals displayed affluence and maintained luxurious lifestyles Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, a retired professor of Communication and Language Arts from the University of Ibadan, gave examples to justify this assertion how conspicuous consumption was expressed by the elite with a high taste for foreign goods. She affirmed thus:

Clothes, imported lace materials especially from Switzerland, jewelry, shoes; drinks – Heineken beer, Star beer, customised champagne; imported foods – sausage, milk, beverages;

³ Interview with Professor Nelson Fashina, Department of English University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 06/06/2020.

⁴ Interview with Professor Nelson Fashina, Department of English University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 06/06/2020.

furniture from Europe; cars, big, exotic cars newly released in Europe, fleet of the best cars; huge mansions, some built by foreign construction companies in cities and hometowns (villages); educating their children overseas in expensive boarding schools; big parties for different kinds of celebrations e.g., wedding, naming of children, housewarming, birthdays, funerals, “turning over the sides” of long dead parents, acquisition of multiple chieftaincy titles; regular holidays of the whole family abroad in different countries; locally-made goods were spoken of in a derisive manner.⁵ **(IDI, Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, Female, 75 years, 02/04/2021).**

The derision with which locally made goods were spoken of was an indication of the low estimation accorded it. The wealthy did this to show class and superiority over others who could not measure up to their standard. Although, M.O. Ali added that a large number of those who were wealthy then were the unschooled who were business owners, but his assertion seemed to limit the coverage of wealthy Nigerians, which actually involved both the educated and uneducated individuals. According to Ali, many people were not contented and that was what caused the problem of scrambling for money because no one wanted to be left out. People started committing atrocities because they also wanted their name to be mentioned in the public, and praised by musicians that were performing at the time.⁶ **(IDI, Interview with Alhaji Ali M.O. Ibadan, 70 years, 24/04/2021).** Odejide, when asked the possible motivation for flagrant display of wealth in the period, remarked and described people with the ‘old money’ as against people with the ‘new money’ thus:

To show the amount of wealth they had acquired and their superiority over their peers. This was particularly true of people with “new money”, that is, newly acquired wealth, not ‘old money’ that had been in families. It was also to seek acceptance into the circle of ‘old money.’ By seeking and holding centre stage at functions, they displayed their affluence and ensured that their names resounded in the community for a considerable period.⁷ **(IDI, Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, Female, 75 years, 02/04/2021).**

⁵ Interview with Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, 75 years, 02/04/2021

⁶ Interview with Alhaji Ali M.O. Ibadan, 70 years, 24/04/2021

⁷ Interview with Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, 75 years, 02/04/2021.

There are numerous top social personalities from different walks of life that were captured by the Juju musicians in their praise songs such as successful business tycoons, both men and women; traditional rulers and chiefs; wealthy individuals and achievers in various fields; captains of industries; professionals of high standing; dignitaries; top government officials, and fellow musicians like themselves. The present inquiry is a discourse on the celebrated personalities and the trade they were known for in the period. Some of these dignitaries had vibrant businesses that survived to the contemporary time. The commentaries and praises, which were showered on the Very Important Personalities (VIP) and the business enterprise they were known for, beyond the awareness of the musicians themselves, through their lyrical resources, became a viable resource and data in historical writing and canonisation of historical events in society. In the words of Thorstein Veblen, these wealthy icons were able to project their reputation and prestige in the face of those who did not have.

Juju music has transcended being seen as a mere musical genre to being seen as a tool in which history is embedded both locally and internationally. It remained an undisputable fact that many of the significant historical personalities and events recorded by these musicians in their songs have not been found on the pages of history book till date. Works of three prominent and leading juju musicians in the period of study have been considered, namely: I.K. Dairo, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade. Juju music, as an indigenous music, made tremendous impact locally as composers employed wise sayings, praise singing, proverbs, idioms and philosophical sayings in their lyrics, especially songs that reflect economic and historical events and social activities that were projected through conspicuous consumption. As Fashina pointed out, “Juju music became a chronicler of historical events.”⁸ **(IDI, Professor Nelson Fashina, Department of English University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 06/06/2020).**

Chief Commander portrayed the life of a socialite personality in his well-acclaimed song titled, *Ketekete* (1979), he said, *to ba tunje oga o ni faaji to n jaye dede, Champagne pelu Schnapps, lofi n yonu, Heineken King’s Beer, Star Lager pelu Guinness gbogbo e lo ba lara*

⁸ Interview with Professor Nelson Fashina, Department of English University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 06/06/2020.

mu... (if he is a socialite who regularly enjoyed himself with assorted and top beers and liquors such as: Champagne and Schnapps, Heineken King's Beer, Star Lager, Top Beer and Best Beer, and Guinness...). These were top and best beer brands in Nigeria, associated with the wealthy class who enjoyed conspicuous leisure. The description of the composer was a true reflection of what was obtainable in the prosperous oil boom period in Nigeria. These were evidence of the life lived by the wealthy elites during the period. Wealthy Nigerians actually demonstrated prestige because of their position. Mansions were built in the cities, towns, and villages of the celebrated icons as a signal of prestige and glamour, with the intention to earn respect from everyone. They attracted attention to themselves and made sure that their name resounded continuously with the Juju musicians in their performances. Through this they earned the respect of all and sundry.

Consequent upon their popularity and impact, famous and wealthy individuals at home and abroad invited Juju music to perform in different social events. And to show how important these musicians were to the personalities who invited them, they were invited alongside their bands for overseas' performance on the sponsorship of those who invited them. Most Juju musicians, especially our three case study here, have travelled with their bands to almost all the continents of the world to propagate their music. Considering not only the local impact of Juju but also its global contribution and image is worth the adventure here even as one of the musical icons, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey, in a lecture in 1988 spoke on the impact Juju music has made at the international scene. A succinct trajectory was given in this context:

The breakthrough of juju music in the international scene started in 1957 when the late Ayinde Bakare took his band on a tour to the United Kingdom (UK). Although one may want to add that this effect started in the early 1950s by an old veteran, Ambrose Campbell. In the year 1964, I.K. Dairo took his Blue Star Band to the United Kingdom. In continuation of this early bid to export juju music, Messrs Dele Ojo, Tunde Nightingale of blessed memory and Adeolu Akinsanya also of blessed memory followed suit in the years 1966, 1967 and 1968 respectively.

The year 1969 saw my humble self (Obey referring to himself) carrying further this banner of cultural ambassadorship with a

tour of the United Kingdom. This feat was repeated by me (Obey) in 1970 and my good friend Sunny Ade followed suit in the year 1971. Since several others have followed suit with all the efforts made by the various bands mentioned, juju music began to find its stand on the international scene (*The Punch*, April 1988:9).

He further revealed that:

The frontier was further expanded in 1974 when I (Obey) took my band on a playing tour of America. Again, my friend, Sunny Ade made similar trip in 1975 and Dele Abiodun in 1977. But what we regard as the big breakthrough of juju music started in 1981 with Sunny Ade's concert tour of America and Japan followed by me (Obey) in 1983. It was indeed the beginning of the golden era in the expectation of Juju music as there have been several other trips that made a major impact internationally (*The Punch*, April 1988:9).

Juju music thus became a very attractive, globally recognised and accepted genre of music as many people yearned to have more of their performances, most especially as it became a symbol of prestige. This was the commentary made on King Sunny Ade in one of his performances in America in 1984:

The ebullient beat of Juju music wafted across the crowded Amphi-theatre located in the heart of Los Angeles. On State, King Sunny Ade was leading his trail-blazing band in one of his most acclaimed tours of United States. His audience, the hard-to-impress Americans could not comprehend what their eyes were seeing. Can this man and his band really come from Africa? Their impression of the band changed from incredibility to adoration. They were swept off their feet and carried to the clouds by his stagecraft and invigorating music. Within twenty minutes of the show, there was clapping of hands and stomping of feet. It was a standing ovation. When the show ended, the audience was still crying for more. In one sweep, the juju virus had entered the American system. The guitar virtuoso had achieved his immediate aim; make Americans aware of the music genre called juju. That was in 1984, immediately after the XXIIIrd Olympiad (*Sunday Punch*, March 1986:7).

Nigeria, during the era of oil boom became a historical centre for many international events and jamborees, and displayed wealth to the point that a former head of state, at the peak of the country's wealth, said that "Nigeria's problem is not money but how to spend it." Due to the oil boom and the expression of conspicuous consumption, the emergent consumption pattern led to new experiences both positive and negative. People demonstrated envy towards others who had the money and could afford to spray in social gatherings known as *ariya*, and they began a desperate pursuit of money in order to flow with the trend. This brought untold problems to society as some individuals resorted to negative social vices such as money ritual and armed robbery. I.K. Dairo, in the 1970s, in his quest to address such ills and malaise in society and to counterbalance the ecstasy of the period waxed a record that critiqued society thus: *aye o gun tete mo, odi wokowoko, olowo ojiji, olowo osangangan, owo yato s'owo* (the world is not straight, it is haphazard; there are legal money and people now made sudden ill-gotten money). In this analysis we can argue that there are various ways by which people made sudden money during the period of study and this could be through dubious means such as embezzlement; 419 method, like duping people; ritual killings and so on. This has gravitated and taken different dimension in the contemporary time. The song expressed that money made legitimately is different from the ones made illegitimately. In spite of all this, it sufficed to say that the oil boom brought a consumption pattern which the elites enjoyed more than the period of agricultural economy.

In order to demonstrate wealth and prestige, many went in search of wealth in different directions. Many made wealth legally while other acquired wealth illegally. Some strengthened their business opportunities; using the advantage of the oil boom, others went into manufacturing. Businesses both shady and straight were done in the period. Mr. D. O. Sonaïke, a retired banker living in Lagos also asserts that at that period,

Many have so much money to spray that time. The upper class benefited from the money more than others. Many people got their money through corrupt ways. For instance, many were awarded contract but they will not carry them out. *Owo yan ni won ma lo na loju agbo, ti won a ma se ka le rimi kale rimi. Won ma ma taka owo nina.* (It is the money they were supposed to use to execute the contract that they spent in party showing off themselves as important and wealthy. The musicians would

resound their name for a while on the stage as a means of gaining prestige). *Won a ma fi owo ta a ka* (they will be competing among themselves of who has the greatest spending prowess).⁹
(IDI, Mr D. O. Sonaïke, 80 years, Ikosi-Ketu, Lagos, Retired Banker, 28/09/2022.)

The wealthy also demonstrated conspicuous consumption by pasting money on the foreheads of the musicians as they sang their praise poetry. It is, however, to be noted that spraying of money on performers is an indigenous practice in Yorubaland. King Sunny Ade in his appearance on “King of Talk”, popularly known as *The Teju BabyFace Show*, in 2010, categorically responded on why spraying would never stop. According to him,

There is no difference, the people still spray. Spraying is an olden day’s tradition. In the olden days, the first money was cowrie. They put a trine around it and tied it to the forehead of the dancer or the performer in the presence of the king and you danced and everybody applauded the person – that is spraying. Later on, we had coins and they put it on their forehead and later on we had paper. It is all the same thing, it is spraying.

In spite of the fact that spraying is an ancient culture in Yorubaland, people have advocated for its eradication because they believed it is influencing the society negatively. Thus, there has been a debate for its eradication right from the 1970s perhaps because it posed some serious challenges to society, especially with those who wanted to spend (spray) without having the wherewithal. The emergent disposition of the period is to display wealth as a means to show class and affluence. It later bred different ills as people started competing and taking shortcut to get rich in order to project themselves as having arrived. It is noticed that sprayers usually intimidated other people with their affluence and superiority. On whether spraying should be banned or not, Chief Alade Buari Oluto, a highly-respected socialite for whom many praise songs had been waxed, said, “well the idea of banning spraying is a good one. Why should we continue to spray juju musicians if others like Fela Anikulapo Kuti, Sonny Okosun and many more live comfortably on gate proceeds and not spraying collections?” He further asserted that, “with juju musicians people still paid gate fees to see them. Yet these same people who paid gate fees come round to spray them with

⁹ Interview with Mr D. O. Sonaïke, 80 years, Ikosi-Ketu, Lagos, Retired Banker, 28/09/2022.

more money. The whole thing is fast becoming a racket. I think it should be banned” (*Lagos Weekend*, January, 1980:4).

The perspective of Chief Oluto gave credence to the dominance of Juju music in this period and the expression of conspicuous consumption. In like manner, another well-known social figure, Hadji “Turf” Olayori, thought it was fair for government to stop spraying... we are trying to stop armed robbery and night marauders and these things happen because people want to measure up to the standard. They want to be accepted as having arrived like Mr. X who sprayed a thousand naira at B’s party yesterday (*Lagos Weekend*, January, 1980:4). In fact, Prof. J.A. A. Ayoade stated that “when the oil boom came, people had so much money in their pocket and so it was not that they were giving little pittance to the musicians but they carried the bundle of money and until they finished that bundle they won’t leave the scene. For some of them who still had more money they beckoned to people to bring another bundle. The motivation was to show people they have arrived. In fact, the language of arrival started about that time”.¹⁰ (**IDI, Emeritus Prof. J.A.A. Ayoade, Retired Lecturer, Male, Ibadan, 81 years, 28/04/2021**).

In spite of this, spraying still continued to the twenty-first century because it has been ingrained in our culture and that people, most especially in the oil boom period, must signal their wealth through conspicuous consumption. That was the way to demonstrate wealth and opulence; it was an emergent pattern of consumption. Ebenezer Obey, in an interview with Femi Kusa in *Lagos Weekend* also confirmed thus; “praise singing is our culture. I praise people only for their contributions to society” and that, “in any case, I personally don’t see any anomaly in praising someone for what he has done. I am sure if President Idi Amin of Uganda came to my show and I praised him for waging the economic war in his country, he would spray me” (*Lagos Weekend*, February, 1974: 6-7). It is well established from literature, interviews with elderly ones and from lyrics of their songs that pecuniary gains was a major factor in their priority list. The 1970s were a time of new wealth, rapid expansion, inflation, dislocation, and confusion. However, in the case of Nigeria, these forces did not produce a dramatic increase in class conflict, as they did in other countries

¹⁰Interview with Emeritus Prof. J.A.A. Ayoade, Ibadan, 81 years, 28/04/2021

such as Iran. Although material forces did structure political and economic life in Nigeria, the focus of political consciousness was on the ethnic group as the primary element of differentiation (Frank 1984: 298).

One of the celebrated personalities of the period was Chief Rasak Okoya who owned Okoya's Eleganza Group, which is one of the biggest home-grown conglomerates in Nigeria today, with over six factories, and its products are household names in Nigeria neighbouring African markets. His traditional title is the *Otun* of Lagos. Juju musicians have eulogised him and advertised his products in their songs as of utmost quality. These musicians have creatively projected Okoya Eleganza Company in their songs. Through the advertisement, patronage has increased and products have been widely circulated. Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey, in his album, *Sikisiki Maami*, in 1973 eulogised Rasak Okoya thus:

Eleganza, Elegan, Eleganza, omo Okoya...
Eleganza, Elegan, Eleganza, omo Okoya
For quality, for the best jewelries
Eleganza is the best for you.../2ce
Oku Eko wumi lo o,
Mofe lori Eleganza,
Oku Eko wu mi lo o, Abdulrasaki mi o.

Eleganza lo gbayi omo Okoya/2ce
Yeri eti, egba owo to gbamuse,
Eleganza lo gbayi omo Okoya
Yeri eti, egba owo to gbamuse,
Eleganza lo gbayi omo Okoya
Chain orun to ko ju owo,
Eleganza lo gbayi omo Okoya
Egba owo to dara bi egbin
Eleganza lo gbayi omo Okoya
Pelu oruka to dara julo,
Eleganza lo gbayi omo Okoya (Ebenezer Obey, *Sikisiki Maami*, 1973)

English Translation

Eleganza, Elegan, Eleganza, the son Okoya...
Eleganza, Elegan, Eleganza, the son Okoya

For quality, for the best jewelries
Eleganza is the best for you.../2ce
I want to travel to Lagos,
To go and see Eleganza,
I want to travel to Lagos to see Abdulrasaki, the owner of Eleganza,

Eleganza, a company belonging to Okoya is the best of them all.
They produce ear ring and quality hand bangles,
Neck chains that is of high quality are there,
They also have good rings.
Eleganza, a company belonging to Okoya is the best of them all.

The musician expressed a personal desire to travel to Lagos and purchased products from Abdulrasak, the founder of Eleganza companies because Eleganza is the most famous and reputable enterprise (*Eleganza lo gbayi omo Okoya*). He appealed to the general populace to patronise Eleganza Company for high quality products.

Likewise, King Sunny Ade, waxed a record for the same person Chief Okoya. KSA, in his distinctive musical dexterity, poured encomium on Akanni Okoya in the track of his song titled “Alhaji Rasak Akanni Okoya”. He affirmed that fortune has smiled on him because of his relationship with Okoya. He said Akanni is a good person, very unique and accommodating; he is a friend to Ademola Ademiluyi. Along with Chief Okoya, KSA also praise-sang his long-standing friend – Prince Samuel Adedoyin, the director of Doyin Investment. KSA overtly publicised Eleganza Company, advising the young people as well as older generation to patronise clothes for festivals and shoes, new flask, cooler, or umbrella, from Eleganza Company. These sets of people had been privileged to have a long-standing dominance on the Nigeria economy through different business enterprises and have contributed immensely to the Nigerian economy at large. On the 12th of January 2020, Chief Akanni Okoya celebrated his 80th birthday anniversary. Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade still celebrated him through their musical performances. This reflects the long standing relationships they had built with the same personality they had praised in the oil boom period and the 1980s and at different occasions.

Another notable figure is Prince Samuel Adedoyin, who has been referred to as Nigeria’s Doyen of commerce and an industrialist and entrepreneur per excellence. He is the founder and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Doyin Group of Companies. He owns a highly

diversified conglomerate companies that are productive in wide-ranging sectors of Nigeria's economy, including agriculture and pharmaceuticals. King Sunny Ade, pouring encomium on him, dug into his history, referred to him as *Baba ni Agbamu* (one which hailed from Agbamu) in Kwara State of Nigeria. This family has a long-standing presence in the business world of Nigeria and is still making unrelenting; strong waves in the economy of the contemporary period as a force to reckon with.

Sodimu, clearly pointed out that Samuel Adedoyin, in spite of the lofty height he has attained as the pioneer of indigenous manufacturing, was not born with a silver spoon in his month. As a kid, he had a noble ambition and weathered the storm which made him succeed in life. His success was devoid of dishonesty, fraud, stealing and other social vices that unpatriotic young men embrace before attaining enviable positions. Adedoyin is now an industrial doyen whose tentacles spread across different businesses such as agricultural, pharmaceuticals, real estate and so on. Even till today, his business interests span manufacturing, real estate, hospitality industry, the energy sector, farming, companies' equity participation, banking, and so on. Doyin Farms has positively contributed to the growth, development and empowerment of the community and its surrounding towns by improving their standard of living. This is made possible by the adoption of the latest method of farming, that is, Green House, enabling all-year-round-farming.¹¹ His economic exploits have been a boost to the Nigerian economy as thousands of Nigerians have been gainfully employed in his company where they realise their livelihood. Chief Samuel Adedoyin in an interview reflected on his intimate and long standing friendship with Chief Akanni Okoya, thus:

We (referring to himself and Chief Okoya) were both traders in Idumota, Lagos. We had shops in the same place and we were both blessed. At that time people had circles and companies of equals (friends) which we called *Gbajumos*. We went out together, used same kinds of cars, socialised the same way but I think for me, the spending beyond showing off was what I enjoyed. It was an enjoyment for me. ¹² **(IDI, Chief**

¹¹ Samuel Adedoyin, Curriculum Vitae, accessed 28/02/2021.

¹² Interview with Chief Samuel Adedoyin, Victoria Island, Lagos, 85 years, 28/03/2021.

**Samuel Adedoyin, Victoria Island, Lagos, 85 years,
28/03/2021).**

His personal testimony projected the aspect of spending for musicians. One of the goals of the musical icons was to praise celebrated individuals for pecuniary gain. His own perspective for spending for musicians was because he enjoyed it and not the general reason of showing off.

One name which must not be excluded from recognition is that of Prince Jide Adeniyi, a renowned Nigerian businessman and elder statesman and an intimate friend of Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey. Prince Adeniyi, the founder of Poatson Pleasure Ride, now in his early 80s, in an interview with Asabe Afrika, traced his love for Ebenezer Obey to years of humble beginnings, strength of character and the sense of friendship of the Juju music legend. The music composer said their detractors (i.e. the detractors of himself and other important personalities in his life of which Prince Adeniyi is included) should hold their peace because they have just started enjoying life and that the extent of their wealth that people were begrudging them for is yet to be compared with wealth prospect of James Brown who had a private jet. This reflected the social scene of the period. Waterman added that, in the 1970 Obey released “E sa ma Miliki” (“Just continue rocking”) where Obey “attacks his denigrators and competitors’ attempts to quell the rumour about smuggled musical instruments, and links his career to the fame of James Brown” (Waterman 1990:121). Obey’s recognition of Prince Adeniyi as one of the socialite of the period occurred in his track titled: “Esa Ma Miliki”:

Ko ma rotate were were, e sama miliki o
Ko ma circulate lo were were, e sa ma miliki o
Koma sewu loro wa, e sama miliki o.
Leso lesu ko ma yi lo, e sama miliki o
E sa ma sakadeli o, E sa ma sakadeli o,
Jide Director mi, e sama miliki o
Adeniyi Director Baba ni, e sama miliki o
Leso lesu koma yi lo, e sama miliki o.
Jide Director n le o see, e sama miliki o
Ko ma rotate were were, e sama miliki o

Jide Director n le ose, Jide Omo Adeniyi mi
E sama miliki o... (Ebenezer Obey, "Miliki Sound", 1972).

English Translation

Let it rotate smoothly, *miliki* (enjoyment) continues,
Let it circulate solemnly, *miliki* continues,
Let it continue gently, *miliki* continues,
Let it continue to roll seamlessly... *sakadeli* on... *miliki* continues...
Jide is my director... *miliki* continues,
Adeniyi is authentic one,
Jide director, I salute you.
Jide director the son of Adeniyi...
Miliki continues...

The content of this song plainly showcased the social and fulfilled firmament of the period under consideration. Prince Adeniyi has invested heavily in the entertainment and tourism sectors of the economy of Nigeria in the last five decades and he founded Poatson Pleasure Ride.

Furthermore, prominent figures that also feature in KSA's career of praise singing were: Adenaike Ololu and Wilkie Wilmer. KSA's description of Adenaike as a man of huge wealth is significant in respect to the issue under discourse. Gboyega Adenaike Ololu was popularly known as 'currency controller'. The description of him as currency controller vividly projected him as a wealthy individual. Adenaike was a one-time renowned banker which KSA eulogised thus:

Oro gbogbo lori owo, yes, otito ni
Aisi owo baba ijaya, yes, otito ni
A lowo lowo baba afojudi, yes otito ni
Taba lowo lowo la n da moran n la, yes, otito ni
Adenaike, currency controller, yes, otito ni (Sunny Ade, Mr Adenaike Ololu, 1971)

English Translation

It is true that everything is life is about money,
Without money one tends to agitate and filled with anxiety.
When there is money there is confidence,
To embark of lofty and great projects.

Adenaike is a currency controller, yes he is.

For a dignitary to be referred to as Currency Controller, the implication is that he was an extremely influential person. The musician also revealed an important information which was the profession of the individual in question. Adenaike was a banker. Likewise, King Sunny Ade waxed a beautiful record for Akanji Adefowope, traced his history and recognised him as the son of Alhaji Adefowope in Ijebu-Igbo. He affirmed the remarkable day he went to celebrate and perform for Akanji Adefowope in Ijebu-Igbo and Akanji sprayed money in bundles, a kind of spending that was very unique and rare, according to the musician:

Akanji Adefowope, iwo l'Oba won,
Eni to ri Oba ti o fori bale, o fe jiya ni,
Eni to ri Oba ti o f'idobale ge, o fe jiya ni,
Eni t'Olorun o ba ti pa, ko si eni to le ri gbe se,
Eniyan lo n binu Olorun o binu Olorun o sebi ire lo n se.
Ma gbadun ni ti e Akanji ma gbadun ni ti e,
Ma gbadun kelele, Adefowope ma gbadun ni ti e.
Aki binu ori ka fi fila de ibadi, Akanji ma gbadun ni ti e
Importer, exporter sa l'Akanji,
Importer exporter Adefowope.
Chairman Ijebu-Igbo National Club... (Sunny Ade, Akanji Adefowope, 1972)

English Translation

Akanji Adefowope is the undisputed king among them all.
Anyone who sees the king and will not pay obeisance will have himself to blame,
A person who sees the king and will not prostrate will be dealt with,
Anyone protected by God is secured from human plots,
It is humans who do evil, God does good at all time.
Continue to enjoy life, Akanji, you continue to relish life,
Relish life Adefowope, continue to enjoy yourself,
No one can be angry with the head and wear his cap on the buttock,
Akanji continue to relish and enjoy life.
Akanji Adefowope is an importer and exporter of goods and services,
He was the Chairman Ijebu-Igbo National Club...
The composer held Adefowope in great esteem, assuring him of a lasting enjoyment as he continues to relish life. The musician revealed that Adefowope dealt in export and import of goods and services and expressed that anyone that could not operate in the capacity of Adefowope's spending prowess should go and borrow, giving the impression that

Adefowope could not be matched by anyone when it comes to money spending. He (Adefowope) was the Chairman of Ijebu-Igbo National Club during the period.

Mr. Aderibigbe, a security personnel in Ibadan, shared his experience in this regard:

The wealthy spent bundles of money. It took us a long time to understand what they meant by bundle and the highest denomination then was 20 naira. Among those who spent that time was Chief M.K.O. Abiola, Chief Abiola Ogundokun from Iwo was there as well as Lanre Badmus. Lanre Badmus had many conglomerates known as Lanre Badmus Industries.¹³ (**IDI, Mr Adebisi Aderibigbe, Ibadan, 62 years, 24/04/2021**).

Lanrewaju Badmus was another arrowhead in the list of these economically-powerful individuals who dominated the economy of the time. Purchasing sophisticated items such as cars, massive houses and travelling abroad at will were the order of the day. Obey extensively sensitised the public on the kind of person Badmus was. He had conglomerates of companies known as Lanre Badmus Industries. He poured accolades on Badmus for his expression of goodness to many people. The textual analysis of the song elucidated his person; *Omo Gbajumo*, the son of a Chief in Ibadan as well as a son to an influential Alhaja Mabolaje and also the managing director of Larry Publicity. For instance, in 1972, one of Commander Ebenezer Obey's tracks was "Omo Badmus", where he sang the praise of Lanrewaju Badmus, a very influential figure in Yorubaland. The musician revealed thus;

Lanrewaju o omo Badmus mi
Lanrewaju omo Oloye ni Ibadan
Edumare mama je o se ni soro
Alahura mama je o rin nijo tebi o pona o
Lanre Badmus ma ba e dele (Ebenezer Obey, Lanrewaju Badmus, 1979).

English Translation

Lanrewaju is the son of Badmus, a chief in Ibadan
Supreme being will not allow the day to go bad for you.
God will not allow you to walk the land that will suck blood.
Let me go home with you and enjoy.

I.K. Dairo lauded MKO Abiola and also cataloged wealthy individuals across ethnic divide. He described Abiola as the patron of the Egbe Young Stars as well as *Oloye repete, oloye*

¹³ Interview with Mr Adebisi Aderibigbe, Ibadan, 62 years, 24/04/2021.

merinlelogojo (one with numerous chieftaincy titles); he praised these set of influential personalities, among others: Odutola Baba Oja in Ijebu-Ode; Michael Ibru; Dantata in Kano; Arthur Nzeribe in Igboland; Gabriel Igbinedion, Esama of Benin; Bode Akindele (Eleja Obokun); Alhaji Amzat; Adebowale Electrical. An attempt would be undertaken to explore a short biographical note on few of these personalities whose information can still be accessed.

Chief Timothy Adeola Odutola was an Ijebu businessman, industrialist, and educationist. He was the Managing proprietor of Odutola Industries Ltd, Odutola tyres and more. Born on June 16, 1902, in Ijebu-Ode, he attended St. Saviour's School and Ijebu-Ode Grammar school. He left his job as a clerk in the Colonial service and ventured into business selling damask and fish. By 1960 he had expanded his business into a retail franchise, a cattle ranch, a 5,000-acre rubber and palm oil plantation, a sawmill, and export business. He was a member of the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), member of the defunct Western House of Assembly from 1945-1959, also a member of the Federal House of Representatives between 1952-1954, a Senator of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (FRN), 1960-64, the director of the Central Bank and the Nigerian Industrial Development Bank (NIDB). He was a mediator between Awolowo and Akintola during their political tussle. He held the chieftaincy title of Ogbeni-Oja of Ijebu-Ode. He was the contemporary richest Ijebu-man. In 1943, Chief Obafemi Awolowo wrote him a letter requesting a £1,400 educational loan. The Odutola Lodge in Ijebu-Ode which he built in 1934 remains a mouth-watering edifice. He died in 1995 at the age of 93.¹⁴ Chief Odutola's name appeared in Nigeria Gazette as an Officer of the Order of the Federal Republic (O. F. R.).¹⁵

Gabriel Igbinedion was another man of status and wealth. He was born in 1934 at Okada village, in the present Ovia North East Local Government Area of Edo State. Igbinedion was the proprietor of Mid-Motors Nigeria Company as captured in the history of his success story thus: "But a success story it certainly has proved, with the opening in Benin City, today, of its £200, 000 workshops and show-room for the sale and serving of NINO vehicles,

¹⁴ <https://www.facebook.com/ogunupdates/posts/chief-timothy-adeola-odutola-was-an-ijebu-businessman-industrialist-educationist/1286623311837641/> accessed 25/10/2022.

¹⁵ Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette of 1965, Number 75, Volume 52.

YAMAHA motor-cycles and a wide range of agricultural and road-building machinery from the firm of Komatsu Manufacturing Company Limited of Tokyo” (*Morning Post*, October 1973:13). He was recognised as an astute businessman in Lagos, Ibadan, and Benin. He had to his credit a great deal to show for his industry. Mr. Igbinedion is a great philanthropist, a patriot whose over-riding desire is to contribute his own quota to the over-all development of Nigeria and the Mid-West, in particular. Igbinedion himself discovered at a stage that he could spend all his wages for fun and yet have more than enough to live a happy and contented life (*Morning Post*, October 1970:13). He was also regarded as a fun lover and in subsequent years, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey performed for him in his album, “Aimasiko,” as Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, the *Esama* of the Benin Kingdom in Edo State as well as the Grand Patron of Lioness Club. Over the years, Igbinedion’s several companies had interest in different areas such as television broadcasting and radio, aviation, palm oil production, salt manufacturing, banking, solid minerals, fruit and fish farming, real estate, soft drinks bottling, crude oil exploration, shipping, haulage, road transport, confectionery and hospitality, petroleum and gas marketing, among many others." But perhaps the pioneering of Mid Motors (Nig.) Limited in 1968, the first indigenous motor assembly plant in Nigeria was one of his greatest legacies.¹⁶ Femi Kehinde also added that Obey praised non-Yoruba people and that included Igbinedion. The personalities include: “Chief Samuel Ogundele Adedoyin, Michael Inegbese, Alhaji Shehu Arikose in Ajase-Ipo (Republic of Benin), Osawaru Igbinedion, Alhaji Danjuma in Agege, Chief Abiola Ogundokun, Chief MKO Abiola, and a host of others, and this also served as advertisement for his fans”.¹⁷

Michael Onajirevbe Ibru was from Agbara-Otor in Delta State and a prominent Nigerian businessman. Ibru Organisation was one of the largest conglomerates in Nigeria. It is remarkable that Ibru became a dominant businessman and one of those who shaped the economic and commercial frontiers of the Nigerian nation; moreover, he played a significant role in ensuring the wealth of the Urhobo people and that their identities are conspicuous enough as an ethnic groups among their fellow citizens. His greatest commercial innovation was the production and marketing of frozen fish. Ibru attempted and

¹⁶ <https://igbinedion.net/biography.htm> accessed 24/10/2022.

¹⁷ Femi Kehinde, "Ebenezer Obey: Marriage of music and Philosophy", <https://www.thecable.ng/ebenezer-obey-marriage-of-music-and-philosophy> accessed 21/09/2022.

succeeded where no other Nigerian had ventured. In the 1950s, the foreign-owned West African Fisheries and Cold Stores had unsuccessfully pushed the business of frozen fish in Nigeria without acceptance from the people. Ibru introduced frozen fish in 1957 and this was not without criticisms from his detractors, which included meat sellers who labelled it as "mortuary" fish. His vigorous campaign eventually successfully persuaded Nigerians that frozen fish was good, and he established distributive depots throughout Nigeria. In whatever way his history is told, Ibru made a huge success in this pioneering venture and his overall achievements are phenomenal (Ekeh 2010).

Tom G. Forrest in *The Advance of African Capital: The Growth of Nigerian Private Enterprise*, singled out the Ibru Organisation (with Chief Bode Akindele and his Ibadan-based Modandola Group) as a prime exemplar of pioneering capitalism in Nigeria and Africa at large. Early industrial lessons were applied in a major expansion that went beyond the original frozen fish into Petroleum Oil Storage and Marketing, Aviation (Aero Contractors), Construction, banking (Oceanic Bank), agriculture (palm oil production, Mitchell Farms, pineapple production), beer brewing (in his hometown of Agbarha-Otor), publishing (*The Nigerian Guardian*), and so on. He was reckoned by his admirers to have established a firm legacy in the history of mercantile capitalism (Ekeh 2010).

Bode Akindele (Eleja Obokun) was a prominent figure praised by the musician. Akindele was a man of wealth spanning six decades, and one of Africa's entrepreneurial icons and billionaires. As a seasoned entrepreneur, he was born into the famous Akindele of Mapo in Ibadan. Olubi Memorial School, Ibadan was the starting point of Akindele's education. He later moved to Lisabi Grammar School, Abeokuta. Akindele became an important figure of global repute right after completing secondary education. His name, which he had kept without a taint, is an emblem of success in Nigeria, Asia, America and Europe. Alhaja Rabiatu Adedigba, his late mother, a well-known wealthy trader, made a remarkable influence in his life and successes he later achieved. Akindele himself on his background said; "well, it is the family upbringing, background and discipline that I had imbibed – these have helped me thus far. For instance, as a child, apart from being rooted in Christ, my father was one of the pillars of the Methodist Church and carrying Bible on my head to church every Sunday, we had a lot of lessons to learn". "Again, my father was very

influential in the Old Western region and that gingered us to want to be successful and we knew we had to be devoted to our education and imbibe discipline.”¹⁸ Funke Olaode, on Akindele noted that:

Money, respect and power – he has it all. From Europe to America; from Asia to Africa and back home in Nigeria, he has achieved great heights. He has seen and conquered the world. For more than six decades, Sir Bode Akindele has been one of Africa’s richest individuals. Intrepid and shrewd, his business interests cut across the maritime, properties, agriculture and manufacturing sectors. With an estimated wealth of \$1.2 billion, the Parakoyi of Ibadan land is an enduring billionaire.¹⁹

Furthermore, Obey, in admiration, showered praises on Bode Osinusi who was an indigene of Ijebu-Ode, whom he referred to as an intimate friend and an honourable person. Obey asserted through the lyrical presentation of his music that one of the hallmarks of Ijebu people is money. This is no surprise; the *oriki* of the Ijebu affirmed it. Ijebu-Ode has always been seen as the city of the well-to-do and a number of musicians have acknowledged the Ijebus in their lyrics which will be subsequently considered. John Barbot, cited by Akin L. Mabogunje and Robert W. Kates noted that Ijebu is a place “where good fine cloths are made and sold by the natives to foreigners, who have a good vent for them at the Gold Coast...” (Barbot 1732: 354). These historical antecedents suggested that Ijebu-Ode has not always been a city mired in poverty, in spite of the undermining effect of colonialism on its numerous craft industries and its strategic trade location between the interior and the coast. For most of the colonial period, this provoked a massive out-migration of younger elements of the population to the new, colonially-created metropolitan centres such as Lagos, Port Harcourt, Ibadan and Kano to acquire western-type of education and engaged in new types of modern ventures and trading activities. Political independence enhanced the economic opportunities for citizens of Ijebu-Ode in the cities of their sojourn all over Nigeria, where many of them became important members of the emerging middle class (Mabogunje and Kates 2004: 1-2).

¹⁸ *ThisDay*, Funke Olaode, “Bode Akindele: His Opulence, Open Heart and Staying Power”, 2018.

¹⁹ *ThisDay*, Funke Olaode, “Bode Akindele: His Opulence, Open Heart and Staying Power”, 2018.

These traders as fortune would have it were transformed to notable and wealthy personalities in society making great impact at home through remittances and in their bases outside Ijebu-Ode. They became influential figures that juju musicians had to reckon with and many of them participated in the conspicuous consumption of the period. King Sunny Ade also waxed an album for Alhaji Bode Osinusi and Alhaji Rasaan Ogbara where he established that Bode Osinusi lived in large and extreme merriment, and his detractors could not match him so they should keep watching. KSA maintained that Osinusi's wealth was bestowed on him by the divinity, so his detractors should rather go and find something useful to do with their lives because Osinusi was a man of honour and must be highly esteemed. He likewise showered praises on Alhaji Rasaan Ogbara, the son of a wealthy man in Ikorodu, "Omo Baba Olowo", as he referred to him. Also, I.K. Dairo celebrated and saluted Prince Adesida from Akure in his 1972 song titled; *Omo Alaro*.

In Obey's *Sikisiki Maami*, where money was extremely valorised, Fajemirokun (*odidimode apa bi e le da*) was classed among the well-to-dos of the society. Obey poured appreciation on him as a philanthropist and an employer of labour. Through the jobs he provided, many people were able to thrive. He was kind to both indigenes and foreigners. Among few Nigerians who have in one way or the other made significant contributions to the progress of this country and humanity at large, Chief (Dr.) Henry Oloyede Fajemirokun, occupied a conspicuous position so much that the *Daily Times* of 1972, recorded that Fajemirokun was singled out for an Honorary Doctorate Degree at the University of Ife's 10th Anniversary. The outstanding success of this illustrious Nigerian, both in his private and public life can be traced to his dedicated and selfless service, his hard work and his enterprising approach to life. A one-time soldier, civil servant and trade unionist; Chief Fajemirokun, was not only a successful businessman but also a prominent Nigerian leader. Besides being the chairman and director of a chain of companies, he was the President of Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry, President of the Nigerian Association of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Mines, and member of the Board of Governors of Nigerian/American Chamber of Commerce. These accolades and titles truly reflected who he was.

Fajemirokun was a merchant of great reputation; he was one of those Nigerian businessmen on whom the public could rely upon for the successful implementation of the indigenisation

programmes. He supported the demand that distributive trade should be in the hands of Nigerians. He is noted for his financial and moral support of charitable movements. In appreciation of his service to the people and his country, the chieftaincy title of Yegbata of Ile-Oluji was conferred on him in 1968 by His Highness, the Jegun of Ile-Oluji. Also, the chieftaincy title of Asiwaju of Oke-Igbo was conferred on him by His Highness, the Oluoke of Oke-Igbo on December 27, 1971 (*Daily Times*, October 18, 1972: 15 & 17).

This study further analysed some of these songs. An example is the album by Ebenezer Obey titled, “Sikisiki maami” the musician emphasised that money can do anything. He beckoned on the divinity to give him money to enjoy life so as to participate in the wealth flaunting and enjoyment of the period. In this album, three influential individuals were mentioned, namely, Fajemirokun, Chief I.S. Adewale, and Abdulrasaq Okoya. These ones belong to the rank of *olola* and *gbajumo*:

Eri Fajemirokun o fowo m’Oluwa, o tun fi moniyan,
Ile ise re aimoye eniyan ni won je ti won n mu,
Aya fi eniyan lasan lo le soro re nibi... (Ebenezer Obey, “Sikisiki Mami”, 1973.

Fajemirokun spends his money for God and people
He built business in which many people are employed, and
they got themselves and their families fed,
It is only a vain person that can speak ill of Fajemirokun...

Alhaji Ali M.O., a retired electrical engineer, contributed to the discourse by mentioning few names of celebrated icons of the period of which Fajemirokun was one:

Those that the musicians praised that time included Fajemirokun, Alhaji Lekan Salami, Ejigbadero, Azeez Arisekola, among others. They sprayed money to show their superiority, to show that they have arrived.²⁰ (**IDI, Alhaji Ali M.O. Ibadan, 70 years, 24/04/2021**).

As discussed above, Abiola Odejide, alluded a reason for spraying thus:

²⁰ Interview with Alhaji Ali M.O. Ibadan, 70 years, 24/04/2021.

Motivation was to show their affluence, the high quality of their friends and network and their family heritage. Some of the songs also celebrated members of elite clubs (e.g. Board Members); each member was mentioned by name plus his wife's name and hometown. It was also a form of advertisement for the goods and services the musicians provided and their closeness to the seat of power, a kind of influence peddling.²¹ **IDI, Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, Female, 75 years, 02/04/2021.**

Furthermore, this analysis also incorporates the following personalities: Yaro Malaika, who was nick-named *Mekudi*, the son of Oyegunle. *Mekudi* is the Hausa equivalent of someone in whom wealth is bestowed. Obey employed another language to reinforce, establish and portray affluence, personified by Yaro Malaika. He made a passionate appeal that Oyegunle should be allowed to live a full life and that his detractors should stop daring him. This is not a strange appeal; the custom of musicians is to stand solidly behind those spending and patronising them because they are formidable sources of their wealth and by implication, the continuity of their band depended on those personalities. For instance, this is how the composer expressed it in the song:

Yaro Malaika mi Omo Oyegunle,
Ema ma pa o, e ma ma pomo Yaro
Mekudi ni (Ebenezer Obey, Yaro Malaika, 1971)

English Translation

Yaro Malaika is the son of Oyegunle,
Don't kill or harm him, don't tamper with the son of Yaro,
Because he is a wealthy person.

On this, Abiola Odejide reflected that;

Those people (wealthy Nigerians) were their (the musicians) main sources of income; the spraying ensured a sizable income (untaxed); guaranteed that they were invited to play at other affluent people's parties and boosted their profiles. It was a form of social capital.²² **(IDI, Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, Female, 75 years, 02/04/2021).**

²¹ Interview with Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, 75 years, 02/04/2021.

²² Interview with Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, 75 years, 02/04/2021.

Lekan Alabi, the traditional title holder of Agba Akin Olubadan of Ibadanland also asserts that ‘*awon gbajumo ni won korin ki*’ (the musicians praised prominent and celebrated personalities), people were praised based on the success made in career and landmark achievements in society.²³ (**IDI Interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Agba Akin Olubadan of Ibadanland, Ibadan, Male, 69 years, 18/03/2019**). Alolade Wilkie Wilmer is a renowned figure being the Director General of Wilmer Publicity in 1972; a company that dealt in ceramic plate of very high quality. The musician’s description was succinct: director general *oyinbo alawo tanganran*. This kind of ceramic breakable plate of the period was not the choice of the common people but for the upper class due to its high cost. Plastic plates and spoon (*anu mo daro* – lost but not sought after) were commonly used by lower class members of the society.

Interviews were also conducted for personalities whose commercial enterprises were identified in the selected songs and whose commodities were in the process advertised as this is going to be subsequently discussed. They were on top of the businesses and well recognised in society. The musician, Ebenezer Obey, in the track album, *Mukulu Muke Maa Jo*, in 1975 introduced and accentuated the Tejuosos with rich Yoruba proverbs.

*Aba nla n’Ikan nda,
Ikan o le mu Okuta,
Tejuoso omo olola
Sa a ma yo.*

English Translation

Termite’s attempt to eat up a stone,
But it is an impossible task,
Tejuoso is the honourable one,
Continue to rejoice and enjoy your life.

This is the first caption of the musician on Bisoye Tejuoso showing that her detractors will not succeed. She was the Chairperson of Teju Industries as well as an indigene of Ago-Oko – his historical root. Teju Foam was a popular commodity in society and was well

²³ Interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Agba Akin Olubadan of Ibadanland, Ibadan, 69 years, 18/03/2019,

patronised. The musician placed an advertisement for the generality that Teju Foam was a quality foam to sleep on and have sweet dream – *eni to ba sun sori Teju Foam ala rere ni o ma la* (Anyone who slept on Teju Foam will have good dreams). The musician also eulogised Dapo Tejuoso, who was the Director, Tejuoso Industries and remarked in the lyrics of the song thus: “for the best foam ladies and gentlemen, Teju Foam is the best”. He appealed to people to patronise Teju Foam because it is the best. Chief Moshood Balogun is another influential figure in the business during the era. He was famous for his *guguru* and groundnut enterprise, from which he made a fortune. Jinadu Eyo Okubade in Isale-Eko to the musician was a highly reputable as well as an influential personality, who used gold as he desired. The musician coined a powerful Yoruba thought to convey the weight and intensity of the worth of this personality:

*Eyo baba n tawa to nfi golu sere awa o le sanwo onibode o dile,
Benikan wo sokoto to ba wo kijipa
agbada nla loda* (Ebenezer Obey, “Motun Gboro Agba De”, 1974).

English Translation

Eyo used gold as he wanted,
Many people can only afford to wear shirt and trousers,
but you can afford *agbada* (large cloth in Yoruba culture worn by big people).

The position of the composer here is that there are many notable individuals but Jinadu surpassed them all. Gold is one of the costly precious stones but Jinadu did not have issues in wearing gold as he pleased, the musician emphasised. Others could afford to wear *sokoto* (trousers) and *kijipa* but Jinadu wore *agbada* (a wide Yoruba traditional attire mostly worn by men). Another noteworthy person in this order was Ejigbadero, a popular and influential person. According to Mrs Ayobami Adeoye, a trader in Ekotedo, Ibadan; Ejigbadero was eulogised by Sunny and Obey in their songs. She affirmed that;

The period (1970s) you are talking about was a good time. My husband was a follower of King Sunny Ade. He was a guitarist as well as a vocalist. That time *awon olowo* (the wealthy

people) spent money, one of them was Ejigbadero. Times have really changed; things are now hard.²⁴ Obey had also waxed a song in honour of Ejigbadero which showed thus:

Kole ye won rarara kole ye won,
Kole ye won bi Gbadero se logba,
Iba se o ye won bi Gbadero se logba
Iba se pe o ye won bi Gbadero se logba, l'Eko
Kole ye won bi Ejigbadero se logba
Asiri eko ko ni tu loju ewe...

English Translation

People cannot understand, they cannot,
How Gbadero was enjoying his time and moments,
If they understand how Gbadero made his money and fame in Lagos,
But they cannot understand.
The secret of the pap cannot be exposed as long as the leave is covering it.

The song implied that the secret of his wealth is known to him and no one should dabble into it. Interviews conducted revealed that his wealth was characterized by dubious activities and the hand of the law eventually caught up with him. “Board Members” and “Egbe Board” were albums created by Obey and KSA respectively during this period and the lyrical text and analysis of the songs unveiled important and notable personalities that were catalogued by ranks and file. Young professionals, technocrats, directors and managers of companies, business tycoons well known as *olola* – people of influence and wealth were named in this album. Obey emphasised that the Board was an undivided one and Sanyaolu, who was the Chairman was a man of great repute. The list of the members vividly revealed the class the people belonged to. A highly stratified nobility who lived in affluence: in the word of the musician, Barrister Yinka Rhodes was known for wearing very expensive attire and quality shoes in vogue, and was a director of company. The musician labelled him as “currency controller” which was a pointer to his wealth. Yemo Adeyera, Sikiru Shita, Lawyer Duduyemi the honourable, Barrister Akinyele, Chief Odunaike, a manager of an insurance company, Ololu Adenaike, and Chief Ademiluyi, were important icons the musician praised. They were achievers in their various fields of endeavours. The song engendered in the listeners feelings of satisfaction and ecstasy, which in turn appealed to their psyche thereby propelling them to spray the musicians with more money. The songs were like

²⁴ Interview with Mrs Ayobami Adeoye, Ibadan, 55 years, 24/04/2021

intoxicant that made people respond correspondingly to the direction of the music and the tone at which the musician is singing.

It should be noted here that KSA as well lauded these same set of important people and others in his *Egbe Board*, which is a pointer to the consistency of these personalities and the power they wielded. He recognised Sanyaolu as the chairman of the board. Other names mentioned in the song included the following: Didi Emi; Hillary Babs Akerele; Barrister Akinyele; Barrister Yinka Rhodes; Jaye Agoro, the director; Tunde Shitta, a prince; Chief Omolade Thomas Okoya; Major Taiwo George; Wole Odunaike; Dr Aduaji and Dr Oduokun; and Dele Oshinbo importer of furniture. The musician specially recognised long standing members of the board whose significance could not be called to question: Fani Kayode; Sowemimo; Adenaike and Adeyemo; Osinsedun who was a pharmacist at that time and was known for his fine gorgeous attires, beautiful house and exotic cars. The song is well known as “Board Original” because of the ingenuity of the musician and the fascination of the refrain. Gabriel Akinmoladun attests to the popularity and worth of the song. He says: “I’m fortunate to have my late grandfather Chief Johnson Oladele James, “J.O.J.”, as one of the original Board Members. This song always reminds me of him!”²⁵

Obey went further to applaud some special people like Bisilola Edionsere whom he referred to as: “My Cash Madam” (*Cash Madam mi*). She was described as cash madam because she was well known for spraying currency on the musicians. The musicians poured such accolades on her that when people saw her from afar, they had to give her due respect because Bisi was a woman of affluence and fame. He beckoned to the generality to help him call Bisi to come and dance because the performance had reached the climax. The calibre of people who danced to their music was Bisi, the composer reiterated. The musician creatively projected cash madam in these lyrics:

Ape kanuko owo owo – ape kanuko owo owo

C.A.S.H. Cash Cash -- ape kanuko owo owo

E ma gbagbe cash madam -- ape kanuko owo owo

C.A.S.H. Cash Cash -- ape kanuko owo owo (Ebenezer Obey, “Board Members”, 1972)

²⁵<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSoX5WNbT1Q&t=13s> accessed 05/02/2021.

English Translation

Money is so important that it is called with a skewed month,
C.A.S.H. Cash cash
Don't for no reason forget Cash madam,
C.A.S.H. Cash cash.

Obey could not but acknowledge a very important personality in Oluyole, Ibadan. Chief Alhaji Alao Azeez Arisekola (referred slightly above) whom he eulogised as Chief Are Ikolaba Ibadan and Chairman and dealer, Lister Motors. Different Datsun models from 120 to 200 were sold by Arisekola, and anyone who desired to purchase a Datsun motor should patronise Arisekola. Mr Ayodele Ifabiyi also affirmed that:

The oil came and car was so cheap that time. My father used Arisekola's motor, Datsun 120 and the amount of money with which we filled the tank then was very small. Compare to how much we buy fuel now, almost 200 naira per litre. That car itself was not that costly compared to what we have now.²⁶

In his album entitled *Lagos State* which he produced in 1970, reference was made to some set of notable individuals. Major influential personalities praised in this song were: Mobolaji Johnson, who was the governor of Lagos; I.S. Adewale was commissioner in Lagos. He also mentioned Brigadier Austine Peters and Familesi Kosoko. KSA reiterated that I.S. Adewale was his delighted one. Obey in this song situate this in the context of the activities with Lagos that period, spoke abundantly and valourised money thus:

Olowo lo l'Eko mo so,
Olola lo l'Eko mo so,
Eyan Pataki Ioni lu Eko o. (Ebenezer Obey, "Sikisiki Mami", 1973)

English Translation

Wealthy personalities are the owners of Lagos,
Honourable individuals are the owners of Lagos,
Important people are the owners of Lagos.

In the same manner, Obey's record, "Alowo Majaye" in 1973, emphasised the factor of money and resonated the realities of it during the period. The musician noted that:

Alowo majaye, eyin lemo, awon to jaye lana da won ti ku won to lo/2ce

²⁶ Interview with Mr Joseph Ayodele Ifabiyi, 62 years, retired from National Television Authority (NTA), Obalende, Lagos, 28/09/2022.

To ba lowo lowo ko fi logba sara re,
Ko jeun to da; ko woso to da, ko gbadun ara re
Ko se faaji doba... boya lola iku lede, olojo n ka jo...

Eda to lowo lowo ti o le na,
A o ma wara t'ahun o fowo da,
A wi tan o so le aye da wa a lo (Ebenezer Obey, "Alowo Majaiye", 1973)

English Translation

If you have money use it to furnish yourself,
Eat what is good; wear good clothes, enjoy yourself,
Get the pleasure, because one does not know when death will come...

Any human being who has money and cannot spend it,
We will see what the miser will use the money for,
He thought we will be on earth forever.

The composer encouraged people to learn to enjoy their wealth while they live by spending on themselves, enjoying life to the fullest since they do not know when death will come. He advised that those who are too miserly should desist and invest in themselves. This is altogether pointing to the fact that the musician himself would be beneficiary of the spending, thus his encouragement has a symbiosis effect. Dairo's song on the concept and the need to have money reflected in the song he titled, "Omo Owa O Ijesa" in which he analysed that: money is a necessity and that he would also be among the rich. He insisted that if he did not have money as a young man, he would when he becomes an adult and that lack of money in the youthful years is not tantamount to laziness. Dairo here provided a balanced perspective to the possession of money in the period of study. His song manifested the moral rectitude embedded in attitude of patience and resilience in acquiring wealth without necessarily getting involved in shady dealings.

Furthermore, the counter balance to the general impression that people were seeking cheap wealth and that there was no culture of industry is hereby debunked in the record of the musicians. This balance created a healthy perspective also by indicating a culture of industry and diligence. For instance, Ebenezer Obey's song titled, "To ba fe lowo laye, ma se sole" (if you want to have money in life, don't be lazy) in 1978 attests to this.

To ba fe lowo laye ma se sole,
Jowo te pa mose, jowo mase sole,
Enikan wa ti mo mo to tepa mose lati kekere – Chief Akin Olugbade,
The Balogun of Owu, Ekerin Egba (Ebenezer Obey, “To ba fe Lowo Laye”, 1978)

English Translation

If you want to have money in life, don't be lazy,
Please, be hardworking; don't be indolent,
I knew someone who was hardworking since he was a youth,
It is Chief Akin Olugbade,
The Balogun of Owu, Fourth in rank to Egba's traditional authority.

This song dissuaded people from lazy mentality to engaging in hardwork and practice of due diligence. Obey particularly amplified a personality known as Chief Akin Olugbade whom he noted had been hardworking since he was a youth and was a highly industrious fellow, good to illustrate the culture of industry and hardwork.

In “Igba laye” in 1970, the musician resonated the culture of industry in the period

Igba laye ore mi
Asiko ni gbogbo n kan laye,
Ka sise to dara lasiko ise,
Ka sere bo tiye lasiko ere,
Igba loni gba nlo tepa mose ore mi,
Kaye wa le toro
Toba tepa mose towo nina bati ya – wa rowo yo,
Toba tepa mose tile kiko ba ti ya – wa rowo yo
Toba tepa mose to ba fera moto a se e se (Ebenezer Obey, “Igba Laiye”, 1979).

English Translation

Life plays out in seasons and times,
Let us do the right work in the time of work,
Let us enjoy life when it is appropriate,
People use their time, but it is better to be hardworking,
So that life can be good.

If you are hardworking, you will have something to spend when the need arise;
If one is diligent and it is time to build house, it won't be an issue.
Also if you work harder, to purchase motor will be possible.

KSA added in an album called “A Wole Esu Bale”, which was a satire of the Nigerian society. He preached against ill-gotten wealth and talked of the punishment for such vices

(*Lagos Weekend*, April, 1978:10). This implies that the musician put great value on the principle of hardwork and industry.

Furthermore, KSA in his album “Kitikiti” in 1978, remembered a very dear person, Alhaji Kamoru Osinusi well known as ‘Sir K’, in Ijebu-Ode. The musician rendered remarkable accolade on Ijebu people because of this highly influential personality. He said the drummer brought the drum when ‘Sir K’ was ready to dance. This suggested that ‘Sir K’ has at his fingertips musicians that would perform for him whenever he was celebrating any event. After the composer was satisfied with pouring encomiums on ‘Sir K,’ he paid homage to these people as well: Barrister Wahabi Osinusi, Director General Walkus International; Alhaji Bode Osinusi; Alhaji Mudasiru Lanrewaju; Rasaki Ogbara in Ikorodu. With the highly competitive nature of the Nigerian juju music scene, one musician continued to dictate the tunes, which virtually is in command of the creative force of this popular music style. That musician is King Sunny Ade, the sexy voice superstar who has kept the juju scene high-flying for several years. Below is a remark on his well known album, Kitikiti:

This latest album package is the second 1978 album of the juju king. It has all the ingredients associated to the musician’s long established syncro pattern. It’s cool and hot in some tracks and in others highly sentimental as the superstar’s trademark, the guitar rings out hypnotic and psychedelic vibrations. *Kitikiti* opens side one with a burst of talking drums and a sharp guitar mix that at once is neutralised by Sunny vocalising. The music is full of heavy rhythms, the bass guitar sweeping through like a hurricane wind but everything is under control as it weaves into the other numbers in the track – Eko T’obi Komi, Orimi maje n sin won waiye, Ema se fi Ijebu sere, Alhaji Osinusi “Sir K” (**Lagos Weekend, May, 1978:9**).

The last track of the album which is full of life was dedicated to praising Alhaji Oshinusi (Sir K). Who is Sir K anyway? To deserve this kind of up tempo syncromatic burst-up, he must be heavy too. Sunny Ade sings praise for him however, the important thing here is the music which is tight and even funky (*Lagos Weekend*, May, 1978:9), KSA is described thus:

Sunny Ade is one fanciful, impressionable and versatile artiste in the Nigerian music scene today whose performances and

achievements cannot be brushed aside with the wave of a hand, more so these days. One is inclined to concede that Sunny's talent is unlimited, particularly with his dazzling guitar, his flamboyant stage showmanship and sweet, seductive crooning. He continued always to be a source of wonderment and pride to the entertainment world.

This perspective also supports the use of juju music to achieve the same purpose. Therefore, emphasis laid in the lyrics of the musicians was not only to commemorate events and pay tribute to juju fans but also as a means of praising and referencing the so-called powerful and rich individuals in society, communicating philosophical and social comments on events as well as trends encapsulating characteristics and values by which it could be identified at some levels. Ebenezer Obey's Oriki Orile record, for example, focused on different people from the sub-ethnic groups of the Yoruba, and cautiously revealed each group's salient characteristics and qualities. The offspring of Abeokuta as described were the Egbas, a city that is beautiful and full of wealth. The Ijeshas are regarded as big spenders who love spending money on cars and houses. The Ibadan are the lucky people as identified and have fortune smiling on them, who bring people together, who enjoy life with ease. The Ijebus are the real human beings, good people who control wealth (Alaja-Browne 1989:238). One prestige or the other is associated with the people mentioned. Mr Ogungbade's description of the extent and pattern of spending of the wealthy class was succinct: *Won ba na owo*,²⁷ meaning they spent money anyhow, even recklessly. The songs are reflection of the social and economic life in Lagos at that period facilitated by the oil boom. It projected Lagos as the home of the wealthy. They were the shakers and movers in society. The eulogy also extended to the traditional rulers. Oba Oguntade Oyebusi of Ikorodu in 1972 was noted to have received KSA's attention in the album he waxed for Late Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. Oba Oyebusi was patron of the High Society Club in Lagos, a very influential society, Oba Sijuwade Okunade, the Ooni of Ife, Oba Gbadebo II, the Alake and Oba Oyekan in Lagos were also prominent in this respect.

On how the musicians also participated and contributed to conspicuous consumption in the period, the process of socio-economic differentiation was mirrored during the 1970s by the

²⁷Interview with Pa Ogungbade Benjamin Ibidiran, Ibadan, 78 years, 24/04/2021

emergence of the first millionaire juju superstars. As the rich got richer, so the stars they patronised rose higher. Bandleaders in their smartness began in the early 1970s to adopt such unofficial titles as King, Admiral, Senator, Captain, Uncle, and Chief Commander (the last a clever compromise between traditional and military authority). Well-placed band captains were able to accumulate unheard-of amounts of cash for investment in musical and non-musical enterprises (such as, recording labels, hotels, construction firms, milk companies). The size of the most popular bands increased from around ten performers in the mid-1960s to fifteen or more in the mid-1970s (Waterman 1990:116). The music bands through their performances were pushers of different kinds of social events by which the wealthy class unveiled their reputation in society and the musicians themselves enriched.

Just like Obey's "Board Members," KSA "Egbe Board" was one of the albums of the time where he praised numerous prominent personalities and young upwardly-mobile men in society – professionals, chairmen of companies and technocrats. While Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey called his own album "Board Members," King Sunny Ade referred to his as "Egbe Board". KSA's emphasis on the word *original* in the album portrayed how powerful this group of people were and demonstrates that they wielded remarkable influence in society. The chairman of the board was Sanyaolu, who was mentioned in an array of names of the members as alluded to above. These were personalities whose activities in the period accentuated conspicuous consumption due to the way they lived and expressed themselves in the spirits of the time. The juju musicians went on to reverentially remark on these eminent icons as a mark of respect for them. In the track, he referred to Osinsedun thus:

*Ninu kalo tabi ka loso,
Ninu ka kole tabi ka ra motor, oga ni,
Board original, labe alase omo Sanyaolu (Sunny Ade, "Mr Adenaike Oloru", 1971)*

English Translation

His dressing was distinct and gorgeous,
When it comes to magnificent buildings and exotic cars, he is notable,
He was a member of original board under the chairmanship of Sanyaolu.

All that the musician alluded to in this track about these important personalities were symbols of conspicuous consumption which were showcased by the individuals. The analysis of Board Members composed in 1972 by Ebenezer Obey reinforced the assertion

demonstrated above. It was a vivid demonstration of the social happenings of the period dictated by the wealthy as well as a display of reputation and prestige. Obey said Sanyaolu was the chairman of an undivided board. He (Obey) as well chronicled the name of some of the members as referred to earlier. He singled out Agoro, in connection with how influential these people were:

Aso to gba muse l'Agoro fi n jaye

Bata asiko l'Agoro wo sese o

Managing director, olola igbadun fun e. (Ebenezer Obey, "Board Members", 1972)

English Translation

Agoro was laced with good and expensive cloths,

He wore latest shoes

Managing director, you are an honourable man, so continue to enjoy your life.

The appellation and encomiums poured on Chief Agoro reflected that the wealthy dignitaries demonstrated and flaunted wealth through wearing of expensive fabrics as symbols of prestige. An impressive number of Juju lovers held that the most beautifully arranged and well rendered record ever released by Obey is 'Board Members' and Commander himself testified that Board Members enjoyed wide acclaim more than any of his other records (*Sunday Punch*, February, 1986:8). A further amplification was made by Obey himself that, commercially, 'Board Members' proved a much more successful record. According to him, "many people still believed it's my greatest work apart from "The man, the horse and the donkey". The reason they often gave is that the record was produced hot from beginning to end with superb composition showing no traits of slackness or tiredness" (*Lagos Weekend*, February, 1974:6-7). It was the hit song of the period so it brought a huge commercial return to the composer.

Corroborating the earlier assertion on "Board Members," Alaja-Browne also stated that similar pattern can be found in 'Board Members', which was Obey's first major hit record of the 1970s, and was devoted to budding 'high society' members like 'managing director,' 'industrialists,' 'cash madam,' and so on. Obey in this record praised these members of society, ascribing honour to them and recognising their notable achievements. Obey defends 'conspicuous consumption' as legitimate enjoyment of 'hard-earned' wealth (Alaja-Browne 1989:238). This was the reality of the period under consideration which put a balanced perspective to the assertion and assumption that only those who made money illegally

lavished money on musicians. In addition, 'Board Members' is one of the topmost clubs composed of the then young and rich Nigerian top professionals and businessmen. Those were the days when Nigeria's rich and young millionaires and professionals worked hard and made their money in clean and legitimate ways and spent it the way they liked.²⁸ Fabric, such a lace was conspicuous but this information was added by this source. In the words of Mrs. Oloyede, a trader in Ekotedo area of Ibadan, she noted that *ankara* also proved to be one of the important fabrics of the period:

There was food during that period, everything was plenty. Around 1979, we bought 6 yards of quality *Ankara* for just ten naira. I was working in Nigerian Brewery and my salary then was 75 naira. We bought *Ankara block Holland ni 20 naira* (imported Holland *ankara* fabric for 20 naira). A dozen of quality breakable plates were 5 naira then. Stainless plates were very durable and I still have some that I had bought since then but the case is different now. Things have changed negatively, everything is costly now.²⁹ **(IDI, Mrs Oloyede, Ibadan, Female, 60 years, 24/04/2021).**

Another perspective of the reflection of the economy and consumption pattern of the period was in what Mrs. Oloyede described with respect to infant formula:

How much do we buy NAN then, even Frisolac (infant formula) for children? We bought it for 150-200 naira. Even Cerelac was 150 naira then around 1979. Things have really changed. Even they used to import rubber slippers from Abidjan to Ogunpa. It was around 50 naira and was very durable. It is only when you are tired of wearing it that you will throw it away.³⁰ **(IDI, Mrs Oloyede, Ibadan, Female, 60 years, 24/04/2021).**

The affordability of these different infant formulae was what also revealed economic stratification in society because not all individuals could afford it for their babies. At this juncture, this discourse shall demonstrate aspects of social scenes and realities in the era, from the socio-economic aspect to the cultural and then the traditional.

²⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSoX5WNbT1Q>, 2020, accessed 23/10/2022.

²⁹ Interview with Mrs Oloyede, Ibadan, 60 years, 24/04/2021.

³⁰ Interview with Mrs Oloyede, Ibadan, 60 years, 24/04/2021.

Alaja-Brown's position here also attested to the actuality of this discussion. Many of these personalities were members of exclusive clubs and associations, such as Lagos Island Club, Tennis Club, Ijebu-Igbo National Club, Ibadan Golf Club, and so on, whose membership was based on affluence and prestige. They also had a classical and exclusive way of approaching and enjoying conspicuous leisure. Many of them were industrialists, importers and exporters of goods and services, directors of companies including pharmaceuticals, and so on. They held their association in great esteem with utmost sense of responsibility knowing that their social circle and interactions brought great satisfaction and ease to them through the instrumentality of the music. The study of these celebrated personalities and their place in society provided great insights into the social and aesthetic dimension of the period under consideration.

Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey, the king of juju music in Nigeria, received a platinum award from his recording company, Decca (W.A.) Limited. Sources close to Decca said the award was in recognition of the contribution and enhancement of music in the country. By the award, Obey became the first Nigerian juju musician to have been accorded that honour and he is the oldest artiste of Decca because he started his musical career in 1955 and joined Decca as one of their leading artistes in 1964. Obey made his name in nearly two decades of the commencement of his music when he won his first golden disc with a 100,000 sales of his popular album titled; "Board Members". Since then, Obey had made several hit albums and had remained steadfast in the top hierarchy of the entertainment scene in the country. The level of patronage was very high and this could be traced to his level of skill and style as his music was soothing, satisfying and full of life. Obey earned his title; "Miliki King" of Nigeria because of his distinctive musical style of *Miliki* system (*Lagos Weekend*, February, 1981:9). It has also been argued that "apart from the Broadway Dance Band and E.T. Mensah both from Ghana, in the 1960s, no single band has ever given glory to Decca recording company in Nigeria as the Obey's International Brothers" (*Daily Sketch*, October, 1971:14). Reports from the sales chart of Decca revealed that "Oba Sijuade", Chief Commander Obey's latest album then headed fast for a Gold Disc. In the language of record dealers, a gold disc is awarded when an album sells 100,000. The phenomenal sales of "Oba Sijuade", was another time in many years that Obey would once again hit the golden mark

in his performances (*Lagos Weekend*, February, 1981:8). All these indicated that the people enjoyed the music of the period as supplied by juju bands to the high socialite personalities of society.

4.2 Juju Music and Consumer Culture Prior to the Oil Boom

This section addresses the first objective of this study, which is to discuss the state of juju music and consumer culture prior to the oil boom. It is evident that a discussion of what was obtainable before the oil boom is worthy of consideration at this juncture. Agriculture was the mainstay of the economy as it is going to be discussed. Music is a cultural identity that involves singing, playing of instruments, dancing and use of various artifacts. African music is an aspect of performative culture that describes African hybrid musical identity. Music, over the ages, in the word of Vidal (2002), “has been proven to be one of the indispensable arts cultivated by man for growth, nurture and transfer of his institution and value to future generations” (Vidal cited in Jayeola 2015:102). However, indigenous music in Nigeria is a complete institution, which finds its roots in the societal phenomenon of the people it represents. Its concept is derived from societal facts and values (Jayeola 2015:102). Indigenous music had found its roots in Nigeria before the pre-colonial and Islamic era (Omojola 2002). Music had evolved within the cultural milieu of the people from the early time and its utilitarian value has extended to the contemporary time due to the high premium placed on it by the people. Music, from that time has been regularly practised and nurtured to enhance and sustain the values of the society it identified. It is a critical symbol of identity by which a people can be recognised and their culture preserved. In the context of this research, Juju music has become the identity of the Yoruba people of Southwestern Nigeria. The Juju musical icons were patronised by the people, both great and small. The former was based on invitation of the musician to ceremonies while the latter enjoyed the music from the side point of an observer.

The symbolism of musical style in the 1930s in Lagos was embedded in crosscutting patterns of social interaction and cultural identity. According to Alaja-Browne (1985:31), King’s primary patronage network included “men such as Messrs. E. Oladipo Moore, J.I.C. Taylor, Peter Abisogun Wright, Lawyer Odunsi, Agbabiaka (Assistant Superintendent of Police), Raji Etti, Tesilimi Fuja, , the Jibowus, Olaseinde Oshodi, Asogbon, the Ariyos,

M.S. Adewale and J.K. Randle..” While the fathers of many of these men had been lawyers, doctors, or held civil service posts and lucrative brokerage, their own upward mobility had been increasingly restricted by regulations designed to keep blacks out of the upper reaches of the colonial hierarchy. They were, in a sense, sandwiched between the British colonial elite and the indigenous Yoruba community (Waterman 1990:66). These were distinguished individuals, among others, who had been noted to be associated with Juju music as at the early time, when agriculture was still the major revenue of the government.

Bennet (2010) for instance maintains that popular music is a primary leisure resource in the modern society. The sound of pop music permeates people’s consciousness in different ways. For many people, popular music cannot be separated in any aspect of their daily experience and existence. He noted that humans absorb rhythms into our own bodies and songs into our own lives because we have a looseness of reference that makes us immediately accessible. In a way, Bennet’s view suggests that the experience of pop music is clearly also subjective to individuals (Omobowale 2016:66). Cultures are relative, cultures shape musicians and their genres through acculturations and socialisations and the genre products of such interactions have interpretive ideological dynamics and differences that define their musical themes. It is logical to say that lyrical compositions of popular music and genres necessarily reflect, motivate ideological heterogeneity and change relative to the subsisting culture of the social environment within which it originates (Emielu cited in Omobowale 2016:66).

Reflecting on context, patronage, and performance practice of Juju music, Waterman notes that Juju musicians worked in three major contexts during the 1930s and 1940s: (1) “parlour parties” held by descendants of the black bourgeoisie of nineteenth century Lagos, composed mainly of Saros; (2) urban bars, frequented by a heterogeneous audience of African migrant workers; and (3) neotraditional ceremonies held by wealthy merchants, including Lagosian Yorubas, Yoruba settlers, and descendants of the Sierra Leonean and Brazilian repatriates, who increasingly sought to forge ties with Yoruba lineages. The last type of event which includes naming, wedding, funeral, and housewarming celebrations, became the dominant source of income for Juju musicians after World War II, with the rise of a new Yoruba elite composed largely of individuals born in hinterland towns and villages

(Waterman 1990:63-64). The musical and textual patterns of early Juju performance were grounded in the efforts of musicians to consolidate patronage networks within a stagnant urban economy, strongly affected by the world depression of the 1930s. Only a handful of individuals were able to move from part-time musicianship---a supplement to other forms of wagework---to full professional musical practice, a shift dependent upon elite patronage. Tunde King was the first Juju musician to construct this patronage link, being the first of them all. By the mid-1930s his patronage network had expanded to include a number of wealthy and well-known residents of Olowogbowo quarter. A burial service was done at the church for Dr. Oguntola Sapara in 1935 and performance was publicly followed. So was it at another place known as the Yoruba Tennis Club in 1936, and a series of gramophone recordings and broadcasts on the colonial radio rediffusion service helped to boost his reputation and generate still more elite contacts (Waterman 1990:63-64).

Juju music permeated all levels of Lagos society. Musicians frequented elite “parlour parties,” lower-class bars, and social gatherings like naming ceremonies, weddings, funerals, and housewarming celebrations. Juju music developed into a social form of dance music with ten or more musicians on stage. Performed by international stars like King Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey, it continues to play an important role in the Yoruba music scene today. Juju music gained popularity in Nigeria during the 1940s and 1950s. Early juju groups typically consisted of a leader who played banjo and sang, a *sekere* (a gourd covered with beats) and a tambourine player. During the World War II era, a second vocalist was added, and by the time of independence, musicians had incorporated a variety of other instruments, including the Yoruba pressure-drum, accordion, electric guitar, vocals, and additional African drums. As mentioned earlier, Tunde King was the first musician to commercially record juju music (Parlophone, 1936) and develops a widespread following. He combined imported styles, like the Kru, Ghanaian influenced palm-wine styles, *ashiko* music, and Yoruba praise music to produce a new, unique style. Two of the early innovators in juju music were the *ukulele* and *banjo* player, Ojoge Daniels, and the guitarist Ayinde Bakare, the leader of the Inner Circle Orchestra during the 1950s. The most famous juju musician before independence, however, was I.K. Dairo, leader of the Blue Spot Band, established in 1957 (Falola 2002: 241).

The spread of musical influences, however, depended on a number of factors. The evolution of popular music in Sierra Leone was different from that in Lagos and Accra. In Sierra Leone, the influence of the British was more prevalent among the Krio and class divisions were rampant. E.T. Mensah, who toured the country in 1958, described the music scene:

There were no dance bands in Sierra Leone and at the clubs they danced to gramophone records.... Another thing we noticed during our stay was that there was class distinction, with the upper class consisting of lawyers and doctors who did not like to mix with the working class. If we wanted this upper class to attend our dances we had to raise our entrance fee or charge two separate fees and provide two separate dance floors (Falola 2002: 241).

But it is noteworthy to say that at this period in the history of Juju music in Nigeria, the music has become so popular that influential personalities, who were lovers of Juju music were already emerging. However, in discussing Juju music before the oil boom era, the question that readily comes to mind is this: what was the economic terrain like in the period? The state of the economy of the period is necessary at this juncture as Juju music and consumer culture are examined.

The mainstay of the economy in the pre-oil boom period was agriculture. Although Juju music, as a Nigerian popular music genre became dominant in the oil boom period as from 1970s, the music has been in vogue and enjoyed by members of society right from when it started and became popular in the 1940s and 1950s upward. The consistent consumption patterns of Juju music by members of society before the oil boom have been noticeable. This section deals with the rate at which people consumed Juju music before the emergence of oil boom. Agriculture contributed immensely to the sustainability of the population and mainly to Nigeria's foreign earnings. For instance, cocoa, groundnut oil, rubber and oil palm, among others, were the main crops that were produced, contributing greatly to the national economy and the economy of Southwestern Nigeria in particular (See Osaghae 1998:50). Walker (2000:123) argues that the 1940s and 1950s witnessed the greatest expansion of the cocoa economy of southwestern Nigeria as migrants from several Yoruba-speaking areas came to Ife and Ondo in large numbers to establish their farms. In fact, in the words of

Ayodele Ifabiyi, Chief Obafemi Awolowo built the cocoa house in Ibadan with cocoa money and that was prior to the oil boom. The economy was sustained by agriculture. The coming of oil affected agriculture adversely because not many people wanted to go to farm again; all they were looking for was oil money.³¹ **(IDI, Joseph Ayodele Ifabiyi, Male, 62 years, retired from National Television Authority (NTA), Obalende, Lagos, 28/09/2022).**

Nigeria had always been one of the most amply endowed countries, even though the living standard of most of its citizens differed a little compare to 80% of population of black Africa. The gradual increase from partial processing of some agricultural products to easy import substitution in the 1950s and 1960s almost did not affect the dominance of the rural sector in the gross national product (Oyejide cited in Joseph 1978: 221). Even during the political independence of Nigeria on October 1, 1960, agriculture was the dominant sector of the economy. It provided most of the employment for Nigerians and family needs. The share of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) attributable to agriculture (in a broad sense, including crop production, animal husbandry, fishing and forestry) and oil was 67.0 per cent and 0.6 per cent, respectively: by 1970, the proportions had returned to 23.4 per cent and 45.5% respectively (Yakub 2008:41).

It is noted that the colonial agricultural development strategies and policies remained relevant in the post-independence Nigeria up to the early 1970s. Agriculture continued to be the mainstay of the economy. The imperial states promoted the production of primary commodities for export through tariffs and quotas and the allocation of the bulk of colonial capital flow to such production, which ensure that the capital was repatriated in the form of primary commodities sent to the metropolises (Ake cited in Falola 2002: 141). Olorunfemi and Adesina (1998) cited in Akpan (2012: 103), had argued that agriculture in 1960s till 1970s was the centre-stage of Nigeria's economy, because it was nationally recognised and utilised as the major income source for both the government and the people. Apart from supplying local food needs for the population, the production of such cash crops as palm produce, cocoa, groundnuts, and so on, were strengthened regionally and improved as the

³¹ Interview with Mr Joseph Ayodele Ifabiyi, 62 years, retired from National Television Authority (NTA), Obalende, Lagos, 28/09/2022.

major sources of Nigeria's foreign exchange earnings. Given that the greater percentage of agricultural activities in Nigeria took place in the rural areas, the early post-independence rural development practice mostly centring on agrarian production and development in contents, policies and practices. In this case, the rural areas still served as major centres for resource extraction for foreign exchange earnings, national income and urban development.

According to this author, since the 1970s, agriculture has been marginalised in terms of annual revenue allocations for development. Hence the rural farmers, who are in the majority, have not been able to afford the much vaunted new agricultural technology to boost their output, increase their cash income, and improve their standard of living (Lawal cited in Lawal 2006:361). Nevertheless, agriculture remained the most important sector, not only in providing foreign exchange but also in providing food for the population. It also employed vast majority of Africans, in this case Nigerians, despite a growing trend toward urbanisation (Falola 2002:143). This was also resonated in the song of Yusuf Olatunji which he titled "*Ise Agbe*", in which he emphasised that agriculture was the means of sustaining the existence of humans and it must not be deemphasised because that could have adverse effects on the thriving and growing population.

The pertinent question then is this: What kind of nation was Nigeria prior to the oil boom? It is noted that productive labour had anchored on the activities of thousands of village communities and peasant households which was focused on securing a low level of sufficiency. The surplus was accrued to the ruling class before the establishment of colonial domination, which had emerged in most areas, and, on a limited scale, to merchant capital. 'Traditional rulers' after the conquest, became assimilated into the bureaucracy of colonial masters and European firms assumed the commanding heights of an expanding commercial network, in which indigenous merchants were integrated at more modest levels. Agricultural techniques and social relations of production were still intact by the great extension of cash crops designed for an external market seized upon and encapsulated (Freund 1978:92). Since the late 1950s, Nigeria had experienced tremendous and rapid growth, of import-substitution industry, from an admittedly very low base, largely foreign-owned and foreign-managed, often dependent on imported raw materials and catering to the consumer habits created by Western capital (beer, industrial textiles, plastic, flour, etc.).

Only a small fraction of a swelling, increasingly proletarianised urban population represented the industrial labour force. The population was fed by the peasantry through extra-economic pressures. Only a small part secured wage employment; far greater numbers survived through a related parasitic dependence on kin and other patrons and multitudinous petty commercial activities (Freund 1978:92).

The argument is that about two-thirds of the country's total labour forces were involved in agriculture sector and about 90 per cent of the rural population's livelihoods were provided for. The rural areas were involved in a whole lot of primary economic activities that are important in sustaining the entire Nigerian economic system (Akpan 2012:98). Petroleum oil production emerged in the 1970s and significantly altered the structure of the economy of Nigeria and consequently led to a new political-economic orientation as the national wealth was expanded with new opportunities for rent-seeking behaviours. The structure of state-society relations was changed by the oil boom with the emergence of highly centralised state administrative structure (e.g., Lagos and later Abuja) as well as new centres of urbanisation (Port Harcourt, Lagos, Warri, Ibadan, Kaduna, and so on). New states were politically created (from 12 to 19 states between 1970 and 1980) comprising new capitals as new urban centres (Akpan 2012:103).

The petroleum sector drove fundamental changes in the Nigerian economy. The 'affluence' which was connected to the oil boom of the 1970s was used to enhance and develop socio-economic infrastructures in urban areas but the rural areas witnessed neglect. This resulted in mass migration of youths from the rural to urban areas with its attendant decline in agricultural production. This unavoidably led to increase in the prices of staple food. And following rising world food prices, massive importation of food commodities also brought about inflation into the country. This increased hunger for both the urban and rural poor (Nwankpa 2017:176). Ola (2019:231) amplified that in the 1960s and 1970s, Nigeria's economy was highly dependent on agriculture. Nigeria was the world's largest producer of palm oil and kernel, rubber, groundnut, beni-seed, soya beans and a major producer of cotton as well as second world producer of cocoa. Solid minerals such as tin and columbite, coal, were adequately mined in economic quantities and Nigeria was a major world player in the production of these minerals. The buoyancy of the economy was further boosted with

the discovery of oil (black gold) and gradually, emphasis shifted away from agriculture – which was the mainstay of the Nigerian economy to oil.

In spite of the oil economy in form of a boom in the 1970s, the place of agriculture was still recognised by the Nigerian leaders of the time. Major-Gen. Yakubu Gowon, the then Nigeria's Head of State, in an address, stated that in spite of our potential wealth from other natural resources and our industrial growth, agriculture will, for a long time to come, constitute a very strong pillar for the maintenance of a stable economy in the country. The development of other resources is aimed at increasing the country's national wealth, creating more job opportunities and helping to secure a reasonable standard of living for all Nigerians. It does not imply that agriculture will be neglected. Agricultural potential in the country must be fully tapped since it depends on the country's ability to have a permanent break-through in raising the nation's wealth. The country's agriculture must be developed sufficiently to provide adequate and suitable food for the people, earn as much foreign exchange as possible to buy those capital goods which we are still unable to produce at home, provide some of the raw materials required for home industries and release more people in the rural areas for our secondary and service industries (*Morning Post*, October 13, 1970:5). The implication of this is that agriculture remained a source of sustenance to the Nigerian population because it is through it that sustainable food supply can be achieved to feed the ever-increasing population.

In a bid to diversify and stop total dependence on oil and gas and economy, numerous agricultural programmes were undertaken by different governments from the 1970s. The administration of General Olusegun in the late 1970s, floated what was known as the "Operation Feed the Nation", while in the early 1980s, Alhaji Shehu Shagari's government established the "Green Revolution" (Okotie 2018:73). For instance, Joshua B. Agunbiade, in a *Daily Sketch* article, "OFN: Need for fresh Impetus", noted that:

There is now a new trend in the Operation Feed the Nation (O.F.N.) programme which may bring a long-term advantage to Nigeria. It is observed that more men of resources are getting interested in agriculture and are willingly investing in arable as well as livestock farming. Lawyers, retired civil servants and men of the bench are now investing with unbelievable optimism

in agriculture as a satisfying and rewarding undertaking (*Daily Sketch, May 19, 1979:5*).

An additional generation of people the oil boom created was what Omojola (2014) described as a generation of petite bourgeoisie consisting mainly of corrupt politicians, military officers, and businessmen. These individuals' fancy was to organise parties at the slightest opportunity, and juju became the most commercially successful popular music in Nigeria with Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade, being the greatest exponents of that era (Samuel 2016:38). Juju music therefore had been a prominent genre enjoyed by all, most especially the public figures of the society. Although it became more dominant as from the 1970s of the oil boom but its presence in the previous years cannot be denied as it was clearly noticeable.

4.3 Interface of Oil Boom, Juju Music and Nigeria's Emergent Consumer Culture

This section addresses the second objective of this study, which is to examine the interface of oil boom, Juju music, and consumer culture between 1970 and 1980. The nexus among these cannot be delineated as they were interconnected during the period. The consumption pattern of Juju music rose to a great level as Juju music became the dominant genre of all the available genres in the period and the rate of patronage of juju musicians by the wealthy class increased. Oil undoubtedly became the major contributor to economic growth and development of Nigeria and it influenced consumption pattern of juju music. Nigeria became self-sufficient at independence in 1960 in the production of crude oil since its discovery at Oloibiri in the Niger Delta in 1956 (Watts and Lubeck 1983: 106). From that period, the country's fortunes have greatly depended on the oil industry, which has completely overhauled the agriculture industry. This change in fortune necessitated a new consumer culture in Nigeria. Consumption pattern was radically changed compared to the agriculture economy of the pre-oil boom years. In other words, the oil boom produced an entirely different pattern of consumer culture which was reflected in virtually all social and economic activities of the period especially in this case, juju music which played an important role in shaping the pattern of consumption. Conspicuous consumption, which is the display of economic prowess as a means of gaining reputability was the order of the day. As at 1973, it was obvious that the Nigeria's economy was flourishing because of the oil

boom. Statistics showed that the six petroleum companies operating in the country then produced nearly two million barrels of crude oil on a daily basis. This was a great figure with palpable economic significance. One of the articles in the dailies portrayed it thus:

The oil boom signified more revenue to the Federal government and no doubt meant an improvement in Nigeria's foreign exchange earning – a good factor that would make for the stability of Nigeria's currency. And because of the economic importance of oil as a source of power in the world's economy – the present desire of the Western owned companies to prospect oil is not surprising. This is why Nigeria should seize such an opportunity to achieve maximum benefits (*Daily Sketch*, 1973:6).

According to Olayide, the emergence of oil that put Nigeria in the position of economic primacy, in Africa occurred in the 1970s, which was the beginning of the oil boom period. Although, right from the colonial period till the beginning of the boom, agriculture had played a significant and dominant role in Nigeria's economy. Majority of Nigeria's rural population constituted about 60 per cent of the total population and undoubtedly, agriculture was central to the people's economic life. Nigeria was then the second leading producer of cocoa in the world, and the world's leading producer of palm oil and groundnuts. Besides, cocoa, by 1974 had accounted for about 50 per cent of the total foreign exchange earnings from agricultural exports. Nigeria was also prominently known as exporter of cotton and hides and animal skins and rubber. There has been a significant decline in the contribution of agriculture to the economy since the discovery of oil in commercial quantity in Nigerian. Agricultural exports, which constituted about 85 per cent of total exports in 1960, diminished to about 5 per cent of total exports in the mid-70s (Olayide 1976: 2). The reason for the reduction in agricultural export might not be far-fetched; it was due to the emergence of oil with over-concentration on same by Nigerian government.

In addition, Usman opined that, before the advent of the oil, Nigeria was basically thriving on agrarian-based economy but with the discovery of petroleum which came in large international commercial quantity, there was a sudden drift from agrarian economy to petro-naira economy. This drift affected the music industry. Nigerian music which had been based on agricultural economy now became so much exposed to the new found opportunities in the petro-naira economy. So, the then metropolitan centres in Nigeria, especially Lagos

which was then the capital of Nigeria, became a haven where everybody runs to in order to make a fortune. Usman illustrated and portrayed what had operated initially under the agricultural sector;

High priority has been given to the development of the agricultural sector. The programme of 'Operation Feed the Nation' has been succeeded by that of 'Green Revolution'. Through these programmes the farmers have been given concrete assistance to expand their production. The assistance given includes supply of fertilisers and other necessary inputs and substantial increases in guaranteed minimum prices for most agricultural products, particularly the export crops, food crops and food grains Usman (1985: 181)

Walker (2000: 71) amplified that the oil boom caused a phenomenal increase to the Nigerian economy. Within a few years, oil revenues rose from 1-4 billion naira in 1973 to 12-86 billion naira by 1980. Substantial sums of money were assigned to the cocoa industry of southwestern Nigeria as a result of the oil boom. Despite the investments, however, the cocoa industry stagnated during the oil boom years because of over-concentration on oil.

The capacity of the federal government has been increased through the oil, in fiscal terms. Oil revenue currently account for 95 percent of export receipts, 80 percent of government revenues, and 90 per cent of foreign exchange earnings (Douglas et al. 2003). In spite of the significant expansion the oil has brought, structural development is still lacking. This situation has been worsened by the inconsistency, languid enforcement and implementation of oil policy by successive military administrations (Owolabi and Okwechime 2007: 2). Both Nigerian elites and foreigners of different nationalities partook in the benefit of the oil economy. The period was therefore not without its critical challenges.

The social atmosphere engendered by the oil boom intensified economic problems and made solutions harder to come by. As the boom gathered momentum, the cities of Nigeria have assumed the status of gold rush towns. Foreigners flocked to cash in on the bonanza. Greek businessmen and Arab doctors, Indian schoolteachers and Filipino nurses, German lorry salesmen, and Italian construction workers British lecturers and American bankers jostled one another on the streets, all trying to seel good, bad or average quality. Companies estimated that they will recoup their initial investment in two to three years. The ex-patriates

competed with a larger number of Nigerians - the 'educated' and not so educated 'elite' - trying to secure a foothold in the oil economy as the going gets better (Freund 1978: 91). As Richard Joseph incisively puts it, “. . . the great urge of many Nigerians... is to inject themselves into a trading circuit, whether of cement, lace or palm oil and get their ‘cut’ of action” (Joseph cited Freund 1978: 91).

The Nigerian National Oil Company was established in 1971 and this was as a result of the decision taken by the Nigerian government to monitor the operations of the multinational corporations. Guaranteed participation in exploration, production and marketing for Nigeria was the primary goal of this company. To supplant the NNOC, the Nigerian government created the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation in 1976. (Onoh 1983: 30-33). After that, through the use of oil money, the military government of General Yakubu Gowon began to change the situation of the country by building roads and bridges and providing basic amenities and other infrastructure for future development. However, once the government started these huge efforts of development, Nigerians began to think of this country as an extremely rich country. So almost overnight, men and women from different walks of life want to get their share of the oil revenue through any means possible. The prospect of economic growth and modernisation swept the nation as the government built new roads, doubled government salaries in the famous Udoji reform, and expanded government departments, schools, hospitals, and parastatal industries. Nigeria was proud to declare its leadership position as the largest political and economic country in black Africa and embodies this message in the national theatre, which has worked, in the words of the first Festac's president, Chief Anthony Enahoro, as "the centre of Nigerian life" (Indigo n.d.: 16, cited in April 1996:443).

According to Ayagi (1990:72-73), the revenue resources available to the military administration in Nigeria since the early 1970s were beyond the wildest dreams of those regimes. The oil boom had started; Nigeria had more revenue resources than we knew what to do with them. The absorptive capacity of the Nigerian economy could not cope efficiently with such huge resources. The Gowon administration spoke publicly that finance was not a problem to Nigeria which could therefore afford to embark on any project whatever its cost and however insignificant. It started the spending-spree with the Universal Free Primary

Education (U.P.E.), then the cement armada, FESTAC, the sports jamboree, and so forth. This recklessness worsened an already bad situation. The guiding principle of a people with a basically dependency culture is the belief that they should, and can get things free. And this belief was reinforced by the reckless behaviour of those administrations. Consequently, Nigerians prepared themselves to grab what they could grab, foreigners also did not miss the opportunity.

It was an exciting time, as bureaucracy, government employees and jobs increased, as money and goods increased, and as the wealth of "contractor" transactions appeared overnight. It has nothing to do with investment or hard work. Early modern unproductive accumulation in Nigeria was based on a collection of state-controlled arrangement (Apter 1996:453). It has been proven that the environment of rapid changes often provides opportunities for new social events. In such situations, priority is given to individual and organisational change, based on the strategy of understanding the changing dynamics of the environment and working successfully in it, by the use of alternative value systems. As a strategy for coping with the time, the 1970s Juju musicians identified with the prevailing social system and the nuances of the period. They prepared and made quick profit through playing their role and mediating as social actors between the values of capitalist society and the collectively strived for recognition and expression within the system. Consequently, Juju music in the 1970s, which was almost non-profit when it began, even till its intermediate stages, a purely contemplative medium, which was designed to reflect as well as give information about incidents and events that happened within a community, turned to a big business with professional teams and are being added every day to meet the needs of people suddenly enriched with oil money (Alaja-Browne 1989:236-37).

Bucknor observed that:

By 1974 ... Juju became prominent and a preferred music of the people. This was evidenced in the amount of time given to it on radio. The country's leading commercial radio station, Western Nigeria Broadcasting Service (WNBS), devotes about three hours daily to juju music, and the Bar Beach show, perhaps NBC-TV's premier entertainment slot, is reserved exclusively for juju music. Through countless 'beer parlours', the music was also exposed and its sound blaring from the record stores, assault

your ears while driving through the streets of Lagos. The itinerant hawkers who converge at Eko Bridge offering 'cassette, cartridge', invariably begin their sales pitch with 'Obey latest' or 'Sunny Original'... (Bucknor 1976: 20).

According to Idolor (2002:8), the demand for music to satisfy entertainment needs and leisure was on the increase. This gave rise to the emergence of discotheques, recording industries, music societies, music broadcastings, nightclubs, and hotels. Consequently, music became a vocation and, thus promoted social integration and cultural tolerance.

Also, during this period, a flood of luxury goods in an unprecedented scale was poured into Nigeria. The supermarkets were periodically filled up with imported clothing, foodstuffs and consumer goods of all sorts. For instance, Nigerian imports of tape recorders, high-fidelity equipment, and so on, increased from N1.7m in 1973 to N15m in 1976. Each of the Nigeria's nineteen states expanded and launched their colour television broadcasting, although prices of imported goods receiving sets was around N1,000 in the mid-1970s. After the Udoji wage increase, Nigerian roads were increasingly clogged by fleets of motorised two-wheeled vehicles, which temporarily benefitted the lower-level office-workers. In 1976, Nigeria imported 178,026 motorcycles, 19,353 mopyllettes, and 18,305 scooters at a cost of N67m. Car imports, in the same year, surpassed the 100,000 mark. The car boom was powered by the prevalence of car loans and allowances which provided low-interest rates subsidies for a large stratum of government and private sector employees. By 1976, Peugeot and Volkswagen started assembling cars in Nigeria, and almost all components were imported from abroad. With the strategy of constructing tarred road throughout the country, the influx of automobiles, of course, dovetailed (Freud 1978:94-95). This author added that a very large sum of the spending was on communication, transport, education, and construction of military barracks and conference centres. The public sector wage bill was also increased by almost 60 percent through the Udoji Commission's recommendations. The income created by the spending increased demand for food and with domestic supplies being inelastic in the short run, this quickly spilled over into imports (Rajaram 1985: 16, cited in Cuddington 1989: 152-153).

Structural changes were brought about by the oil boom of the 1970s and that involved a shift in investment in services sectors and construction which has led to increase in imports and infrastructure to the point that agricultural sector was neglected, as mentioned, this resulted to high prices, shortage of food supplies, and a loss of the foreign exchange earnings that would have accrued from the agricultural sector. Also, the oil boom has created massive migration of people from the rural to the urban area thus creating a mass of people which do not produce any material goods but only consume (Usman 1985: 173). Nigeria survived the civil war, and recovered largely because of the huge oil revenues of the 1970s. From 1973, the world experienced the oil crisis that engulfed Nigeria until the mid-1980s. At first, this oil crisis was good for the country, but due to mismanagement and military rule, it became an economic disaster. The larger middle class produced by the oil boom of the 1970s gradually became dissatisfied in the 1980s, and recalcitrant in the 1990s (Genova and Falola 2003: 134). The oil boom was mismanaged and ineptitude set in and the implication is still being felt in the contemporary time.

Discussing further on the Nigerian oil, the euphoria that came with it and its effects on the society, the former President, Shehu Shagari stated that:

The oil boom of the 1970s brought superficially joy to Nigerians but it came with its adverse effect on the nation. Execution of projects no matter how much money was required was no longer a problem. The effect of this oil boom had caused many of our people to abandon farming and other stable professions that had helped to earn foreign exchange and sustain the economy. Many felt that it was no longer necessary to work in order to earn a living, certainly not on the farms and the like. Contractors of all sorts began to surface. Some became “arrangers” suppliers, consultants of all types and description, forwarding agents, and all sorts of agents. Thus Nigeria came to depend almost entirely on a single item namely oil, as a foreign exchange earner. Traditional export items such as cocoa, cotton, groundnuts, palm kernels, etc, were no longer produced in sufficient quantity even for local consumption. Thus our whole life and our economic existence as a nation became closely tied to the vagaries of the oil market...” (Usman, 1985:182-183).

This overconcentration on oil adversely affected Nigeria and its people. The oil industry in Nigeria plays a crucial role in the sustenance of the nation and fuels not only Nigeria's economic and development activities but also her socio-political life. The industry has been widely described as the nation's livewire and this accounts for the literature that abounds on its role and significance in Nigeria. However, Nigerians have had very little share of the country's oil wealth. Nigeria's extreme reliance on the crude oil market has triggered structural difficulties for the economy, as earnings from crude oil fluctuated along with market trends (Aigbedion and Iyayi, 2007). Crude oil became the dominant resource in the mid-1970s. On-shore oil exploration accounted for about 65% of total production which was found mainly in the swampy areas of the Niger Delta, while the remaining 35% represented offshore production which involved drilling for oil in the deep waters of the continental shelf. The massive increase in oil revenue as an aftermath of the Middle - East war of 1973 created unprecedented, unexpected and unplanned wealth for Nigeria, and then began the dramatic shift of policies from a holistic approach to benchmarking them against the state of the oil sector (Oladipo and Fabayo, 2012). By 1973, oil production and oil revenues had become very important for the Nigerian economy. Foreign exchange earnings and revenues had begun to reach rather unmanageable proportions – especially for simple society used to living conditions which were only just above subsistence (Ayagi 1990:70).

Crude oil discovery has had a major impact on the Nigeria economy both positively and adversely. On the negative side, this can be considered with respect to the surrounding communities where the oil wells are exploited. Some of these communities suffered from environmental degradation which led to deprivation of means of livelihood and other economic and social factors. Although large proceeds are obtained from the domestic sales and export of petroleum products, its effect on the growth of the Nigerian economy as regards returns and productivity is still questionable (Gbadebo 2008; Nwoba and Aba 2017:85). It can be argued that the advent of oil in Nigeria has been both a blessing and a curse to the Nigerian economy. Oil brought with it much revenue and this was seen as a blessing to the economy, because it enhanced the economic growth and development of the country. Various regimes (starting from the 1970s) were able to undertake many

development projects that would otherwise not have been possible (Edame and Efeiom 2013:1).

Omojola (2006:102) also added that the oil boom helped to consolidate the rise of the rich and the corrupt elite in Nigeria, many of whom often celebrated their ill-gotten wealth with expensive parties. Juju musicians rose to the occasion by infusing their lyrics with praise songs which celebrated the ego of their rich patrons. Relying on the rich tradition of the Yoruba praise poem, the oriki, juju musicians eulogised their rich patrons for significant financial rewards. Most of such parties, known as Owambe or ariya were held in private homes, usually at open air celebrations that re-enacted traditional Yoruba ceremonial performances. The parties attracted the powerful and the rich. Musicians who sang praise-poems in honour of such patrons were paid handsomely, and made further contacts for future engagements.

The events where the Juju musicians performed for the wealthy class were strictly by invitation and invitation was restricted to Very Important Personalities. The common people in society were denied access if at all they attempted to show up. This noticeably revealed the economic stratification between the wealthy and the working class. Conspicuous consumption fell to the category of the leisure class and not the working class. Veblen added that comforts of life and luxuries belonged to the leisure class. In this context, certain victuals, and most especially beverages, are strictly reserved for the use of the superior class. The ceremonial distinction of the dietary is best seen in the use of narcotic and intoxicating beverages. If these articles of consumption are costly, they are felt to be noble and honorific. The gentleman of leisure consumed freely and best, of food, drink, narcotic, shelter, services, ornaments, apparel, weapons and accoutrements, amusements... (Veblen 2007:50, 52). The consumption of these more excellent goods is a display of wealth and conversely, the failure to consume more than adequate quantity and quality becomes a mark of inferiority and demerit (Veblen 2007:53). The capacity to consume more than adequate quantity and quality is a reflection of nobility and wealth.

When Chief Commander was portraying the life of a socialite personality in his well-acclaimed song titled, *Ketekete* (1979), he said, *to ba tunje oga o ni faaji to n jaye dede, Champagne pelu Schnapps, lofi n yonu, Heineken King's Beer, Star Lager pelu Guinness*

gbogbo e lo ba lara mu... (if he is a socialite who regularly enjoyed himself with different assorted and top beers and liquors such as: Champagne and Schnapps, Heineken King's Beer, Star Lager, Top Beer and Best Beer, and Guinness...). These were top and best beer brands in Nigeria, associated with the wealthy class who enjoyed conspicuous leisure. The description of the composer was a true reflection of what was obtainable in the prosperous oil boom period in Nigeria. These were evidence of the life lived by the wealthy elites during the period. Wealthy Nigerians actually demonstrated prestige because of their position. Mansions were built in the cities, towns, and villages of the celebrated icons as a signal of prestige and glamour, with the intention to earn respect from everyone. They attracted attention to themselves and made sure that their name resounded continuously with the Juju musicians in their performances. Through this they earned the respect of all and sundry.

The oil boom had serious impacts on the economy of the 1970s. Nigerian foreign exchange earnings became increased and there was influx of capital in circulation. Juju musicians maximised the opportunities of the social ramifications and realities of the period to perform for the wealthy individuals in society (whose business had been positively influenced by the oil boom) and to advertise their commodities and businesses. Through the expression of conspicuous consumption, the wealthy lavished money on them with reckless abandon. That was the way the juju musicians partook in the wealth in circulation during the period. The ideal juju band leader, from the Yoruba viewpoint, has an extensive knowledge of traditional verbal genres, and of the life histories -whether genuine or orchestrated- of participants in any ceremony at which he appeared. His band played with clarity and balance, executing smooth shifts between sections of each song. The behaviour of such a musician on-stage and off-stage was energetic, generous, and dignified, and he was able to mediate effectively should an argument break out among celebrants. He and his band dress neatly and colourfully, and their public address system equipment is of high quality that the praise lyrics and drumming may be clearly heard. According to Waterman, the ideal juju leader's voice is strong and clear, neither too high nor too low, and he has developed an established style that is instantly recognisable. Most importantly, he has the ability to enliven a social event and bring honour to the individual or group responsible for it (Waterman 1982:463-64).

The activities of the Juju musicians during this boom undoubtedly had impact on the Yoruba society, knowing that Juju music itself was a Yoruba music from the southwestern Nigeria but its effects transcended the whole country and also had global dimension. The oil boom was a catalyst to the availability and volume of money that was in circulation. The story of Nigeria cannot be discussed without its oil. Using the oil money for instance, the Nigerian government, under General Yakubu Gowon's military administration, changed country's environment building network of roads and bridges, and providing other basic infrastructures and amenities for future development. The government, however, embarked on these growth and development, and this created a consciousness in Nigerians of a false perception of the country as having a huge wealth. This immediately resulted in individuals from all walks of life struggling to possess and lay hold of their own cut or slice of the oil revenue at whatever cost. The consequence was the escalation of social vices such as ostentatious living, corruption, misuse of public funds and graft (Alaja-Brown 1989:236).

The story of the life and times of George Oyedele is a case at this juncture. KSA released this record on Oyedele in 1981, and the narrative was that Oyedele as a popular socialite was arrested in the United States for drug trafficking (Cocaine). He was known for using a white hollow walking stick, which was one of his fashion accessories, as a container for Cocaine. He was later found guilty and jailed. After his jail term, he returned to Nigeria where he was deserted by friends and died in penury. This is the lyrics of the song:

Ayipada olowo ko ma se di talika lo la,
Ise lo se da se owo o se da na,
Olowo a jogun owo,
A jogun iyi,
A tun di gbajumo lode,
Asiri won o ni tu.

English Translation

May the rich not die in penury,
Work can only be done alone you can't spend the proceeds alone,
The rich inherit wealth,
The rich inherit fame,
The rich becomes respected in the social circle,
Because of their wealth all their secrets is covered.

As already affirmed, it should be noted that not all wealthy Nigerians during the period made their wealth illegally. Many people, especially the very important personalities interrogated in this discourse were already wealthy in this period and got their wealth legally. It would therefore be an illogical generalisation and fallacy that all who sprayed Juju musicians made their money through illegal means. Money and power were increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small sector of the Nigerian society, exacerbating the gap between the wealthy and the poor. For the purpose of this study, however, the interconnectedness of oil boom, Juju music and consumer culture cannot be separated.

4.4 Socio-Economic Impact of Oil Boom and Juju Music in Society

This section of the study addressed the third objective of this research which is to examine the socio-economic impacts of oil boom and Juju music in society. Juju musical icons enlivened the socio-economic atmosphere of the oil boom period by their music which revealed the social realities of the period where social activities were attended to by the economically powerful individuals who displayed their wealth to show higher social status. Music represents a basic part of human existence, arising from the physiological, psychological, and sociological needs of humankind. To this end, music is a necessary, and life-enhancing experience (Liske 2001). Music integrates the mind, body, and spirit as well as provides opportunities for self-expression, bringing the inner world into the outer world of concrete reality, which, in turn offers avenue to “flow states” and peak experiences. It also creates a seamless connection – leading to “deep understanding.” Nothing is inspirational like music; music has been present in all cultures, at all times, and throughout the known historical development of the human class, facilitating emotional, physical, and social expressions. Music also satisfies the human need for aesthetic enjoyment, integrates and acculturates cultural ideals. It serves as both a reflection of, and a catalyst for sociological growth. Thus, Liske explicates the spectacular and splendid role of music to man which has to do with feelings and emotion which affects physically the communicative role of cultural ideas and the social expression of life (Liske, 2001, cited in Ogunrinade 2015: 56).

Also, music is recognised as perhaps the first creative art of man which started from the dawn of human activities. It has definite invisible influences on man which can be positive

or negative depending on the motive and awareness of the composer (*New Nigeria*, March 1989:12). Music, in any case, is an inspiration to the soul and body; it has a positive effect on the human mind. Music, in our context, has the capacity to intoxicate and influence the psyche of the listener to give a corresponding response to the bidding of the musician. The corresponding response comes when a musician is reciting the praise poetry of an important personality and the person passionately unleashed bundles of money on the musician because of a sense of fulfilment. In *Music in Africa: Facts and Illusions* Emurobome Idolor stated that every kind of music possesses matrixes, which are identified with a culture and represents a people with a common culture. Using sound matrix, it is therefore possible to discern the nativity of a piece of music even where the lyrics are drawn from a different linguistic region. Structurally, the cultural elements can be identified in the tonality of the music and how the tones within the scale are manipulated. This depicts what juju music represents. The compositional techniques such as statement of themes and their developments with sequences, repetitions, tonal shifts, orchestration, dynamic shading, part singing, text, texture, rhythm and cadential formulae are all representative of a culture (Idolor 2002:4). Hugo De Javer has also amplified this view:

Music which sociologically consists of ideas and about certain kinds of sounds, does not exist in isolation. These musical ideas are intertwined with non-musical ideas and beliefs with regard to other spheres of life such as religion, work, leisure... morality, human dignity, and utility. Music is part of a style of life, of a so-called cultural pattern (Jager 1974).

It was during the period of study that the *Miliki* system was introduced and even popularised through music. This was the period when different musicians in this category coined a name to reflect their identity as well as clarify the difficulty many were passing through with understanding the word 'Juju' in the music. The musicians have earlier made it clear that their Juju has nothing to do with juju, as in black magic. These were the examples of what different musicians, out of their ingenuity, coined out. For instance, Sunny Ade came up with "Synchro System" representing the introduction of the Hawaiian steel guitar into his ensemble and which later evolved into "Apala", although Apala is a different popular Yoruba genre on its own. KSA affirmed that synchro is "a bridge between the music of two generations. Some kinds of sleek stuff are so easy to dance to that all one needs to do to get

the feeling is stay in one spot and wriggle one's waist" (*Lagos Weekend*, March, 1974:6). Others are Adawa System by Dele Abiodun, Apola System by Idowu Animasaun, Yankee System by Jide Ojo and others such as Sabada System, Kososi System, Sedico System, etc. While these terminologies may be regarded as public relations gimmicks to manipulate their fans, clients and the general public, they were also indicative of trends during the time (Adebayo 2016:79). The fact however still remains that the public fell for the initiative, ingenuity and the innovation of the musicians and composers. As each of them coined its unique system, the populace embraced it and there was a shift in the consumption pattern as people migrated to the system in vogue, especially *Miliki* and *Synchro* systems. Thus it led to enormous increase of their followership.

Popular music is a public arena for the symbolic negotiation of continuity and change. Bandleaders coined new terms to describe their styles but this is nothing but a strategy to popularise themselves and indulge in public relations, and in fact, their "new" styles had no distinction from their "old" styles on musical grounds. It is also a marketing strategy as the new name brought consciousness that appealed and attracted them to new songs. Two Juju musicians discussed an elderly musician said that they favoured him because he played "the latest songs." Pressed for an explanation, one of them responded, "Why we say he plays the latest music is that when he composes any new song now and then makes record of it, well, we term that as the latest song. It may be an old song, which he just adds some changes to here and there. And then he turns it in his own modern way" (Keil 1966: 67-99 cited in Waterman 1990:17). Waterman further argued that the audience takes pleasure in neologistic terms for performance styles. Thus, a juju bandleader refers to his individual style as *adawa*, meaning, "our independent creation," while *apola*, was what another one performs, a term used to describe for example, a chunk of wood chopped from a tree, single lobe split from a kola nut, or a distinctive stylistic variant. Musicians frequently coined new terms as a way of boosting their public reputation and also economic gains as this ensure their fans increased because of the innovation: For example, New Brian Fuji, Fuji Reggae, Bata Fuji, Talazo, (Disco) Fuji, Synchro System, Miliki System, Yo-pop, and Why Worry? Technological "improvement" is also an omnipresent theme (Waterman 1990:17). With

this, the social terrain is fully engaged and the people are connected easily with the trend of the music as the composers performed.

For miliki, one daily newspaper captured it thus: “Miliki sound... Miliki spot... Miliki music... Miliki era...” (*Sunday Sketch*, June, 1975:8). Miliki system manifests itself in different dimensions. Miliki spot was the performing space of the musician where he entertained dignitaries and important personalities, while Miliki era unequivocally discusses that period of the boom, where miliki sound and music were reigning. As mentioned earlier, it was said that if anything, Obey, by sheer doggedness, dominated juju music with elegance, pride, and impact. Above all, he had an enormous following throughout the country and overseas. Besides, having had an electrifying joy and pleasure from it all, Obey took dynamic and courageous happiness in being on stage and the greater satisfaction in the knowledge that he may well be the best of the best among juju musicians (*Sunday Sketch*, June, 1975:8). Kayode Ige (also a musician) captured this in *Daily Sketch*:

The pity is that you need music for pleasure and very few Nigerian dance band musicians can meet your demand, because they produce nothing but noise. But don't give up yet. You have one whose tempo is an ideal for whatever may be your need, and this is Ebenezer Obey, leader of the International Brothers Band of Nigeria who brings 'Miliki' sound to the newsmen at the Tennis Club, Iyanganku, Ibadan tomorrow. Tunji Oyelana and Haruna Ishola will also feature. Obey is among the leading apostles of modern juju music (*Daily Sketch*, October, 1971: 14).

The youths and students on campus were not left out of the joviality and trend of the period. The third Friday of June 1977 witnessed a musical gig in Ibadan when the popular Klob 20 of the Ibadan Polytechnic celebrated its 3rd annual music carnival at the campus. The Klob 20 of the Ibadan Poly is a student club with some eminent Nigerians as its patrons and matrons. The musical gig featured the *Miliki* King, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey on the band stand and it was no doubt a big success as the juju commander thrilled all his fans to the latest sound of the *miliki* lyrics. The musical carnival recorded a very large crowd while all the guests present were well catered for and were also treated to the lively music of Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey. It was also added that:

Among the eminent Nigerians that graced the occasion with their presence were Alhaji Azeez Arisekola, an Ibadan based motor dealer; Mr. Akanni Aluko, a business tycoon; Alhaja Sadia Timi, a business tycoon; Mr Lateef Abbas, an advertising practitioner; Lanrewaju Adepoju, the Ewi exponent and globe-trotter Olabisi Ajala, with some others (*The Entertainer*, June, 1977: 9).

The social atmosphere of the period was that of *igbadun* and *afefe yeye* – a period of enjoyment and showing off wealth. The *Miliki* system was synonymous to a time of socialisation and enjoyment. Obey’s song, “E sa ma Miliki” released in 1971, as analysed above, demonstrated this. The following record supports this assertion:

Obey has got all the attributes of a man in his profession. You can listen to his music or enjoy dancing it. He has since indulged in hilarious rhythm and succeeds in turning Juju to a thousand-dollar business. As he said during an interview, “If James Brown could ride a jet, I also can do it from the sweat of my labour” (*Daily Sketch*, October, 1971:14).

The prevalence of the life of pleasure and profligacy made KSA to draw a word of caution, advising people that it is inappropriate to go into debt to show off wealthy at all cost or to impress people. It is always better to operate within one means of financial boundary and be content with what one has. The textual information of the song reveal thus:

Bi igba ba d’oju de, a si,
Bi o si se si, a fo,
Ewo ni ka t’orun bo gbese nitori afe aye,
Awa o le tori bo gbese nitori sekarimi. (Sunny Ade, Ariya Odun Kewa, 1973.

If calabash turns its face upside down, we open it,
If it cannot be opened, we break it,
Why are we going into debt because we want to show off?
We cannot go into debt just to pretend we are wealthy.

KSA recognised that people were throwing parties and spending lavishly but that should be for those who could afford it. Going into debt to show off does not worth it, the composer admitted. This is corroborated by the concept of “*won a gba*” (showing off wealth), which Chief Lekan Alabi introduced in the course of conducting interview with him. He also frown at the concept of going into debt to compete with those who could display conspicuous

consumption. “There is nothing wrong”, Alabi said, “in displaying wealth for those who had it but incurring debt to show off does not make sense”.³² I.K. Dairo provided some counter balance to the eactasy of the period and ills going on then as mirrored in his song. The role of music, especially Juju music, in revealing and shaping the social context is significant. As Liske (2001) argued, music satisfied the human needs for aesthetic enjoyment and this was the experience at the time. The texts of Juju music consist largely of traditional materials, including proverbs and praise names (*oriki*). The lyrics of Juju music are closely related to the traditional verbal genre *rara*, which involved the singing or recitation of praises by individual performers for profit (Waterman 1982:61). Oriki is a major component of Yoruba oral tradition. In the traditional sense, oriki was also historical, containing, preserving, and transmitting the past exploit of kingdoms, lineages, and individuals.³³ Although this oriki rendition by KSA on MKO Abiola which is titled: “Chief M. K. O. Abiola (Are Ona Kakanfo of Yorubaland” is situated beyond the period of this study but we will use it to illustrate the analysis on the use of oral tradition to project eminent personalities – the Are Ona Kakanfo of Yorubaland. The biographical information elicited by the oriki revealed that he was a powerful, influential and wealthy figure and in the rank of *Olola* (an honourable person). The musician unveiled thus:

Je n sori ire/2ce
 Edumare je n sori ire
 Bi ti MKO Abiola
 Are-Ona Kakanfo gbogbo Yoruba,
 O ba fowo ola re kanmi lara, ki n do lowo...

Owo owo mofe ni e repete o
 Owo owo mo ni e lo o
 Owo owo apekanuko o
 Je n ni e lowo ma je n ni e lorun, kin ri e mu sohun rere
 Bi ti Abiola...

Lati kekere lo ti mo nipa oge
 O tun dagba tan o tun ba won soqe,
 Oge a se dale kuku loge ti e...

³² Interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Agba Akin Olubadan of Ibadanland, Ibadan, 69 years, 18/03/2019,

³³ Akanmu Adebayo, “Iwo Elites in Recorded Popular Music, 1960-1990s”, 29th Iwo Day Celebration, N250 Million Development Appeal Fund, Oluwo Stadium, Saturday 21st December, 2019, p. 168.

English Translation

Let me do well in life
Like MKO Abiola, who was a former Are-Ona Kakanfo of the Yoruba people;
Let Abiola touch (like Midas') me with his hand of wealth so that I can also become rich.

Money, money, I want to have plenty of you,
Money, you are useful for me and I need you,
Money, Money, called with skewed month,
Let me have you in hand and not on my neck,
Money, let me do great things through you, like Abiola...

Abiola, you have been a fashionable personality since you were young,
Now that you are old, you are still fashionable, shining all around,
You will enjoy life till you die...

The musician used some powerful Yoruba phrases and idioms to praise this powerful personality and poured encomium on him for being one of the wealthiest figures and a most influential philanthropists. He praised him for being a fashionable individual. As he (Abiola) was being praised in such elevated tone he would pour 'a rain' of naira notes on the musician as a sign of approval and appreciation. This is the real use of the personal *oriki* of the private person in which the grandeur is established ... and the values it creates ... and it shows that the great men are the central and significant features of the Yorùbá social system (Adedeji 2010:105 cited in Barber 1991).

I.K. Dairo's Ashiko Music of 1971 was a masterpiece. He gave a robust analysis of the situation of the period under consideration, in the track called, "Esa ma miliki". Just like the *miliki* system of Obey which was mentioned earlier, the song goes thus:

Esa ma miliki tako tabo, Esa ma miliki tako tabo
Ko ma roll – Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, kama gbadun ke le le
Esa ma miliki tako tabo, Esa ma miliki tako tabo,
Ko ma roll – Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, kama gbadun ke le le
Sakadeli - tako tabo esa ma miliki tako tabo,
Tako tabo tonile talejo - tako tabo, Esa ma miliki tako tabo... (Dairo, I.K. Ashiko Music 1970s)

Let everyone continue to enjoy the *Miliki* song – both male and female,
Let it roll because Lagos is place of maximum enjoyment,
Psychedelic as the music is intoxicating,
Male and female, indigenes and foreigners,
Let us all enjoy ourselves, keep on rocking in the land of enjoyment.

The music was appropriate for the period as unveiled by the lyrics of the song. Dairo in the song also made references to Yoruba cities and others that are non-Yorubaland such as: Ibadan, Ijesha, Egba, Ondo, Ijebu, Akure, Ikare, Lokoja, Kaduna, Ilorin, Kano Maiduguri, Jos, and Onitsha, Enugu Port Harcourt to Calabar, inviting them to continue rocking the *miliki* style and the ecstasy because the people are one Nigeria.

This song actually resonated the social atmosphere and pleasure of the time. I.K. Dairo beckoned on the people including those outside Yorubaland to celebrate and enjoy the moment. He uses words like, “*miliki*” “*ko ma roll*”, “*sakadeli*” (psychedelic), and so on, to depict the moment and spirits of the time. Tunji Vidal, cited in Adebayo’s *KSA: Melodies of Wisdom*, argued that, as commemorative music, juju music, through its text, reflects important events occurring in the lives of individuals and the community. The occasion of the death and burial of an important personality in a Yoruba community inspires a new Juju composition in which the Juju musicians captured the event of the day and recorded such for posterity. This is hardly done without some delusion to the quality and virtues of the individual that is being remembered, hence, the “praise” or “panegyric” elements, always accompany the “commemorative” element. The concept of commemoration and panegyric has its roots in the Yoruba cultural matrix and reflects the value system operating in any Yoruba community. The Yoruba people have a special penchant for celebrating or commemorating important events in the life cycle of a man, from birth and naming ceremonies to marriages, retirement and the like. Lekan Alabi added that panegyric can also make you spray, praising people with their oriki always spurred them to action to spray on the musician.³⁴

As a social being, man’s need for entertainment through music is achieved when the content is meaningful. Musical meaning starts with making musical sense and ends with effective or affective communication. Thus, musical sense is how the quality of the features of music conforms with prevalent models of texture, structure, and form in any culture (Nzewi 1993). Music provides entertainment in all societies, even if it may be combined with other functions in a specific activity. Man uses music in annual communal music performance,

³⁴ Interview with Chief Lekan Alabi, Agba Akin Olubadan of Ibadanland, Ibadan, 69 years, 18/03/2019.

house warming, marriage ceremonies, and reception during the visit or the arrival of a renowned personality (Idolor 2002:6). All these are encapsulated in the operation of juju musicians' performance for the wealthy echelons within and even outside the period of this study. The Yoruba word that aptly describes the wealthy personalities of the period is *Gbajumo*. In an interview interaction with Chief Samuel Adedoyin, he used the word that they were *Gbajumos* of the period and they sprayed.

According to Waterman, one of the most commonly applied social stereotypes is the *gbajumo*, a man of outgoing personality, who is generous with his time and money in a culture where miserliness is universally despised, but whose economic position is perceived as precarious. The Yoruba distinguished between *owo* ("money") and *oro* ("wealth"). The *olowo* is typically a trader or entrepreneur, rich today and perhaps destitute tomorrow. In contrast, the *oloro* possesses extensive land, a house, a large family, and other symbols of stable affluence. Title holders and very wealthy persons are described as *olola*, derived from *ola* ("honour"), and the term implies possession of officially sanctioned and stable power. These ranked stereotypical categories, described by P. C. Lloyd (1974), are still significant in modern Yoruba conceptions of social structure, and are, in fact, frequently used in the construction of praise texts in juju performance (Waterman 1982:65).

Status Categories

Olola ("one who has honour")

O ni ola o l'ola

oloro ("one who has wealth")

o ni oro o l'oro

olowo ("one who has money")

o ni owo o l'owo

gbajumo ("well-known person")

igba oju mo gbajumo

200 eyes know

Symbolic Manifestations

title (s); consolidated following;

officially sanctioned power

economic stability; land; house(s);

big family; helpers, assistants

fluid capital; car; stereo;

wardrobe (e.g., lace clothes)

popularity; conspicuous consumption;

conspicuous redistribution;

precarious economically

The categories of Very Important Persons (VIPs) this study interrogates are within the sphere of the *Olola*, *Oloro*, *Gbajumo* and even the *Ayanfe* (specially admired and greatly

beloved), those who were known in this period to have displayed conspicuous consumption and as a result had special recognition by the musicians – those who usually were generous and spent money from a self-replenishing purse. In Ebenezer Obey’s 1970 album, “Adupe Baba, he praised some highly placed individuals in the categories mentioned above. In the album, he applauded Sunday Adigun and Afolabi Abdul Fatai; as well as Barrister Gbadebo Omoni as prominent and proficient legal practitioner. In an interview with Abiola Odejide, on who the musicians recognised, this is her comment on Barrister Omoni;

I do not remember many of them, but I remember the song “Board Members” and one of the people mentioned, because I knew him. Lawyer Omoni, who was said to come from Ogbomoso, and a woman’s name was mentioned as associated with him. “Ogbomoso o, o ya kalo, ka lo fewure jiyani nile Lawyer Omoni, nile Alayinde o, oko Moji.”³⁵

The composer eulogised Barrister Omoni as an *olola* (honourable) and he advertised Omoni’s acumen as a legal luminary:

T’o ba l’ejo, t’oba fe gba loya,
k’o lo ri lawyer Omoni,
A sejo fun o, letoleto ni (Ebenezer Obey, Adupe Baba, 1970).

English Language

If you have a case and you need to hire a lawyer,
Go for Barrister Omoni, he is the most appropriate.
He will handle your case with utmost expertise.

The musician continued as he mentioned Sunny Oyekunle and Adebayo Adejumo, whom he called Kabiyesi of Igbimo Association. He also noted a dignitary known as Sowemimo as an *olola* and one of the heavyweights in society and claimed that he was one of those at the centre of events during the period. In this album, he deliberately recognised another *ayanfe* and *olola*, Tony Anenih, who, at that time was a chartered accountant. The musicians noted:

Tony Anenih ayanfe,
Chartered accountant tiwa ni,
Chartered accountant, Tony Anenih,
Omo olola dakun ma wole,

³⁵ Interview with Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, 75 years, 02/04/2021.

Omo olola dakun ma wole o (Ebenezer Obey, Adupe Baba, 1970).

English Translation

Tony Anenih is a beloved,
He is our own person – a chartered accountant,
Welcome the honourable,
Greetings to an honourable personality.

Furthermore, many Juju musicians migrated to Ibadan during the 1950s and early 1960s. This was a period of economic expansion and this showed in Ibadan younger musicians who arrived during the oil boom years of the 1970s. They generally share the life goals of other Yoruba migrants, and organised their socio-economic strategies around two concepts: first, *ola*, or honour, realised via acquisition of honorary titles and a large and stable set of clients or “followers”; second, *ola*, “wealth,” represented by possession of land, a prosperous business, an impressive compound, wives, children, a private automobile, and access to education for one’s offspring (Lloyd 1974 cited in Waterman 1990:156). The art of praise-singing in most African societies is embedded in their culture and is conceptualised as an institutionalised behaviour through which the individual is related to the collective whole (Nketia 1982: 647). As demonstrated in the period, praise-singing, during performances enhances and foster a sense of reputation in the individual as a means of strengthening his status in society, his achievements and his predecessors as well as his group affiliations. (Alaja-Browne 1989: 237). For instance, in addition to what has been said about Lanre Badmus, one Tunde A. Lawal commenting on Badmus said; “I saw Lanre Badmus walk by my place of work frequently in Bodija Estate of the 1970s Ibadan. He is gregarious with an amazing presence”.³⁶ This author added that Chief Ebenezer Obey praised Lanre Badmus as a renowned figure linking this to his Ibadan genealogy, his place of birth and mentioned his family, including his father and mother. The attention given by the musicians to the point of painstakingly making reference to members of his family showed affinity and that he was high societal personality.

In the same vein, KSA poured encomiums on Alhaji Moshood Balogun, the son of Alhaji Betilahi in Ijebu-Ode, nothing that he would always perform for Balogun because he was a

³⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cYv3KJrD6Og> accessed 23/03/2021

special individual. The musician also showcased the man as the Director General of Abako Jumbo. He then made reference to his business thus:

*Oyinbo oni guguru lo fokan bale kinni kan o ni se e,
Ewa wo balogun, to fi guguru seun rere, Balogun nile, Balogun loko* (Sunny Ade, “Kitikiti”, 1978)

English Translation

One who engaged in the sale of popcorn and was famous for it.
He made a fortune through the business.

An article in *The Lagos Weekend* amplified that, “Then comes this number dedicated to Moshood Balogun whom he called “Oyinbo Oni Guguru” because of his contribution to the industrial development of the country. Sunny Ade has proven by this album that he is not just a musician but a producer into the bargain. In fact, he did the production aspect of the album, assisted by top-class engineers and producers, in London.” (*Lagos Weekend*, April, 1978:10). Furthermore, in the track, “Ori mi ja fun mi,” KSA made a descriptive analysis of how the wealthy eat comparing it with the way the poor people do:

Olowo jeun jeje jeun jeje
Otosi jeun womu jeun womu
Awon otosi to n ba oloro ja, oju ni won ya,
Ojo oro to su, Edumare je o ro dodo mi
Tori apemora o, la a pe temidire (Adebayo 2016:228)

Wealthy people eat leisurely but the poor eat ferociously,
The poor person who fights with the wealthy is going beyond boundary.
The rain of wealth that is looming, Edumare let it get to me,
Because it is what one desires that one should pray for.

Here, KSA revealed the comportment of the rich as against the manner the poor people eat. While the wealthy eat unnoticed, paupers eat without decorum because paupers lack table manners. They eat till they have their fill because they do not know where and when the next meal will come. When you see the wealthy, they eat gently, and in small quantity (Adebayo 2016: 228). This showed that the rich praised by the composer could afford anything they desired because they had the money. The pictorial description of the wealthy

and the poor in this song revealed the vibrations and situation of the period. KSA in the same album recognised Alhaji Mukaila Onabanjo, a king in Remo in the House of Akarigbo. He also, saluted Seun Akanni Laiwola of Osogbo, describing him as *omo o wa yerin kowo si o jare, Laiwola ni moba rode* (one who was well known as supplier of sand for buildings, he was elated to perform for him whenever he desired).

Alaja-Browne reiterated that in most of the traditional African societies, the value system of music practice are reflected through praise song. Likewise in traditional Yoruba society, for instance, praise-singers - drummers and singers, balladists, the poets - occupied an enviable and conspicuous position. Although their occupation was seen as one of low socio-economic status, but their position was so enviable that they could go into any state function without invitation. They entered palaces at will to entertain, and shrines, courts, and inform and enlighten both the rulers and the ruled through *oriki* which is the praise institution and this can be chanted or played on drums. The customary reward they received was a few cowrie shells or food items for the services they rendered and this is seen as the way to show appreciation for their role in contributing to the social and cultural maintenance of the social mores and values of their community (Alaja-Browne 1989: 237). Juju music as an indigenous Yoruba genre played the same role in modern times. Juju music is rich in traditional poetry, proverbs and *oriki* which Juju musicians used to praise wealthy individuals in society who usually ‘spray’ them lavishly, most especially in the period of this study. One of the instances of ‘spraying’ Obey recorded reveals thus:

The excited, happy-go-lucky, cheering crowd is then temporarily sent into a state of frenzy by his beautiful captivating lyrical preaching. Instantly, his dedicated fun-loving and impatient admirers go loose spraying him in succession in appreciation of that moment’s relief from their boredom. And, on and on it goes until 5 a.m., when Obey secretly bolts away. Before this, what next hits one as a bang in the face as he watches the dimly-lit stage, with studious curiosity, is Obey’s profusely sweating forehead, obviously from being plastered, intermittently, with “spraying nairas” by his happy fans (*Sunday Sketch*, June, 1975:8).

Waterman (1982:63) also emphasised that these ritualised remunerative sequences (spraying) frequently developed into status battles, through which the rank of individuals may be reinforced or challenged. Most importantly, it is the performance of music, judged appropriately by the participants, that frames the context so that such symbolic exchanges may take place. Without music of a certain quality, the local elite host or hostess cannot stage a truly successful ceremony. The juju bandleader is thus responsible for the integration of the ongoing stream of social behaviour into his music, and, substantially, for the success or failure of any occasion at which his band performs.

The Juju music of Ebenezer Obey and Sunny Ade became a powerful weapon to appreciating and eulogising wealthy patrons and this ensured the success of the occasion. Their music especially in the 1970s through praise-singing, responded to the aspirations, identity, and put into consideration the social needs of their audience and through this, they participated directly in the social process. Wealth and popularity of the musicians were drastically increased as wealthy individuals competed and paid juju musicians to mention their names and enterprises on record. Thus, the musicians began to emphasise in the lyrics words of praise and adoration for wealthy personalities in society. They passed social and philosophical comments on trends and events which embodied values and characteristics with which people could, at some level, be identified (Alaja-Browne 1989:238).

Waterman (1990), echoing Alaja-Brown (1985:57), amplified that the lavish celebrations of Lagos may be seen in retrospect as “the seeds of a later period of conspicuous consumption” which strongly affected the fortunes of juju musicians. Conspicuous consumption, therefore, found full expression in the Nigerian oil boom of the 1970s. According to Nelson Fashina, it was a period of extreme ostentation and socialising; the conspicuous consumption as well as the consumption chain was very elastic to the extent that it percolated even non-Yoruba speaking areas of Nigeria and went abroad. People like KSA and Obey played abroad, and their music was irresistible. So, in a way, apart from the physical sound which is called the meaning of sound, the sound of meaning in Juju music has some kind of psychic power that usually intoxicated the people to spray money and that culture has remained with us up till now. He reiterated further that when he was in the United States, even the whites watched with amazement how Nigerians sprayed money in parties,

at baby showers, naming ceremonies, house-warmings, marriages, birthday celebrations, among others³⁷. Juju as a style is sustained to a large extent by an ideological stance that eulogises the rich and those with political authority in society, and neglects the poor. In other words, the ideological stance of “Juju” could be said to be capitalistic and, to some extent, political. This is because the ruling class is usually the one in control of the economy. The capitalistic inclination of “juju” music is usually demonstrated through praise singing where only the rich and the politically powerful get recognised in performance situations as they reciprocate by “spraying money” (Emielu 2010:14).

In the interview granted in *Lagos Weekeend*, *Obey* affirmed that ‘spraying’, which is the mainstay of the incomes of many juju and other traditional popular music groups, has of recent come under strong criticism. However, *Obey*, as would be expected, did not share the raised objections. *Obey* said, “if you want to be frank, this thing is traditional, at least, in Yorubaland. Yoruba people generally show appreciation when musicians play. It has been so for ages. It is our tradition. Nobody can stop it. It runs through all Nigerian ethnic groups.” He also restated that “in Europe and America where people don’t spray, they pay a lot of money as gate fees to attend concerts, here very, very few people will pay to attend a juju or fuji or *goje* concert. Our remuneration comes from spraying” (*Lagos Weekeend*, September, 1985:9). *Abiola Odejide* explicitly disclosed the motivations of the wealthy class for spraying thus;

Yes, they sprayed. They held the currencies in bundles, the high denomination bundles were preferred. As the Juju musicians reeled out their names and *oriki*, their wives’ names, children’s names, friends’ names, and town of origin, they took centre stage in front of the musicians and sprayed for long periods. Their friends joined them in the spraying until the musician moved on to another dignitary. One of the musician’s singers took it on themselves to collect the names of those who were worthy of recognition; quite often, one of those on the dance floor went to whisper the name of the persons who should be recognised. Sometimes, the recognition and spraying could turn into a

³⁷ Interview with Professor Nelson Fashina, Department of English University of Ibadan, Ibadan, 06/06/2020.

competition between two or more dignitaries to show who has the heaviest spraying prowess.³⁸

In the light of giving honour to whom honour is due, respected members of the society like traditional rulers, and chiefs, genuine business tycoons, wealthy individuals and achievers in various fields of human endeavours are constantly praised by musicians, well-wishers and admirers. People that these musicians have sung about include traditional rulers, successful businessmen and women, captains of industries, professionals of high standing, notable and wealthy people, top government officials, achievers in various careers and so on (Adebayo 2016:159). It is only normal that these achievers referred above must possess the capacity of wealth whether through their positions, professions or businesses.

While prasing the Late Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah in one of his albums, KSA delved into rendering the praise poetry of Oba Oguntade Oyebusi in Ikorodu, Lagos as an influential king. The king was the patron of a prominent club in Lagos known as High Society Club, which comprised eminent Nigerians. In the same vein, in this record, KSA also mentioned I.S. Adewale just like Obey Commander earlier, showing that Adewale spent money from a self-replenishing purse. The musician praised his family and appealed to the divinity for his care for the Island Club and unity among them. Other club members he mentioned are: Bay Kehinde, Hillary Babs Akerele, Adetona Onabanjo, Olu Adebajo Omo Alokolaran, Dokunmu and Osinnubi; as well as Alolade Wilki-Wilmer, Director General Wilmer Publicity that dealt in original breakable plates – *awo tanganran*, as well as Sikiru, the Director General of Waydown Company. On the importance of clubs it is observed that:

The significance of Obey playing in the club is in the fact that the Island Club was the very place where Obey registered his fame and popularity as a juju super star. The club's historians confirmed that the club has over the past decade been "The Appolo Theatre" where many renowned and up-and-coming Juju musicians had made their names by being exposed to a selective audience. Prominent among them are Sunny Ade, I.K. Dairo, Tunde Nightingale... (*Lagos Weekend, July, 1979:9*).

³⁸ Interview with Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, 75 years, 02/04/2021

According to the club's social secretary, Chief Remi Adeoye, the Island Club enjoyed special privileges at the booking office of Nigeria's foremost juju super star because members of the club are great lovers of Obey's music. The club members enjoyed dancing to his music because each time he plays, the club is always crowded. Adeoye confessed that it was no surprise because names like Obey always conjured full attention (*Lagos Weekend*, July, 1979:9). Important personalities of this period could not do without the scintillating and elating music of Juju musicians such Obey and Sunny Ade because it brought relaxation to their body and refreshed their minds.

In an interview conducted with Mr. Aderibigbe, he insisted that the musicians who reigned at that time were many: Sunny Ade, Dele Abiodun, Ebenezer Obey, Haruna Isola, Ayinla Omowura, and so on. Mr Aderibigbe in his reflections noted that many of the wealthy people spent for them whenever they were invited for performance. In fact, some of those people after they had finished spending money, would remove their *agbada* and throw it at the musician. Some would remove their wrist watches and dashed the music players. They spent bundles of money, in the highest denomination obtainable by then. In his catalogue of money spenders, Aderibigbe said:

Chief M.K.O. Abiola, Chief Abiola Ogundokun and Lanre Badmus. These are names that easily came to my mind. When Arisekola's money came he actually dashed many people E-20 buses; that was when Nisan E-20 came and E-20 Urban also came. He sold Datsun products. And Ebenezer Obey referred to him as *Oyinbo o ni Datsun*.³⁹ **(IDI Interview with Mr Adebisi Aderibigbe, Ibadan, Male, 62 years, 24/04/2021).**

Obey praised some dignitaries such as Prince Alade Lamuye; Chief Abiola Ogundokun (managing director) Lawyer Atanda; Lawyer Aremu; Fasasi Ayanleye, in his album 'Ara Nba Da Owo 'Je'. The lyrics of the song revealed that Obey gave special attention to Chief Ogundokun as his intimate friend:

Mi o le gbagbe ore mi,
Abiola Adeniyi omo Ogundokun
Nle baba ni baba n je.

³⁹Interview with Mr Adebisi Aderibigbe, Ibadan, 62 years, 24/04/2021.

English Translation

I cannot forget my friend,
Abiola Adeniyi the son Ogundokun
He is a man of honour.

Akanmu Adebayo, an indigene of Iwo, lent his voice through his writing on the important socialite, Chief Ogundokun, who was mentioned several times, along with one of his wives and children. In addition, Obey called him his “friend,” a much bigger deal in those days. Indeed, Obey and Chief Ogundokun were bosom friends.⁴⁰ According to the track:

Bimo ba ti ranti Iwo,
Mi o le gbagbe awon eyan jankan jankan,
Managing Director, Ewe Nla Hotel baba ni baba,
Mele gbagbe Prince Alade Lamuye,
Mele gbagbe Eniola Atanda Olola lo je, Barrister Lawyer, Mi o le gbagbe “The
President”, Fasasi mi o Omo Ayanleye
Pelu Barrister Lawyer, Aremu o se
Mi o le gbagbe ore mi
Abiola Adeniyi omo Ogundokun
Nle baba ni baba n je
Ogundokun Managing director
Oko Yemi Atinuke
Baba Toyin, Baba Sunny mi o,
Nle o se omo Olola.

English Translation

Whenever I remember (my performance in) Iwo,
I am reminded of all the prominent people,
(Such as) the Managing Director of Ewe Nla Hotel,
I cannot forget Prince Alade Lamuye
I cannot forget (the generosity) of Eniola Atanda, Barrister Lawyer,
I cannot forget the President (of the club),
My dear Fasasi son of Ayanleye
And Barrister Lawyer Aremu, Thank you.
I cannot forget my friend,
Abiola Adeniyi son of Ogundokun.
I salute! You’re up to the task (of a leader)
Ogundokun, the managing Director
Husband of Yemi Atinuke,
Toyin’s father, Sunny’s father

⁴⁰ Akanmu Adebayo, “Iwo Elites in Recorded Popular Music, 1960-1990s”, 29th Iwo Day Celebration, N250 Million Development Appeal Fund, Oluwo Stadium, Saturday 21st December, 2019, p. 173.

I salute your eminence!

While most of the people in this class were quiet, easy-going achievers, there were others in every city that made their status known through their conspicuous consumption, self-promotion, and courting of publicity. They ended up taking honorary chieftaincy titles from the kings of several towns. On the number and occasions when musicians have praised him in their records, Chief Ogundokun himself had this to say;

My forebears were socialites; they knew how to spend money. My parents were famous. I facilitated Obey's tour of America. I was president of Like Minds Society of which Sunny Ade, Kola Oyadeji, and many others were members. Obey has made two records for me, so also Prince Adekunle in 1972, Odolaye Aremu made four records for me, Epo-Akara in Ibadan made two records for me. Other (less prominent) musicians also sang my praise. My peers were MKO Abiola, Alani Bankole, Lanre Badmus. There is hardly any occasion that Haruna Ishola would perform without mentioning (my name) Abiola Ogundokun. Those records increased my popularity in society. My name opened many doors (to positions) for Iwo indigenes.⁴¹

To further showcase the social happenings, as earlier mentioned, the activities of the people such as Bisilola Ediosere, popularly known as "Cash Madam" are to be noted. Obey, in the album "Board Members" projected:

Whenever we see Bisi afar off, we celebrate and sadness vanishes. Bisi is a *gbajumo*. It is the divinity that has made you (Bisi) the head of those who are important and those who dressed well. So, people cannot understand how a famous person like you is living your life.

The musician further said, "Help me invite Bisi to come and dance because this is the climax of the performance". The influence of Bisi was corroborated in *The Punch* (1982:13), Mrs Bisi Ediosere (alias Cash Madam) demonstrated support for the Young Mothers' Club Anniversary on the 16th April, 1982 at Club Arcade, Tafawa Balewa Square, Lagos. Music for the event was given by Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey. The chairman of that event

⁴¹ Akanmu Adebayo, "Iwo Elites in Recorded Popular Music, 1960-1990s", 29th Iwo Day Celebration, N250 Million Development Appeal Fund, Oluwo Stadium, Saturday 21st December, 2019, p. 180.

was Chief Olu Aboderin. Apart from Mrs Bisi Ediosere, the event was also supported by another eminent personality, Chief George Oyedele (alias Funfun-nene). Chief Olu Aboderin was a prominent and influential personality in Nigeria and patron of the Performing Musicians Association of Nigeria. He was a Nigerian newspaper publisher, a co-founder of *The Punch* newspaper of Nigeria and was the president of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association of Nigeria until his death in 1984. He had a very strong pedigree being the son of James Oyebode and Janet Aboderin in Ibadan. Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey, in his album in 1972 titled "Late Oba Gbadebo II", had sung of Late Madam Alatede Aboderin. Madam Alatede had always been regarded as a wealthy personality. (She is the grandmother of Chief Mrs Onikepo Akande (OON, CON), who was Nigeria's first female Minister of Industry and the wife of Chief Adebayo Akande, the Maye Olubadan of Ibadanland). The music composer, referred to Madam Aboderin by saying, *iku ti mu oloore lo, gbogbo eniyan lo nse idaro leyin re*, meaning, death has taken away a good and generous person and everybody is mourning her and wishing her *orun rere* (good heaven). Obey equally alluded to her as "*Mama Alaso ni Gbagi*", the woman who was popular for selling fabrics at Gbagi Market. Furthermore, in Obey's "Edumare Soro mi dayo" in 1972, he praised a number of people including Alajala whom he acknowledged was in the rank of the *olola* (the honourables) and he is Alhaja Sade's husband. According to the musician, Sade is a beautiful woman and has travelled all over the world. Travelling all over the world during the period was an indication of wealth, exposure and high social status. He remembered Chief Abdul-Salam whose wife is an Alhaja who owned a boutique known as Shandy-Boutique. Alhaji Babs Alalade as well was recognised as the son of Animasahun, the husband of Kofoworola Aduke. The musician appealed to the divinity not to allow the son of Animasahun to experience lack or poverty in his life. The musicians generally always prayed for those who contributed to their lives and success through spraying. Michael Raheem, who lived in the period was so specific about Shandy boutique and Eko Roundcity transport:

Just like yesterday, this album that we started rocking then in 1971 (i.e. 1972, the album was released in 1972) as young guys, we were so curious as to what was so spectacular about Shandy boutique which was then located at Ayilara street in Surulere, Lagos. So many people listened to the percussion, the drum and

bongo by Captain Ogunlade. Even during time Alhaji Alalade Animashawun also came with public transport it was known as Eko Roundcity transport. It was fun, so playing this music then as young students, we believed you can make it by doing well in your academics.⁴²

Furthermore, Ebenezer Obey entertained heavy weights in society at three different cream of social functions. These were at Dr Dapo Tejuoso's birthday party, Late Chief Henry Fajemirokun's anniversary dance and for the Awolowo family when Dr Tokunbo Dosunmu celebrated her birthday (*The Punch*, February, 1988:11). Dr. Tokunbo Awolowo Dosumu is a daughter to the sage and political icon, Obafemi Awolowo. She is a medical practitioner and a diplomat, philanthropist, politician, administrator, mother, and teacher. Just like her father, the sage figure, she is a strong advocate of good governance through federalism. She loves government investment in social welfare.⁴³ She was appointed Nigerian Ambassador to The Netherlands by former President Olusegun Obasanjo and equally a member of the last Constitutional Conference appointed by former President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan.

Osinusi is enjoying life, the musician revealed. KSA's song for Bode Osinusi depicted enjoyment and spite his detractors to face their own problems, as their denigration would not amount to anything for Osinusi. KSA arranged part of the lyrics of the praise song thus:

To o ba ku logun odun, baba enikan o le gbe e sin,
Enikan o da e loko owo
Baba enikan o da e lola
Odumare lo fun e lowo
Bode n jaye telegan lo soro
Osinusi n jaye telegan lo soro
Ka fola fun olola, kafoloye fun oye
Ka fola fun olola, kafoloye fun oye
Olowo mo ba rode, Osinusi oko Afusa (Sunny Ade, "Baba orun awa nbe o", 1981).

English Translation

If you don't die in twenty years to this time, nobody can kill you,
Nobody established your enterprise for you,
You are an honourable man by yourself,
Edumare is the one that bestowed money on you,

⁴² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSoX5WNbT1Q>, 2020, accessed 23/10/2022.

⁴³ <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28765/discussions/7299613/toyin-falola-interviews-conversation-dr-tokunbo-awolowo-dosumu> accessed 21/10/2022.

Bode is enjoying life, his detractors are the ones with problems
Osinusi is relishing, his detractors are the ones with problems
Let us give honour and respect to whom it is due,
I am performing for a wealthy man, Osinusi the husband of Afusa.

Among top government officials that KSA had sung their praises were retired Major-General Adeyinka Adebayo, the late General Murtala Muhammed, the late Yohanna Gowon (father of the former Head of State [retired] General Yakubu Gowon), the late Dr Kwame Nkrumah (Ghanaian leader and foremost pan-Africanist), Olusegun Obasanjo and among them are many military and civilian presidents, governors, local government chairmen, and so on. Apart from notable individuals, KSA had also sang the praises of clubs, corporate organisation, groups and associations; among these were Egbe Aburi, Egbe Board, Constant Star, Rod Publicity, Egbe Awawa, and Lagos Island Club (Adebayo 2016:180).

Another characteristic of the period is encapsulated in the term *ariya*, which refers to lavish spending in parties, which include celebrating the naming of a baby, weddings, birthdays, funerals, title-taking ceremonies, and the launching of new property or business enterprises. They were sponsored by upwardly-mobile Yoruba wage earners and entrepreneurs, and, on a more opulent scale, by members of the high elite, including wealthy traders, executives, politicians, and university professors. Sandra Barnes, who did research in the Lagos suburb of Mushin, provided a succinct description of the modern *ariya* as a reflection of the trend in the oil boom period:

In ceremonial undertakings, *idile* (patrilineal descent group) mates as well as the wider kindred, affines, and even friends, are responsible for making contributions to the events. For those who have been conscientious in their ceremonial giving in the past, the generosity ideally will be returned two-fold when they later stage their own ceremonies.

The ceremony is the symbolic demonstration of the host's resources: material and social. His own wealth and the contributions of his guests are used to make the occasion as satisfying for the participants as possible. In an effort to display generosity, hosts and hostesses buy and distribute gift items; their kinsmen or close friends also can bring and distribute gifts as an added demonstration of their mutual affection and support.

Opulence also is shown in the monetary rewards which are made to musicians. Both hosts and guests are obliged to reward their entertainer, exhibiting their contributions by pressing them to the foreheads of the musicians. The greater the amounts, the higher the esteem accorded the giver; musicians return the favours by extolling the virtues of the donors in their songs of praise.

The ceremony binds together the whole social sphere of the host; it is a reflection of the host's influence and status. Kinsmen, friends, business associates, and political contacts are all gathered together in group; a host's *idile* mates may cluster together in one group; his in-laws in another; his voluntary association mates, work colleagues, and friends in still other sets. Social status is additionally measured by the numbers of guests' kinsmen and friends bring with them to the ceremonies. It is desirable that they bring guests, since it swells the number of celebrants and attests to the popularity of the hosts (Barnes 1974:111-112 cited in Waterman 1990).

To corroborate this, in his song titled "Ariya Odun Kewa" which was released in 1973, KSA recounted how they have moved from one place to another, performing. He reiterated that performing for kings and chiefs home and abroad called for celebration. He saluted all their supporters and different associations: he showed gratitude to all their fans: the young, the elderly, high society, as well as fans overseas. He categorically appreciated all these clubs and associations such as Egbe Island Club, Board Members and Egbe Igbimo, Egbe Amuludun in Lagos and Egbe Aburi, African Songs Limited, Egbe Constant Star and Tennis Club, Ifelodun I'Ondo Egin, Gbogbo elere (all musicians and artistes are all appreciated), including Egbe Rawam (Sunny Ade, "Ariya Odun Kewa" 1973).

4.5 Celebrated Personalities and Commodities as a Reflection of the Economy of the Period

This aspect of the study focus on analysing consumer culture that developed in Southwestern Nigeria on the heels of the oil boom and the celebration of the *nouveau riche*. That is the celebrated and wealthy Nigerians. The personalities with the commodities they were known for and their presence in the economy were interrogated. This delved into a little examination of their biography. Biographies are important aspects of historical

scholarship. Considering the biographical information of the highly placed personalities will be adequate at this juncture, to have a clearer understanding of their root, formation, development and a clearer picture of their successes and achievement in the society. These success stories and achievements earned the individuals different accolades especially encomiums from Juju musicians as they resounded their names in their songs. Biography genre is seen by historians as a vital tool for understanding the trajectory of change and development in human society. Writing of biographies usually entails the need to bring the past to the consciousness of the present and providing a better understanding of the life and times of noteworthy men and women in society. Biographies also contribute to the knowledge of society through the life and times of individuals at different levels of existence (Adesina 2020:8-9).

A notable icon is Chief Abdulrasak Akanni Okoya, who was born in Lagos in 1940. He was and still is a business mogul and an enterpreneur of a distinct class whose business ventures have spanned six decades. He is a Nigerian industrialist, philanthropist and the founder of Eleganza group of companies which has spread around the West African region. Okoya is a socialite of note, a prominent member of a number of social clubs in Lagos, which include the high-profile Metropolitan Club, Yoruba Tennis Club and The Island Club, with tremendous contributions to the elevation of these clubs for which he has been duely recognised with numerous awards. One of which is the Lifetime Achievement Award of Business Entrepreneur by *ThisDay Newspaper*, an award which was presented to Okoya by Bill Clinton, a Former President of United States of America. Okoya ventured into manufacturing and produced jewellery with the raw materials available in Nigeria which has a ready market because the demand was high. He had imported some jewellery manufacturing machines along with some experts and started manufacturing at a cheaper price which gave Nigerians an advantage over imported jewelleries. His company has grown over the years and now employs thousands of Nigerians across its factories where it manufactures coolers, chairs, soaps, weave-on for ladies, cutlery, electric fans, plastics, among others.⁴⁴ Speaking about clubs, Mr Olusegun Ojo noted that there was one particular club which is highly conservative known as Metropolitan Club. The club is for corperate

⁴⁴ *NewsWire* NGR, <https://newswirengr.com/2022/08/18/billionaire-razaq-okoya-biography-education-career-marriage-children-source-of-income-and-net-worth/> accessed 18/10/2022.

individuals and membership is highly competitive.⁴⁵ In an interview with Prince Samuel Adedoyin however, he noted that he is a member of the Metropolitan club, among other clubs and even now a life member because of his age.⁴⁶

In this section, we delve into the analysis of personalities, with their associated business commodities. The musicians creatively placed them and their businesses in the public consciousness through advertisement of their products and commodities. Terkan (2014:240) sees advertising as a form of communicative activation. It can be persuasive and informative in nature; utilising the mass or new media to persuade the consumers to purchase goods and services. Consumers can learn every detailed information through advertising of a specific product. Advertising is important for competition among businesses and also helps to increase the productivity of companies and generally raises the standard of living in society. Advertisement has a peculiar way of driving people to a product especially that it was, in this case, recorded in music has the advantage to be played repeatedly. The new generation in the contemporary time can also access the knowledge of these products even though they are now moribund. This is a credit to indigenous musicians and their music.

It is also to be noted that circumstances also surfaced during this period. Another commodity that was amplified by the musicians as a symbol of conspicuous consumption was lace fabric. Considering this lyric:

Kin ni mama Alaso n ta to yegba dani,
Abewure nje lesi ni?

English Translation

What is the cloth seller selling that she is holding a cane,
Will goat eat lace?

Lace was one of the expensive fabrics in vogue during the period and usually worn as a symbol of high social status. The economic stratification of the period did not allow the commoners the opportunity to be able to afford what the socialites used or wore. Obey's album "Late Oba Gbadebo II" in 1972 also corroborated the social climate of the period. Obey remembered and recognised a prominent individual, Madam Alatede Aboderin,

⁴⁵ Interview with Olusegun Ojo, 52 years, Lagos, 29/09/2022.

⁴⁶ Interview with Chief Samuel Adedoyin, 87 years, Victoria Island, Lagos, 29/09/2022.

whom Obey alluded to as “*Mama Alaso ni Gbagi*”, the woman who was popular for selling fabrics at Gbagi Market in Ibadan. As stated earlier, she was the grandmother of Chief Mrs Onikepo Akande (OON, CON), who was Nigeria’s first female Minister of Industry and the wife of Chief Adebayo Akande, the *Maye Olubadan* of Ibadanland.

Obey’s song, “*Oro nipa lace*,” composed in 1971 attested to this social reality of expression of conspicuous consumption in society. This is the lyrical presentation of the song:

Ewo ni ka daso sile kama le e wo jade?
Ewo ni karaso asiko kama le e wo jade,
Tobinrin ba wo lace won l’aya Babatunde
Bokunrin ba wo lace won a ni Folorunso
Ema foju buruku wo ni lesi
Eni to jale iyen loye kabawi (Ebenezer Obey, “*Oro nipa Lace*”, 1972).

English Translation

Why should we buy clothes and cannot wear them on outings?
Why should we buy the cloth that is in vogue and we cannot even wear it on outings?
If a woman wears lace they will say she is the wife of Babatunde,
When men wear lace they will call him Folorunso,
Don’t taunt or stigmatise people who wear lace material in the society,
The person who was an armed robber should be the one to be rebuked.

It was noted that the personality in question in the song above was of a questionable character who has some moral issue about the source of his wealth. It still showed that he had some levels of wealth when he wore lace the day he faced the firing squad. The musician made it crystal clear that the society should not stigmatise those wearing lace because not all who wore lace had ill-gotten wealth. And not all who dressed flamboyantly were armed robbers. The society is segmented into different categories and there are many who have made their wealth in a legal way and upright manner and therefore could afford to wear lace anytime they deemed fit. To justify his assertion, the musician noted Ajumoni, among others, as one of those who had clear money and enjoyed life as one of the shakers of the period. The lyrics testify to this:

Elegbe me gbe, elegbe me gbe
Ajumoni nwo lace, elegbe me gbe (Ebenezer Obey, “*Board Members*”, 1972)

English Translation

People know their level in the society,

Ajumoni is a highly placed personality not to be compared with anyone.

With the illustration of *Ajumoni* in the album, the musicians projected lace fabric as a symbol of conspicuous consumption. Lace was meant for the wealthy class in society although there was reflection and refraction. The refraction was conspicuously demonstrated in the song “*Oro nipa Lace*” cited earlier. What had been a social symbol for the upper class suddenly became a symbol of social ill and stigmatisation. The musician then creatively reengineered the consciousness of the people to the right direction of hardwork and enjoyment. He proposed that people should enjoy their hard-earned money the way they liked. The lyrics of the song revealed the person known as Babatunde Folorunso, who was the armed robber that faced the firing squad.

The music composer enjoined all by advocating that lace wearing in society was not a thing of shame, it is those who got involved in social vices that should desist. The singer continued on a general valourisation of money as capable of helping one achieve feats and gain recognition in society. Juju music, as mentioned earlier, became a major driving force, determining the direction of commerce and economy and served as a way to advertise different products. In using juju music to showcase high personalities and their business as a form of advertisement, Ebenezer Obey’s album in 1977 titled, “*Iba*” was a case in point where he praised and ranked the industrialist Alhaji Rasak Olajide Sanusi as *Olola*, with these words:

From Lagos to Abeokuta, Alhaji Sanusi is not to be compared.
If you want to buy iron or building materials in Abeokuta, Ibadan
or Lagos even if it is Mikano, make haste and get it from Sanusi.
Anyone who says the famous Sanusi should not enjoy life, wish
him ill, the whole of Egbaland will lift Sanusi above them.

Sanusi has been prominently described as the famed iron and steel merchant. Before his death, he achieved great feats in business, marketing, manufacturing, and other services rendered to humanity. He was the third Asiwaju of Egbaland and left many companies behind such as Sanusi Steel Industries (SSI), Sanusi Brothers Big Ltd (SBN), Sanusi Rubber

Works Ltd (SRW), Nigeria Product Agencies Company (NIPACO), and numerous others to cite here. What they manufactured in those days and even upto now are still marketable, they are products still in use today.⁴⁷ One of Chief Sanusi's daughters also remarked thus:

We have Sanusi Steel where they manufacture building materials. Those are some of the things that my father worked for. He worked with all the previous administrations of government in Nigeria in industrial areas.⁴⁸

Further on advertisement by juju musicians, Chief Alhaji Alao Azeez Arisekola, an Ibadan businessman and the Aare Ikolaba Ibadan, in Obey "Eiye to ba fara wegun" – 1978 is another example. Arisekola was a motor dealer in this period and chairman Lister Motors who dealt mainly in Datsun Motor models. This was how the musician captured it;

Teba fe 120, tabi 140, to ba je 160 tabi 180 to ba je 200
Datsun motors orisirisi atata onbe lodo Arisekola
Lister Motors onitemi Arisekola... (Ebenezer Obey, Eiye to ba Fara Wegun, 1978)

English Translation

Different kinds and degrees of Datsun motors are with Arisekola Company,
Any type you want; you will see in Lister Motors.

The musician referred to Arisekola as Oyinbo Motor Seller, Oyinbo *oni* Datsun (The Datsun Merchant). Arisekola's business strategy was very effective and relieving to those who could not have thought of owning a vehicle during the period. He sold the cars to the buyers on higher purchase and this enabled many people to purchase the cars and pay the money by installments. It was a measure of prestige for those who could afford the cars. Adeolu Akande in *Vanguard* newspaper, shared one of the experiences of Arisekola before he was appointed the Aare Musulumi of Yorubaland saying: "We were reckless with money", Arisekola said with nostalgia in an occasion as he relived his youthful years and exploits with another comrade in the social circuit in the 1970s, Chief Abiola Ogundokun. "We would spray all the money we took to a party on Sunny Ade, and we would remove our

⁴⁷ *The Daily Crucible*, How We'll Sustain Our Father's Many Legacies - Tola, Daughter Of Late Nigeria's Foremost Industrialist, Sanusi <https://www.thedailycrucible.com.ng/2022/08/how-we-sustain-our-father-many-legacies.html> accessed 21/10/2022.

⁴⁸ *The Daily Crucible*, How We'll Sustain Our Father's Many Legacies - Tola, Daughter Of Late Nigeria's Foremost Industrialist, Sanusi, <https://www.thedailycrucible.com.ng/2022/08/how-we-sustain-our-father-many-legacies.html> accessed 21/10/2022.

wristwatches and used them as collateral to borrow extra money from Sunny Ade and spray him with the money all over again. We only retrieved our wristwatches after visiting the bank on Monday to collect more money, again for Sunny Ade.⁴⁹ It is also disclosed that till he breathed his last in 2014, Arisekola never resisted gesticulating on his seat anytime he heard his favourite song devoted to the glory of Ibadan by his friend, Ebenezer Obey ; “*Arisekola dahunsi e, ye e dahunsi o,Oke’badan dahunsi o...*”⁵⁰ He was a friend to many musicians as his life history has unveiled. Mrs. Oloyede, a trader in Ekotedo, Ibadan remarked on the important personalities of the period thus:

Arisekola was part of those who sprayed that time. Money was available. When Akinloye gave birth to one of his children during that time, they called Ayinde Barrister to perform, they spread 20 naira note across the road to the point where the musician was playing. In fact, they used 20 naira note as *agbada* (a large traditional Yoruba cloth). There was money that time.⁵¹

In the same vein, he praised and celebrated another dignitary, Alhaji Akanni Agboola Alausa in the same album. Aside Datsun product, there were other car products. In fact, various vehicles were used by Nigerians in this period; patronage was so high to the point that distributors were hoarding vehicles with the aim of creating artificial scarcity and thus escalating prices. Noted clearly was the fact that currently, over 3000 people are waiting on the queue to buy vehicles of various models and the queue seemed to be getting longer with each passing day. Unfortunately, supply is not catching up with demand. Austin Osunde related that the government was to introduce some measures to curb some of the anti-social activities of the distributors of vehicles (*Times International*, February, 1976). As a result of the influx of capital into the economy enhanced by the oil boom, large numbers of people could afford purchase of cars and the government was facilitating easy purchase for the citizens.

⁴⁹ Adeolu Akande, *Vanguard*, “Arisekola: A half of Ibadan mistaken for a single person”, February 16, 2018.

⁵⁰ Adeolu Akande, *Vanguard*, “Arisekola: A half of Ibadan mistaken for a single person”, February 16, 2018.

⁵¹ Interview with Mrs Oloyede, Ibadan, 60 years, 24/04/2021.

The musicians within the socio-economic ramifications of the period also present another dignitary with the article of his business. Funsho Oyename, the Managing Director of Remo Carpet enterprise, is a key figure in this regard:

Olowo n sore olowo

Otosi n sore otosi

Oyename lore temi (Ebenezer Obey, “Board Members”, 1972)

English Translation

Rich people befriend rich people;
Poor people are companions to poor ones,
But Oyename is my own friend.

Olowo n sore olowo portrayed a social critique of the societal stratification in the period. There was a wide gulf between the poor and the rich. The rich flocked with the rich and the poor could not measure up with them due to their wealth and status. The musicians were friends of the wealthy for obvious reason. The wealthy individuals were like pillars of support for the musicians while the musicians also bestowed them value for the money they sprayed, satisfying them with scintillating music and adequate entertainment. Modupe Oyename’s comment on the song above was germane: “Olowo sore olowo, Oyename lore temi, my dad”.⁵² The musician resounded and advertised Remo carpet enterprise fluently and persuasively. The lyrics of the song reflect thus:

Eni to ba lowo lowo ko lo ra Remo carpet – Remo carpet lo dara

Remo Carpet o la lo pe, o la lo to – Remo carpet lo dara

Gbogbo majority e ba mi ra Remo – Remo carpet lo dara

To ba kole tan to ba fera carpet lori Remo – Remo carpet lo dara (Ebenezer Obey, “Board Members”, 1972)

English Translation

Anyone who truly has money should purchase Remo carpet.

Remo carpet is good, durable and strong.

After finishing your house, buy Remo carpet.

Remo carpet, to the musician was a symbol of prestige that was why he said anyone who truly has money would go for Remo carpet. By this advertisement, the social scene was

⁵² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSoX5WNbT1Q&t=13s> accessed 05/02/2021

resonated and enlivened, the prestige of the owner of the company was boosted, patronage increased through advertisement leading to financial elevation for the company. The public appeal for Remo carpet, according to the musician, was based on the analysis of its quality, beauty and durability. An interview with Chief Ebenezer Obey himself confirmed the aforementioned thus:

Advertisement is part of my business. I am contributing to the success of their products. I formed songs to advertise them. I intentionally did that and it was successful and the people concerned were very happy about it. So it is part of my profession as a Juju musician.⁵³

KSA in his song titled, 'Rod Publicity' captured a media and advertising company run by some media experts then in Lagos. The composer appealed to the populace to patronise the advertising firm if they desire to advertise their products in a way that would attract massive patronage. Whether it was newspaper, radio or television, they have professionals who could popularise their products and the desired result will be ascertained. Rod Publicity is incomparable because of their professionalism and excellence they put into their work. *Daily Times*, January 1974, also recorded the qualifications of the media juggernauts – Remi Adeoye studied advertising in London at the College for the Distributive Trades between 1960 and 1963, and was the Managing Director of Rod Publicity. The Creative Director was Eddie Olu Falaiye while Akin Davies was, the Public Relation Director. Patronising Rod Publicity for advertisement of your product would be like a Midas' touch because it will bring more sales to you, the musician insisted.

A spokesman of the Rod Publicity, who was also involved in the copious organisation of this rare concert, said that one of the big names in the music festival is King Sunny Ade and his African Beats. Lagos entertainment scene went international in the Main Hall of the National Theatre, Iganmu, and Lagos, where various musicians gathered for performance. Rod Publicity was a publishing outfit in Lagos and KSA had applauded and advertised the

⁵³ Interview with Chief Commender Ebenezer Obey, Zoom Platform during Toyin Falola's interview with Obey, 79 years.

company initially in a track he called “Rod Publicity” in the album, *E kilo Fomo Ode* in 1974. KSA said thus:

If you want to advertise your goods in a way that it will bring money for you,
If you want to advertise in newspapers, especially on radio or Television,
Go to Rod Publicity, they are the master for others to follow,
Remi Adeoye was the managing director, Eddie Olu Falaye was the creative director,
While Akin Davies was the Public relation director,
Let all people follow me to Rod Publicity, they are the master... (Sunny Ade, “E kilo fomo ode”, 1974).

Furthermore, it is also noted that anytime the history of entertainment is written in Nigeria, one name blossomed above many others. This is because he had contributed a lot to the making of many top musicians. He had sold them to the world. The name of this personality is Chief Akin Ogunmade-Davies of Rod Publicity. He was Nigeria’s super image-maker in the field of entertainment (*Lagos Weekend* Friday, April 10, 1981:9). He is said to have played prominent role in projecting KSA’s image through his Rod Publicity firm, through which KSA visibility has been widened drastically. This in turn propelled him to praise Akin Davies and his Rod Publicity in the song.

Roche (Nigeria) Limited has chosen the best way to advertise their product -- Supradyn – by using the popular musician, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey. This was how Obey exemplified the product: “Nowadays, life is hectic for everybody. Even making people happy is hard work and makes tremendous demands on my constitution. On the advice of my doctor, I supplement my bodily requirements with the best multivitamin available – SUPRADYN! Supradyn keeps me at peak performance, if you want the best out of life, do what I do – take Supradyn every day!” (*Daily Sketch*, June 27, 1977:6). This supplement known as Supradyn is a Multivitamin Tablets that help to build a strong immune system, aiding proper blood circulation level in your body.

Obey’s 1975 album titled; “Mukulu muke maa jo” recognised the Tejuosos and with additional information. He praised Chief Bisoye Tejuoso as *gbajumo* and as an *olola* who always have reason to celebrate because he had no sad moment, being the chairman of Teju Industries. The musician went on to Dapo Tejuoso, referring to him as well as an *olola* and

ayanfe – *Teju foam is for the gbajumo*. Meaning Teju foam was a quality foam which was highly patronised by the rich. This is how he captured the wordings of the advertisement:

For the best foam ladies and gentlemen,
Teju foam is the best,
Eni to sun sori Teju foam,
Ala rere ni o ma la (Ebenezer Obey, “Mukulu muke maa jo”,
1975).

English Translation

Anyone who sleeps on Teju foam,
He or she will have good dreams.

4.5.1 Juju Music, Social and Business Elite in Yorubaland

Discourse on oil boom and juju music should be connected with the Yoruba elite who actually spiced the period with their activities through the entertainment showered by the musical icons. Both the Yoruba educated and business elites were part of the social interactions and they exemplified and enjoyed conspicuous consumption. This section concentrated on the business elite but it suffices to say that there were both educated and uneducated elite in the period. And there were also educated wealthy elites. Many of these business elites such as Chief Samuel Adedoyin, Alhaji Chief Azeez Arisekola, Chief Rasak Okoya, Chief Jide Adeniyi and so on, were celebrated in the lyrical contents of the songs of the musicians, because they were important personalities. The term ‘elite’ is conceptualised as a group of eminent individuals, some of whom may or may not occupy formal positions of authority in society but all of whom have a carriage that sets them apart, who possess influence over others that attracts to them a corresponding measure of deference from the rest of society (Adeboye 2003:283).

Many of the celebrated personalities engaged in this study were people of notable influence in various aspects of their occupations and vocations. They were business and commercial elites who were captains of industries and business moguls. Many were in the political arena, who could afford any materials ascribed as status symbols to demonstrate their affluence. Adeboye (2003:285) emphasised that the status symbols refer to items of external consumption which conspicuously advertise the wealth, affluence, and position of individuals in society. The dramaturgy has to do with their associations, mannerisms,

comportments and other general behaviours that contribute to the creation of the elite mystique. Both the status symbols and the dramatic performances are reflections and expressions of the mentalities and outlook of the elite, which in turn are a product of the milieu in which they operated. This status can also be illustrated within the concept of *ola* (life of affluence and luxury). Barber identifies the elements of sufficiency, social command, and public acknowledgement in *ola*, but beyond this, Adeboye's (2003:284) description of *ola* is more succinct and appropriate:

Ola is greatness of splendor that rises above all that is mean, poor, obscure, or inadequate, and above the inhibition of powerlessness or low estate. It is at once assertive and respondent. And it takes pride in the influence it wields in the society, it is this luster and the aura of comfort that issue out of it, coupled with the control it exercises on the society, that makes *ola* to be much sought after by people.

Ayagi (1990:75) added another perspective on the difference between the affluent and the poor. Poor people normally place higher values on material endowment while the affluent place higher priorities on ascetic values: a poor man is more immediately concerned with his belly than the beauty and artistry of his environment and cultural artifacts. The affluent operates on a completely different horizon; he is beyond the mundane; ascetic that differentiate and make his cultural environment unique became his normal pre-occupation; he spends on the arts. Adebayo (2016:179), in his *KSA: Melodies of Wisdom*, catalogued different categories of notable personalities and successful businessmen and women that KSA had sung about. For instance, KSA had sung the praises of Chief Dele Adeyemo, Alhaji Rasaan Ogbara, Alhaji Mukaila Onabanjo, Segun Akanni Laiwola, Laiwola Omidiji, Prince Biyi Adegoke, Dr Kunle Sehinde, Alhaji Olalekan Makanjuola, Odofin Victor Oluwole Bello, Alhaji Bode Osinusi, Alhaji Azeez Arisekola (deceased), Chief George Oyedele (deceased), Alhaji Babajide Okunu as well as Alhaji Rasaan Okoya (Eleganza), Chief Molade Okoya Thomas, Chief (Mrs) Elegbede Dosumu, Chief Femi Otedola, Moshood Balogun, (o fi guguru seun rere), Alhaji Abudu Amoo (Shola Motors), Olaniyan Alawode (alias 007) from Modakeke Town, Bayo Abass, Alhaji Monsor Abimbola Akande, Prince Adesanya, the late Chief Bolarinwa Abioro, Muyideen Agunbiade, Kolawole Bickersteth, Prince Remi Aladesuru, Tony Ani, S. Kayole Dada, Adenaike Ololu, John Ali,

Chief Lekan Salami, Alhaji (Chief) Sakirudeen Olanrewaju Kazeem (Sociable), Chief (Sir) Mike Inegbese (JP), Layiwola Folashade, Alhaji Mekudji, Akanji Adefowope, Tony Clarke, and others too numerous to mention. A historical biographical note will be presented on some of these eminent personalities in the course of this analysis.

The activities of Yoruba elites were very noticeable with respect to the social formation and manifestation of the time and the activities of the musicians through various performances. The Western region was basically the home of Juju music and the wealthy elite were celebrated through the songs. It was within these social and economic conditions, that juju music as a genre, noted for its employment of praise epithets (*oriki*), expansive dancing, and the use of powerful talking drums (*dundun*), grew in status as the new music of the Yoruba political elite. The music evoked indigenous Yoruba traditional performance practices as found for example in traditional funerals and annual festivals. Juju performance, which came to its definitive form in the music of Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey, was well suited and served the needs of the new social atmosphere, especially in the big cities of Ibadan and Lagos (Omojola 2009:255).

In spite of the nationalist appeal of highlife music, it became incapable to adequately fulfil the social demands of the Yoruba elite of the oil boom era. The adduced reason is that, first, *orikis* were rarely employed in highlife. Second, the employment of a predominantly Western instrumentation and the preference for European-type performance spaces (as provided in night clubs and at dinner parties) made highlife less suitable than the new juju music for serving the needs of the business elites. It is also important to mention that the Nigerian elite kept on evolving. It began to shed its overtly Western outlook for a more Afro-centric identity in line with the call for cultural revival especially before and immediately after independence. The development of juju thus marked the relative eclipsing of highlife music. Olaiya, who had until then dominated the Nigerian music scene, had to assume a new role as a master musician of yesteryears (Omojola, 2009:255-256).

The corruption and shadiness occurred mostly in the business world but not without the involvement of other sectors. That some also benefitted from government through embezzlement cannot be disputed. It is a glaring evidence that some individuals took advantage of the government to enrich their pockets. Ellis cited in De Montclos (2018:12)

Oil Rent and Corruption: the Case of Nigeria, argues that because of the easy money in the oil boom period in the 1970s, cases of corruption arrived at an extraordinary scale, whether under civilian rule or during military dictatorships. In the words of the Minister of Petroleum and Energy, Tam David-West, the country lost some \$16 billion during the second Republic from 1979 to 1983, or 20% of its oil revenue, largely due to fraud, the theft of crude oil with the complicity of agents from the national oil company, the overbilling of contracts and the Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). Nigeria's crisis of governance at this period was equally conspicuous. Public institutions and ruling elites had not provided essential collective goods, such as the rule of law, or legitimate symbols of state authority, physical infrastructure, and political community. Democracy is one of the most contentious issues. Many officials took advantage of the government to enrich themselves, and got money to unleash on musicians. Nigerians tenaciously maintain aspirations for democratic rule, as evidenced in the recurring political struggles since independence and in public attitudes towards government (Lewis et al, cited in Lewis 2006:89). This explained why the Nigerian elite's pursued in a relentless manner government office by harnessing the antagonisms of their constituent groups to demand representation and access to rents in the form of redistributed public revenue (Bouchat 2013:15). Many pursued political offices with the aim of amassing wealth to feel a sense of belonging. Notable spokespersons of the Federal Military Government admitted that meaningful indigenisation - ownership and control of management and technology did not take place. What happened was that the Nigerian comprador class (military elites or their representatives, retired bureaucrats and merchants) was contented to serve as fronts for foreign businesses in as much as he was assured a generous dividends (Fadahunsi 1979: 110).

In fact, Barber (1982: 436) added that in the situation there was no hard-and-fast distinction between legitimate and illegitimate wealth. Since the 'normal' running of the economy requires clandestine deals and fake accounts, the line between standard procedures and fraud, embezzlement, and corruption is blurred. What happens then is that it is impossible to acknowledge that in modern Nigerian society all great wealth is baseless and unearned, acquired by more or less dubious means. Instead, the criticism of the wealth that is not based on weapons and armed robbery and magic money, which are the by-product (that is real,

the other imaginary) of the petro-naira economy. This allows for a legitimate desire for wealth, which the traditional honest process system shows is still attainable (Barber 1982:448). Juju music performed different functions both for the elite and the generality of the people. Apart from being a symbol of social status and instrument of social engineering, the wisdom and philosophies that shaped the mind of the people and which the elites cherished were also embedded. It shaped the consciousness for communal living.

Speaking further on the necessity of music for social cohesion, Waterman (1990) amplified that the most important link between juju performance practice and the distribution of power in Yoruba society is the role of music as a metaphor of social order. Juju performance evoked a coherent multisensory image of a communal society, thoroughly cosmopolitan, yet firmly rooted in *ijinle* (“deep”) Yoruba values and sentiments, which is suspended in and energised by a complex generous skein of the wealthy (Waterman 1990:213). Juju music evoked and effectively grounds Yoruba ideals of social intercourse. The balancing of multiple rhythms and generation of layered backgrounds from interlocked patterns are “a communal examination of percussive individuality” (Thompson 1966:91). Call-and-response singing between band captain and band boys is both cooperative behaviour and aesthetic structure, forging coherences across multiple levels of musical and social organisation (Blacking 1971:104). Juju musical personalities rendered biographical information of the societal icon who was either a business tycoon or a dignitary of high importance in other fields of endeavour. Juju performance does not merely represent society; good juju is good social order (Waterman 1990:220) and prestige-driven for the elites in society.

The popularity of Juju music across all levels of Yoruba society was related not only to continuity in musical values, but also to the preeminence of network strategies. Despite objective inequalities in wealth and access to education, most urban Yoruba dwellers including elites, small-scale traders, craftsman, and the mass of urban unemployed, continued to believe that status advancement resulted from individual effort and that anyone may rise to prominence in society. “The fact that everyone saw upward mobility as potentially attainable not only removed emotional strain between the high and the low but

reconciled them to an extent that the latter tend to become insensitive to the incipient class structure” (Imoagene 1976:297-98).

It is noteworthy that the elites set the path of relevance for Juju music through their patronage and spraying. Likewise, the elite also benefitted from their patronage of Juju music as it gave them opportunity to showcase their affluence. In fact, invitation to Juju musicians actually became a status symbol among the wealthy Nigerians. The common people were not left out because they showered encomiums on celebrated personalities with the highest spending prowess. Through this, they participated in the euphoria and the spirits of the age in which they lived.

4.6 Cultural and Traditional Impacts of Oil Boom and Juju Music in Society

This section addressed the fifth objective of the study which is to discuss the impact of the oil boom and the consumer culture on social, cultural and intellectual change in Nigeria. The performance of the juju musicians, aside the socio-economic aspect, also revolved around praise singing and exhuming Nigerian culture and musical entertainment, praise-poetry of traditional rulers and cultural activities and performances such as the FESTAC '77. There are multiple dimensions of the cultural and traditional manifestations of the social ramifications and realities of the oil boom period. The oil boom was the catalyst spurring other events into action. The first to be considered with a huge magnitude and effect was when Nigeria hosted the Africa's Second World Black Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in 1977. It was a huge festival in which music, in this context, Juju musicians played prominent role with remarkable performance. The successful hosting of FESTAC has been mainly traced to the availability of huge money which the oil boom was instrumental to. In his book *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria*, Andrew Apter examines how the postcolonial Nigerian state, flush with oil revenues, attempted to use FESTAC to project a pan-African culture that was truly global but that simultaneously positioned Nigeria at its centre: 'Nigeria's black and African world was clearly an imagined community, national in idiom yet Pan-African in proportion, with a racialised sense of shared history, blood and culture' (Apter 2005)

For instance, in his album titled “FESTAC – 1977”, King Sunny Ade did a grand welcome to attendees of the festival in a passionate way:

Welcome to a great reunion of our cultural past,
And a display of the black man’s cultural awareness,
FESTAC for you, FESTAC for me,
FESTAC for black people,
We must show our country’s pride (Sunny Ade, “FESTAC ‘77”, 1977)

Sunny Ade’s song was furthermore captured in an article in one of the national dailies newspaper thus:

The single disc by KSA titled “Welcome to Nigeria” is composed in English language and it is a welcome monument to all participants in FESTAC ’77 Spectacular. It is a 3-minute Juju music expo which described the cultural values of FESTAC, its importance and what foreigners are yet to understand about Juju music. It is Sunny’s expression on his feelings for the Black man’s struggle to share his own destiny through a cultural awareness (*The Entertainer*, February, 1977:5).

The record which was prominently played during the opening of FESTAC on January 15 and which had been heard over the Radio and on T.V. networks was part of the complimentary prints distributed free of charge to all FESTAC participants, visitors and other deserving Nigerians. This is “to facilitate the acceptance of Nigerian Juju music in its widest conception”, remarked the composer, King Sunny Ade. Sunny further disclosed that “the release of the record is the way I can now show my appreciation for FESTAC since events like that don’t occur often” and that “my kind of Juju music flows and I don’t have difficulty in laying it on tracks and by the time the visitors return home, they would have appreciated the greatness of Juju music, especially mine which is a show-case of the varieties in Africa music” (*The Entertainer*, February, 1977:5). Victor Olaiya reiterated that when you listen to their forms of music and get home, you will remember the music because of the feeling of nostalgia of the good time you had. This is exactly what KSA was communicating to the attendees.

Song texts are indicators of rich culture (Merriam, 1964:205; and Akpabot, 1986: 97) rich in insights into concepts, value systems, societal norms and behaviours. Just like traditional music, popular music also helps to maintain the continuity of the tradition including history

and literature through their beautiful verses rich in figures of speech, idioms and proverbs. Popular music is an agent of social engineering and control as it is sometimes used to regulate social order in the form of reward and punishment through admonition and ridicule. In effect, it inculcates good morals. Popular music provides information through the song texts about the social, political and economic climate within and outside society (Forchu 2009:106).

Initially, the principal aims of FESTAC was to ensure the revival, resurgence, propagation and promotion of Black and African cultural values and civilisation; to present Black and African culture in its widest and highest conception; to bring to light the diverse contributions of Black and African peoples to science, technology, invention and civilisation, and to promote better international and inter-racial understanding. It brought together, for the first time, the largest gathering of black and African peoples. The effects of such a get-together are not often tangible and not easily ascertained (*Nigerian Tribune*, February, 1977:1). But it has great effect on feeling of consciousness of the black heritage and drove feelings of togetherness. We can easily appreciate Festac's popular appeal in the affirmation of common origins, racial solidarity and shared colonial and cultural experience that was voiced by elites on behalf of the masses and disseminated by the mass media. Festac was, after all, a "grand jamboree (Enem 1979 cited in Apter 1996: 446). Juju music superstar King Sunny Ade dominated the airwaves with his welcoming song, "Festac for Black People," as Nigerian hospitality achieved new heights. Interviews with academics and government officials flooded the press, expressing quasi-utopian visions of a prosperous future while invoking Nkrumah, Du Bois, Garvey, and C. L. R. James among other Pan-Africanist heroes (Apter 1996: 446). Although leftist intellectuals like Wole Soyinka and Biodun Jeyifo added dissenting voices, perceiving the chinks in Festac's populist facade and calling for greater mass participation through a more genuinely popular theater (Jeyifo 1979).

In spite of this, it has been argued that FESTAC offered a good opportunity for the blackman to reappraise his past and make this a turning point in his determination to ensure that he is a real force to be reckoned with in world affairs. The dances, the drama, the carvings, the paintings, the Durbar and the boat regatta are all concrete evidence that the blackman is not

the nonentity he has been portrayed to be. Without doubt, culture is at the very heart of FESTAC. In fact, art itself is a component of culture which has been described as “the total round of human activities, not due to heredity shared by members of a group”. One aspect of the FESTAC which we should not easily forget to mention is the colloquium which is an improvement on previous gatherings of black people. It is the intellectual side of the cultural display and has attracted more than 200 papers dealing with the part which the African and the blackman have played in world civilisation. If FESTAC '77 is to be the beginning of greater things for Africa and the black world, we must be ready to take greater pride in our things, and greater pride in our being (*Nigerian Tribune*, February, 1977:14). Our collective tendency to value foreign products than the indigenous products should be corrected. Premium must be given to locally produced goods in order to strengthen the indigenous economy to grow and expand. We must desist from projection of foreign music at the expense of the indigenous ones. The cultural value of the indigenous music cannot be over emphasised as it is a focal point of our discourse here.

Nigeria had money in excess and spent millions of dollars to host FESTAC. FESTAC was featured as a black world's fair, and produced an extravagant spectacle of ethnic diversity, Nigerian nationalism, Pan-African unity and utopian modernity which literally staged “global Africa” in Nigeria's National Theatre. Throughout this festival of cultural revival, from its planning stages in Lagos to the closing Durbar ceremony in Kaduna, there was a distinctive ideology of black culture and Africinity (Apter 1996: 441). Here, the FESTAC's emblem performed a double synthesis: first, by associating all black peoples with the wealth of their “culture” and second, through the ambiguity of the gold rectangle, which extended the wealth of black culture to “non-black peoples.” Visitors were indeed welcome to attend FESTAC and enjoy its festivities. They were also welcomed to purchase works of art: not original antiques, of course, but replicas and contemporary paintings and sculptures. Conspicuous spending, fleets of hi-tech FESTAC buses, and the intensified consumption of luxury imports brought the signs of development without its substance (Apter 1996: 452-3).

Apter's splendid historical ethnography examined how Nigeria's oil-rich state utilised its petroleum revenues extravagantly for cultural production that attempted to transform oil

money into national identity. Nigeria spent hundreds of millions of dollars, perhaps even several billion dollars, of its oil wealth to organise FESTAC, a spectacle that displayed Nigeria's newly-found riches and repackaged its many diverse cultural traditions so as to try to create a Nigerian national culture that would at once bind the nation and establish Nigeria as the centre of the black world. Apter's brilliance as well as the enduring contribution of the book, is in showing not only the complex history and ethnography that situate and explain the Nigerian state's invention of tradition and culture, but also the ways in which the manipulation of signs and symbols in FESTAC both obscured and reflected the contradictions inherent in Nigeria's oil economy (Smith 2005: 725-726).

The address given by the Head of State, Lt.-General Olusegun Obasanjo (The Grand Patron of FESTAC) at the closing ceremony of the Second World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture revealed the immense impact of the festival on the prestige of the black race with respect to how enriching our culture is and the beauty of entertainment. This is an excerpt from the text of address:

Today's ceremonies mark the culmination of four weeks of intense Black and African Cultural and Artistic activities and spectacles, the kind of which have never been seen before. The various presentation of the visual arts, dances, music and drama have clearly demonstrated the originality, vitality and authenticity of the common culture of the African and every black man wherever he may be. The FESTAC events of the past four weeks have spotlighted Africa's culture in its highest and widest concepts. Our artistes, performers and intellectuals have done the African proud and they deserve our warmest congratulations and deep gratitude. To my mind, FESTAC was much more than revivalist rejuvenation of our common cultural heritage. More importantly, it has clearly brought out and established the cross-cultural influences which underlie the unity of the people of African Continent, and of African descent everywhere in the world. The content and form of all the presentation – have established that neither the great desert nor the oceans which physically separate our peoples have constituted a barrier to the symbiotic cultural influences of the Black man (*Daily Sketch*, February 1977:5).

Reflecting culture and entertainment, Fela projected how juju music has impacted Nigeria and the world at large through the work of the Juju musical icons such as I.K. Dairo, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey, King Sunny Ade, among others. Fela noted that Nigeria is fortunate in having stars like Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey, who in their distinctive styles have developed a genre of indigenous popular music, "Juju music," that has already been renowned in the world. Also, there are others who have developed genres, such as "Sakara" among those already mentioned (Horton 1984:192). As a symbol of his cultural ambassadorship, the King and members of the African Beats went on a prestigious "African Month" playing tour in Japan and incidents that happened behind the stage precipitated the explosion. The message of the Nigerian Ambassador to Japan to Sunny Ade in Tokyo said it all: "On the occasion of 'African Month', I wish to take this opportunity to welcome you and your entourage to Japan. This event is being held to foster cultural relationship between Japan and Africa and to afford Japanese people a better understanding of the culture and values of the people of Nigeria and particularly the African cultural heritage. It is in this spirit, having recognised your contribution to the promotion of African culture and as a leading torch-bearer of Nigerian music that you have been invited to Japan as a representative of Africa. On this occasion..." the Prime Minister of Japan accorded the King and his African Beats a rare reception with a private dinner party in his home (*Lagos Weekend*, November 9, 1984:8). Juju music has long become a potent instrument of Nigeria and African culture at large to the whole world. The world cannot resist the entertainment that is brought by Juju music with all its ingredients.

Juju music was also a tool that eulogised traditional rulers, chiefs and to celebrate chieftaincy titles and other landmark events. According to a source in a national daily, just like Ebenezer Obey, KSA exhibited unique dexterity when he played for the Ooni of Ife in 1970. Sunny Ade as a Juju maestro had an auspicious beginning to his New Year at Ile-Ife when he had the honour of playing in the palace grounds there for the Ooni of Ife's New Year party. At the end of his exciting and heavily patronised show, he had the singular honour of being presented with a garment which had been previously worn by the Ooni himself. Traditionally, this is a mark of high esteem and Sunny Ade was made happy by the gesture. For him, it must have heralded good things for the year ahead (*Daily Sketch*,

February, 1979:3). In another vein, according to King Sunny Ade himself – “music is a philosophy.” In African traditional culture, musicians used to be in the forefront of socio-cultural activities either as supervisors or advisers to the lords. Sunny said, “it is therefore true, that the message of music is such that cannot be resisted. This is why musicians must be seen to maintain patriotic moderation in all matters affecting his and other communities” (*Lagos Weekend*, June 22, 1984:9). As earlier mentioned, Obey also praised Oba Gbadebo II and Oba Lipede in Egbaland, among others.

4.6.1 Juju Music and Socio-Economic Changes in the Oil Boom Period in Nigeria

This aspect of the discourse is an analysis of the socio-economic terrain of the period under consideration. And to have a full grasp of this, it is important to consider the social and economic situations of the period. The emergence of oil boom caused a drastic change to the economic trajectory of Nigeria. According to Omojola, the oil boom period in Nigeria lasted from 1970 to 1978, and it brought significant changes to the political and social environment in the country (Omojola 2009:255), and was arguably the most eventful period in the history of post-colonial Nigeria. The monetary influx and the socio-economic changes as this work examined were not without its consequences. Effort is made here at explaining the undercurrents of Nigerian socio-economic and political system. Discourse anchored on pertinent issues and questions such as economic policies that were put in place, the emergence of naira as an important currency and the quantum of imported goods that flooded the Nigerian market.

The outbreak of the civil war, the unstable political environment, the subsequent reliance on quick foreign earnings after the war, and the return to military rule in the 1980s with other development policies did not favour continuity. The frequent interruptions to Nigeria's political structure, and military governance, meant that the country's trade policies and development-related policies were subjected to sporadic changes. Between 1960 and 1977, the country had gone through four national development plans (Analogbei cited in Ezeani 2012:111). The aim of any national development plan should be to utilise the available resources more effectively to achieve well-defined objectives and goals (Alweendo, 2017 cited in Shuaibu (2020:2). The government is responsible and plays an important role in attaining economic growth and development, and it was also expected to provide a

meaningful periodic plan through which the general welfare of society can improve economically, socially, politically, among others (Shuaibu 2020:2).

In spite of social, political, and economic constraint inherent in the formulation of a National Plan, the government recognised the need for one as an ideal way of setting out its development objectives and also to demonstrate initiative in tackling the country's problems. The designation of the 1962-1968 plan as the "First National Plan" symbolised a wish for a new development programme distinct in character from the colonial plans and with a Nigerian outlook. Yet, its aims and pious hopes could not circumvent the intractable problems of dependency and control (Usoro 1983:135). These two cores issues, which foreign planners rightly identified, became the dominant focus of the plan objective. Thus:

The basic objective of planning in Nigeria is not merely to accelerate the rate of economic growth and the rate at which the level of living of the population can be raised; it is also to give her an increasing measure of control over her own destiny.... Nigeria should be in a position to generate from a diversified economy, sufficient income and savings of its own to finance a steady rate of growth with no more dependence on external sources for capital or manpower than is usual to obtain through the natural incentives on international commerce.⁵⁴

It is against this background of the need for the government to rehabilitate and reconstruct a war-impooverished and stagnant economy that Nigeria embarked on second Development Plan (1970-1974). The Second National Development Plan was a step in the right direction, and was launched during the General Yakubu Gowon administration immediately after the end of the civil war. The focus was on the rudimentary nature and principles of social justice, peaceful coexistence and equity, in anticipation for a unified Nigeria with strong mutual respect and a sence of self-reliance. The aims of the plan however is to reconstruct damaged facilities as a consequence of the civil war, rejuvenate and resettle of persons displaced by the war, create effective administration services especially in the new states, establishment of efficient economic infrastructure, job creation, improvement in rural and urban areas, and increase in gross domestic product (Shuaibu 2020:3). Achieving these goals later became

⁵⁴ Federation of Nigeria, *National Development Plan 1962-68*. Federal Ministry of Economic Development, Lagos, 1962, p. 3. Eno J. Usoro cited this "Development Planning and Economic Change in Nigeria: 1960-1980" in Osayimwese (ed.), *Development Economics and Planning: Essay in Honour of Ojetunji Aboyade*, Ibadan, Unibadan Publishing Consultants, 1983.

herculean task. One of the reasons why it was difficult was corruption. Corruption has been a major cankerworm destroying the fabric of the national life. Lawal and Oluwatoyin (2011:238), argue that all attempts to generate meaningful development proved futile in spite of series of good-intentioned development strategies that were put in place by successive governments. Several factors have hindered the nation's development. One major one is that there are in most cases, no executive capacity responsible for the formulation and implementation of the plan. What is usually seen are officials entrusted to such a position but without any meaningful executive authority. Another thing that militates against development is lack of good governance. Where there is no good governance, development becomes elusive.

The five principal national objectives, which the Federal Military Government set for the Plan, were to establish Nigeria firmly as:

A united, strong and self-reliant nation; a great and dynamic economy; a just and egalitarian society; a land of bright and full opportunities for all citizens; and a free and democratic society (*Morning Post*, November, 1970:13).

The Federal Military Government called upon the people of the country to give concrete meaning to these objectives and ensure their full realisation at all times. In the pursuance of these national objectives in the light of the local economic problems, major constraints of capital and lack of infrastructure, the following are the specific and ordered objectives which guided the selection of programmes and projects in the various sectors for inclusion in the Development Plan:

Replacement and reconstruction of facilities and assets destroyed during the war period in order to ensure immediate revival of economic and social life in all sectors of the economy. Restoration and development of facilities, for produce evacuation, such as the construction of new roads and stores, and the provision of water transport facilities. Expansion of food production over and above the pre-war level with emphasis on higher protein content. Improvement and expansion of export crops in order to increase the nation's foreign exchange and the revenue of the State Government. Building up of the infrastructure of the State, especially in road network; modest development of industrial production based on

processing of agricultural products and local raw materials as well as creating conditions for further industrial development in the next Plan period. Improvement of the health services by the establishment of hospitals, health centres and the provision of facilities for the training of medical personnel; improvement and expansion of education at the primary, secondary, post-secondary and teacher training spheres, with special emphasis on the establishment and expansion of technical education facilities in the State; and provision of measures to finance indigenous enterprises (*Morning Post*, November, 1970:13).

The indecisive nature of state power, which was acquired from the colonial period, and has extended substantially from independence is central to the deepening crisis in Nigeria and this has been done in manners that have consequently deepened this indecisiveness. The word 'indecisiveness' here is employed to encompass the array of inconsistent characteristics in both the structure and the uses of this state power (Joseph 1983:22). The gradual nationalisation and the massive growth of Nigeria's oil economy in the 1970s, had significant implications for the political, social and economic life of the country and these transcend to the current time. Between 1970 and 1977, Federal incomes hopped by nearly ten-fold, to N7, 070 million from N756 million (Forrest cited in Joseph 1983:23). In the period, the entire government expenses increased to match the bulging treasury, with recent rise in spendings from N774 millions to N3, 574 and disbursements for capital formation from N99 millions to a sum nearly fifty times greater at N4, 913. The intervention of General Olusegun Obasanjo, the military leader, calling for a stop to the exponential expenditure of national revenue in 1978 came rather too late as a different set of Nigerian entrepreneurs - - unfavorably labelled 'drone capitalists' by Akeredolu-Ale had emerged and entrenched themselves in both the public and the private sectors (Akeredolu-Ale cited in Joseph 1983:23-24).

It is also argued that the metaphysical construct deduced from Joseph's analysis of the Nigerian State is that of a multi-ethnic configuration in which every ethnic constituent sees the governance space as a largesse - a free-for-all national cake (a material benefit) to which they have claims or entitlements. Derived from that dysfunctional metaphysics of the Nigerian state are ethno-epistemological postulations which attempt to provide ethno-centred justification for sectional entitlements to the Nigerian largesse. The political

parlance in Nigeria, for example, continues to be characterised by ethnically-loaded constructs such as "...it is simply our share of the national cake"; "...one cannot beautify the waist of another, while that of one's brethren remains un-beautified", and "he is a son of the soil" among others (Amodu 2017:5). This sentiment has contributed in no small measure in retarding sustainable development in Nigeria as corrupt practices have been entrenched in the system. Highly germane to this discourse is the recognition of the state becoming the major broker of financial resources - without any state capitalist or socialist ideology – resulting into deep pressures to change all governmental projects into means of individual and group amassing. This eventually triggered corruption among public officials and contractors who came up with white elephant projects as discussed below.

In the words of Goran Hyden, it is possible to speak puzzlingly of the underdeveloped and overdeveloped nature of the Nigerian state by referring to the means by which the 'indiscipline' 'corruption,' and 'softness,' which typify the daily demeanour of public affairs is nurtured by the advent of the state as the chief centre or spring for the struggle for development from all sections and at all levels of Nigerian society (Joseph 1983:24). Corruption became the order of the day. Few people enjoyed the wealth while other percentage of the population lived from hand to mouth. Poverty was still acute in the environment. Those who amassed the wealth also displayed it by spraying Juju musicians in order to gain more prestige and reputability. Terisa Turner posited that one of the apparent consequences of combined military and bureaucratic rule in the 1970s is that higher state officials, through 'triangular relationships' with foreign and domestic businessmen, were able to appropriate public funds in ways which shielded such disbursements from the pressures for distribution to subordinate strata within ethnic constituencies (Turner cited in Joseph 1983:33).

It is no longer disputable that obtainable document concerning institutional entrenchment in chambers of commerce, governmental corporations and supervisory agencies, access to public resources via party channels, property ownership, and the partial but shrewd signal from investigatory commissions establish the diversity of paths which have enabled private amassing in Nigeria and the alliance among individuals of the network to entrench their mutual interests (Gavin Williams cited in Joseph 1983). In deliberating the advent of a

leading group in Nigeria, and its further entrenchment in the military era, Forrest presents the several means by which the oil-boom and the growth of the state sector facilitated circumstances encouraging for the private amassing of wealth. The author and others stressed on how the indigenisation programme of the 1970s improved 'the accumulation and concentration of wealth amongst the professional, bureaucratic and intermediate classes'. (Forrest cited in Joseph 1983).

Claude Ake cited by Richard Joseph (1983), in a statement that has enjoined frequent citations due to its blunt acknowledgement of the unremitting public tensions in Nigeria, exclaimed:

The crux of the problem is the overpoliticisation of social life.... We are intoxicated with politics: the premium on political power is so high that we are prone to take the most extreme measures to win and to maintain political power.

Gaining political offices have become a means to control government resources and that is why it has become a desperate venture – turning to a do-or-die affair because it is from there that government fund is siphoned to private pockets at the expense of the generality of the public. Consequently, a grave predicament of Nigeria's Second Republic emanated from the point that its operational standard is the admission to posts of state power by bourgeois and aspirant bourgeois elements who are repeatedly rather skilful at exploiting the same foundation which they are traditionally projected to strengthen and fortify. According to Enuhora Joe Okoli, there is such a broad acceptance of bribery that 'one could even say... it has gained official recognition' under civilian government (Okoli 1983). The comment of President Shehu Shagari upon the approval of Two hundred million Naira supplementary allocations to the state governments to facilitate the meeting of their overdue salaries of their employees, that a number of the governments 'were still in default because the money they received had changed hands'. Accordingly, while it can certainly be agreed that a Nigerian bourgeoisie exists, it is similarly factual that the economic orientation and set of priorities of the class make it basically unable to rule without exploiting the state itself (Joseph 1983:26).

Portfolio contractors and white elephant projects were a common characteristic of this era. White elephant is conceptualised as a project with a negative social surplus. Nothing is as

depressing in a developing economy as the presence of white elephant which usually hampers economic growth and development. A more plausible explanation is that white elephant projects constitute some form of inefficient redistribution of resources. It is argued that Nigeria presents a veritable case for understanding the connection between corruption and political malaise. Ribadu gave a graphic summary of the situation as he described the period between 1979 and 1998 as “the darkest period” in Nigeria’s history of corrupt regimes. He extended it far beyond the oil boom period. The civilian administration of 1979 - 1983 was bedeviled with profligacy, “wanton waste, political thuggery and coercion... disrespect for the rule of law...bare faced, free for all looting of public funds through white elephant projects” (Ribadu 2006). He noted further that:

Corrupt public servants and others in the private sector bestrode the nation, masquerading as captains of business and power brokers with tainted and stolen wealth and demanded the rest of us to kowtow before them. The period of military regime was pathetic. Under them, corruption became the sole guiding principle for running affairs of state. The period witnessed a total reversal and destruction of every good thing in the country (Ribadu 2006).

However, the flow of monies through state and local government did little to improve living conditions. The problems of development such as unavailability of potable water, poor health facilities, inadequate electricity, poverty, unemployment, and others that drive the conflict have not been attended to. The allocation of funds was not channelled to provision of basic social amenities and infrastructure, as huge funds were spent on white elephant projects such as airports, new government houses, and so on, which facilitated the stealing of public funds (Watts and Ibaba 2011:10). Max Siollun in his *Oil, Politics and Violence: Nigeria’s Military Coup Culture 1966–1976* noted that although the oil boom increased the spending power of the Federal government, it caused more problems than it could solve. The massive funds generated by the oil boom encouraged the Federal Military Government (FMG) to embark upon a series of unprecedented and grandiose developmental construction projects to rapidly modernise Nigeria. City topography was transformed with the construction of new multi-lane highways and flyovers, bridges, hospitals, schools, universities, dams, factories, hotels, army barracks and office complexes. The FMG imported several million tons of cement from abroad for the execution of these projects. It

was a wasteful extravagant spending (Siollun 2009:168). By the time the oil money began to dwindle, the country could not maintain its over-expanded projects.

Richard Joseph in *Wealth and Progress: The Nigerian Experience* showed the ways in which the response of Nigerians, and their politicians, to the country's oil wealth has been detrimental to long-term prospects of economic growth and development. It will surprise many people who come from countries that have imported oil to know how important the question: 'Is Oil a Blessing or a Curse?' is debated by Nigerian scholars. What is no longer a problem is the high price this country has to pay for its wealth. Highlighting the social situation, intellectuals argue more about the negative impact of the boom: thousands of foreign cars sold and plying the roads endanger the physical and mental health of the city's residents, and they drive every week to the premature deaths on a weekly basis of countless Nigerians on the highway. The anxiety awakened for easy wealth is shown by the pain in which robbers try to take it from them. Conspicuous display of wealth discourages the moral and cultural values of a nation with a glorious past. The government, which is regularly summoned to 'recall the people from the shopping spree'; to ban the import of one luxury good after another, to ban or not to ban spraying of musicians, and to confiscate all ill-gotten gains, has itself been a victim of the 'illusion of affluence'. Car loans and allowances are granted to new categories of employees although the road system cannot cope with the existing volume of traffic (Joseph 1978:238).

Shopping spree, spraying of musicians with both local and foreign currencies, and importation of luxury goods were all symbols of conspicuous consumption. Wealthy Nigerians pasted naira notes on juju musicians' foreheads as a means of showing social status. All these were symbols of enjoyment of conspicuous wealth at that time. Abiola Odejide gave a clear perspective to this issue as she argues that it was a period of conspicuous consumption, with a high taste by the elite for foreign goods. Examples were:

Clothes, imported lace materials especially from Switzerland, jewelry, shoes. Drinks- beer Heineken, Star beer, customised champagne. Imported foods – sausage, milk, beverages. Furniture from Europe, Cars, big, exotic cars newly released in Europe, fleet of the best cars. Huge mansions, some built by foreign construction companies in cities and hometowns

(villages). Educating their children overseas in expensive boarding schools. Big parties for different kinds of celebrations e.g., wedding, naming of children, Housewarming, birthdays, funerals, “turning over the sides of long dead parents, acquisition of multiple chieftaincy titles.⁵⁵

An extensive descriptive account of Nigeria's trade and economic activities in the oil boom era portrayed the internal crisis, challenges, and the adverse impact of the socio-economic structures on the oil dependent economy:

The discovery of oil in commercial quantity in the mid-1950s, coupled with the oil-boom resulting from the Arab oil embargo on the USA in 1973, affected the agricultural sector adversely. The economy became heavily dependent on oil. While the boom afforded the government much-needed revenue, it also created serious structural problems in the economy.

The agricultural sector was most hit. Rural-urban migration increased, as people attempted to reap or benefit from the windfall from oil. Production of agricultural commodities for export declined. Food production became a problem. Starting from 1974, the economy became a net importer of basic foods. Huge foreign exchange earnings were utilised in importing food. Nonetheless, prices of foodstuff remained high. Policies like the government's Operation Feed the Nation (OFN) programme could not reverse the deteriorating food situation. Government was involved in direct food production, provided subsidies to peasant farmers and created more commodity boards for various agricultural and food products.

One of the problems in this era was that primitive accumulation intensified. Corruption, theft, real estate speculation, outright looting of government treasury and other fraudulent practices prevailed. The State, on its own, intensified the creation of a business class that depended solely on government contracts rather than on production. The gap between the rich and the poor widened considerably. Ad-hoc and ill-conceived government policies exacerbated the problem. For example, the 100 per cent salary increase of 1975, tagged the Udoji Salary Award, was disastrous for the economy as prices increased by more than 100

⁵⁵ Interview with Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide, USA, 75 years, 02/04/2021

per cent. The payment of a year's arrears of the increase in salary further worsened the situation.⁵⁶

The exchange rate regime encouraged imports because the economy was heavily dependent on imports; almost everything was imported, from toothpicks to toothpaste dispensers. There was no serious attempt to invest the windfall from oil in other viable projects. Except for the huge expenditures on education and construction of dual carriage highways in some parts of the country, Nigeria would have had nothing to show for the oil boom era.⁵⁷ In the same vein, revisiting the causes of Nigeria's inability to make significant use of her reserves, leading to chronic balance of payment difficulties by the early 1980s, one of Nigeria's foremost economists, Dr Pius Okigbo, reasoned that the problem was due to the over-valuation of the naira, particularly during the oil boom period. He observed that:

The naira was obviously over-valued; it had been for twenty years, a managed currency whose value in relation to the dollar was maintained by fiat ... Because the over valuation made Nigerian made goods relatively more expensive than equivalent imports, commercial policy was addressed to closing the Nigerian market officially to some of those imports through bans, prohibitions, high tariffs, etc ... Because our local manufacturers procured their equipment and spares and intermediate inputs relatively cheaply from abroad in consequence of the external exchange rate of the naira, they could not be persuaded either by their long term interests or by the prodding of the government to turn to local sources for their raw materials and intermediate goods. Our engineers and nascent engineering industries saw no future in the local fabrication of equipment and machinery. These tendencies fastened on our economy further dependence on imports and therefore, a growing deficit on the balance of payments (Okigbo cited in Ezeani 2012:111)

⁵⁶ "Oil boom era (1971-77)" Online Nigeria, available at <<http://www.onlinenigeria.com/economics/?bhirb=490>> (last accessed 30 November 2011). The period the writer referred to is 1971- 81).

⁵⁷ "Oil boom era (1971-77)" Online Nigeria, available at <<http://www.onlinenigeria.com/economics/?bhirb=490>> (last accessed 30 November 2011). The period the writer referred to is 1971- 81).

There was no evidence to show that such additional policies existed in Nigeria before or since the civil war. Indeed, for the 1970s, in the atmosphere created by the aftermath of the civil war and the subsequent oil boom, there was evidence against the excesses of adopting import ban policies. The local currency has been deliberately and continuously over-valued since the early seventies in order to increase the foreign exchange rate of government revenue and reduce the cost of imports, especially intermediate goods and capital equipment which were the proportion which rapidly multiplied the share of total imports. The increased share of producer goods in total imports certainly reflects the first stage of the classic example of import substitution—beginning with the substitution of consumer goods, whose price inefficiency relative to foreign goods was generally accepted to be less than producer goods. The overvalued exchange rate in fact reinforces a system of taxes that initiated a culture process to exclude imports of consumer goods and in favor of those manufactured goods (Obi 1984: 43).

From the Report of the Structure and Salaries and Wage Review Commission on Public Services (Lagos, 1974), the 1974 Udoji Commission was purposely and specifically inaugurated to restructure the public service, with a view to creating a salary structure based on 17-grade-level. Ani's report had cautiously focused in this direction but its job was eventually completed by the Udoji Commission, unified salary structure was introduced for the entire of the public sector, thereby making each parastatal, research institutes, universities, and other state-owned enterprises subjected to the main civil service's payment conditions. The timing was significant as it coincided with the period in which the main civil service, the upper echelons had achieved supremacy under the military regime. Obviously, the central preoccupation of the Commission was to achieve comparability of salaries among the most senior members of the civil service, police, judiciary, and the universities. Therefore, the 1974 White Paper stated plainly that:

The Government is of the view that the fewer points in the new salary scales... of the Main Report are bound to create problems in accommodating those at present in existing salary scales and lead to frustration within a short time. It has therefore reviewed the recommended salary scales and extended levels 1-3 to seven points, levels 4-10 to ten points, levels 1-14 to six points, while retaining the recommended four points for levels 15-17 (Report of Public Service Review Commission, 1974).

Remarking on Udoji, Mr Benjamin Ogungbade, who witnessed the period as a civil servant, opined that:

There was money in circulation. Ten naira was enough to fill the tank of a Volkswagen and there was food. The oil boom period was not properly managed. Those who benefitted most were the wealthy people and political office holders – they called their friends to come and eat. Nigerian politicians were the ones handing over and taking over. In other words, they perpetuated the space with their children and relations. Olusola Saraki in Ilorin was an example. He was once a speaker of the Senate and positioned his children as governor and in other juicy political offices.⁵⁸

The social economic atmosphere of Nigeria then was therefore encapsulated with economic inconsistency, inability to follow through with different policy plans that were established, over spending of money on non-developmental issues, corruption of a very high degree. The important personalities of the period operated a superior bougeoning economic prowess that left the commoners in wonderment as they flaunt their wealth through a show of high social status: They disdained local products but valued imported foods such as sausage, milk, beverages and furniture from Europe, Cars, big, exotic cars newly released in Europe, fleet of the best cars. They sent their children overseas for education in expensive boarding schools and got involved in big parties for different kinds of celebrations in which they sprayed Juju musicians also as a means of showing arrival and conspicuous consumption.

4.6.2 Entrenching the Effect of Juju Music on the Social Space

Drawing from the foregoing analysis of socio-economic, cultural and traditional effects of juju music, it is pertinent to demonstrate how the effects of juju music have been entrenched in society. Juju music, as one of the genres of popular music, has been popular in Nigeria since the 1930s till date. Juju musical icons, through invitations for performance in different ceremonies and entertainment have sustained its legacy in society. Right from its early

⁵⁸Interview with Pa Ogungbade Benjamin Ibiran, Ibadan, 78 years, 24/04/2021

beginnings, there has been a general consciousness implanted in the minds of both the young and old that there is a popular music called Juju, especially as it incorporates indigenous instruments in its performance. Juju music is performed in ceremonies such as wedding ceremonies, house-warming, celebration of chieftaincy titles as well as played in different radio and television stations.

The use of proverbs for day to day interaction is a hallmark of the Yoruba culture which Juju musicians have capitalised upon and maximised in the composition of their lyrics. This has made it convenient for the old and the young to find the music relatable, especially as the musicians told many of the stories behind proverbs for complete understanding of the listeners. These wise sayings, idioms and proverbs are embedded with lessons, be it social, economic, moral, intellectual, and even spiritual. The three musicians (I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey and Sunny Ade) whose works are interrogated in this work have become a household name in Nigeria and the world over. This is because their songs cut across ethnic divides. For instance, as argued by a commentator, Sunny Ade and his African Beats is a family name in every music-conscious home. The vibration of the strings, the pitch of the conga and the sonorous voice of Sunny are irresistible to both young and old music lovers. He is already a success in the musical sphere and has added yet another to his string of success (*Lagos Weekend*, October, 1974:7).

The input of popular Yoruba music, the cardinal of which is Juju, to the elevation and preservation of the cultural values of the Yoruba are very significant. Yoruba popular music, in their diverse forms, has facilitated the accentuation and popularity of the cultural values and heritage of the Yoruba people both at home and in the diaspora. Music constitutes a significant way through which Yoruba values have been sustained in spite of the aggressive nature of cultural imperialism that is fast encroaching the African continent. Despite innovations and the introduction of new technology, popular music of the Yoruba namely *jùjú*, *sákàrà*, *àpàlà* and *fújì*, have remained active with their unique styles. They have remained unruffled by the influx of foreign music. These musical genres became popular among people and served public social functions and entertainment in parties. Attributes that differentiate other groups in Nigerian societies from the Yoruba ethnic group is the Yoruba concept of *omoluabi*, which means, a moral person and their cultural diversity. The

level of social development of the Yoruba is high and they are religious. Institutions like marriage, family life, and other socio-cultural activities occupy an important place in Yoruba land.

For instance, Yoruba respect the living and also honour the dead. Following from this, burial rites are important rites which are celebrated. Apart from this, marriages as well as naming ceremonies are valued and celebrated. Conferment of chieftancy titles and honours, birthdays, and housewarming are reasons for felicitation. In these ceremonies, music is very significant. Popular music has played and is still playing lots of roles in social function of the Yoruba through invitations to musicians to perform and praise them at different occasions and events. On such occasions, the traditional popular musicians, rise up to the task. The musicians, at different time composed songs that suit the occasions and the ego of those who invited them. Furthermore, Yoruba cultural music is also informative, educative, and instructive. Aside from the role Yoruba cultural music serves as a means of entertainment, these genres of music also serve as medium of preserving and expressing Yoruba culture (Yussuf and Olúbòmẹhìn 2018:71). This understanding is well established and entrenched in the mind of any Yoruba persons whether old or young. The continuity of these cultural legacies is rooted in the awareness and the knowledge of the people.

In the words of Ibekwe and Aluede (2017:108, 110), popular music is always relevant because of the centrality of its contents on current issues. It keeps track with every trend in the life of people. Put differently, popular music relates with societal events and accumulated experiences of the people such as economic boom or meltdown, austerity, politics, social vices such as bribery, corruption, good or bad leadership, kidnapping, insecurity, religious racketeering, war, , and racism, and many more. Popular music has recorded an overwhelming influence on its exponents and audience alike as Nigerians are great music lovers whose love for music and entertainment is unrestrained. The people are so music-savvy that the arrival of a new tune leaves many frenzied. There is an encouragement, however, that the Juju music is holding its sway creditably on the people. Innovations are being brewed to embellish the musical tune and give substance to the continued popularity of the music (*Lagos Weekend*, Friday, 1974:7).

This article in the *Lagos Weekend* succinctly captured it in this way; there are various kinds of music, namely: church music with spiritual hymns, traditional music and dance, jazz music, pop song, highlife music, soul music, modern Juju music and so on. But Juju music is reigning now because it is one of the most interesting music genres in our modern day, particularly to a good listener of Juju music. Obey is one of the most popular musicians with great fame and wealth. He has long been waxing good records. Nigerians have special interest in Juju music most especially when it comes to Obey's sound. Many Nigerians see music as food of love as well as healing medicine that eases out sorrow and increases happiness (*Lagos Weekend*, July, 1979:8). People enjoyed and are enlivened by this music because they are full of inspiration and are a tool of relaxation. Olusegun Obasanjo, a former President of Nigeria revealed that whenever he gets involved in any intellectual work such as reading, he must play Commander Obey's songs because he derives inspiration from the music. Nigerians are usually passionate lovers of juju music because, besides the entertaining part, it is embedded with African culture and philosophy. To mention a few, Obey's, *Ketekete*, *KSA Ogun* and I.K. Dairo's *Osupa Roro*.

Another important factor in the spread of Juju's style throughout Yorubaland was the development of the Nigerian Broadcasting System. As noted earlier, the first broadcasts of Nigerian musicians had been made in 1939 from a 300-watt shortwave station at Ikoyi in Lagos. The main studio was moved from the small wooden building to the top floor of Glover Memorial Hall at the intersection of Custom Street and the Marina, and it remained the main facilities of the broadcasting service until 1952. In 1946, radio rediffusion service was available to those who could afford to rent "wired-wireless" boxes in Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Port Harcourt, Ijebu-Ode, Kano, Enugu, and Zaria (Waterman 1990:92). This was conspicuously reflected in the Udoji money given to workers by the government which many people, as agreed by the elders interviewed, spent on radio and television sets, among other things that were purchased with the money. Mr Sonaike, in an interview, opines that:

There was a great enjoyment for us during that period because the economy was good. There was a time they gave workers Udoji money and people were able to purchase lots of things. Those who don't have radio and television bought. Some deposited money for land from that money and later completed their house. Money was heavily in circulation.

The 1951 broadcasting schedule included some twenty hours a week of Nigerian-produced programming, expanding to 58 hours a week by 1953. A variety of performances by local musicians were taped at the NBS studios in Tugwell House (formerly a boarding house for sailors along the Marina) during the 1950s: “The music sessions featured taped and live performances by Nigerian bands and artists, and Nigerian musicians made regular appearances.” The introduction of long-playing microgroove discs in the early 1970s allowed Obey and other juju musicians to record longer performances, lasting up to thirty minutes. Obey’s recent albums are organised around themes. In the early 1980s, he produced a trilogy for ceremonial occasions, including “What God Has Joined Together”, “Celebration,” and “Ebun Pataki L’omo Bibi” (The Newborn Child is a Precious Gift). Social and political themes also appear in Obey’s work. Just like the other Juju musical icons, chosen as case study in this work. Obey himself has said that he has touched virtually all themes in life through his music. However, the effect of Juju music in society was very significant. It is a genre of music that humanity will forever lived with. Juju Music with the instrumentality of the composers has preserved the African cultural image through their musical dexterity and entertainment as this analysis unveiled.

4.6.3 The Udoji Award and Effects of Petro-Dollar

Nigeria gained independence in 1960 and the world believed that the economy will usher in economic prosperity for her populace. The thinking was not inappropriate since oil was discovered and exported and huge petro-dollar was earned in return. The agricultural sector was booming, cash crops such as cocoa, groundnut and palm oil and the mining industry such as coal and tin were produced in large quantity and foreign exchange was gained through diversification of resources. The then head of state (1966-1975), Yakubu Gowon remarked that Nigeria does not have cash problem but how to spend the money. Fiscal policy was introduced in form of ways and means through Udoji award and this led to rural-urban migration and influx in search of white collar jobs. Soon agriculture was abandoned for petro-dollar and the nation’s treasury became empty and recourse was made to foreign inflows (Peter, Meriel, and Peter 2012:177).

In the words of Babawale, *et al*, the multiple price hike of price of oil which attended the 1973 Arab-Israeli war led to a massive revenue boom for Nigeria. Towards the end of the

1960s, from a few hundred million dollars, the revenues accruing to the state from oil exports rose dramatically to stand at about five billion dollars in 1975 and eleven billion dollars in 1981. These huge petro-dollar earnings were employed by the state and it further expanded the import-substitution industrial sector, without altering its basic import-dependent character, developed the country's communication and infrastructural facilities; expanded tertiary and primary education; supported 'primitive accumulation' by State officials, foreign and local capital; and boosted the growth of the service sector (Babawale, Fadahunsi, Momoh, and Olukoshi 1996:122).

The Nigerian Civil War ended in 1970. In the course of the war, many people suffered deprivation and income losses. At the end of it people expected better and improved life. The government felt obliged to release part of the petro dollars to improve incomes and the quality of life for the people. Extreme generous wage increases were approved, and many wage-earners had their salaries doubled overnight. The salary increase to civil servants in 1974 popularly known as Udoji Award was possible because of the oil boom in Nigeria which took place in that decade of 1970-1980. It was a period of not only petro-naira, but petro-dollar as a consequence of exportation of crude oil. This popularly known Udoji award was named after Jerome Udoji, who was the chairman of the Udoji Commission, and moderated the allocation of the award based on Government directives.

Since 1970, the huge petro-dollars available to Nigeria, created a most suitable condition and expanded in a rapid way its basic infrastructure, capital goods, intermediate goods and consumer goods industries, almost all at the same time, without imposing on the population a rate of savings which would reduce their standard of living (Usman 1985:188). The government made it clear in 1974 on what the Udoji Commission's responsibility will be and that was 'to examine the possibility of harmonising remuneration in the public service with those of comparable positions in the private sector' (Otobo 1986:124). Ironically, in the post-1970s period, much of the blame for the lack of continuity in development policy was placed on the hitherto unforeseen increases in international crude oil prices which brought significant financial results to the Nigerian economy. The Central Bank of Nigeria stated that:

The sudden and unexpected increase in the prices of crude petroleum in 1973 coupled with the country's low absorptive capacity, and the existence of various productive bottlenecks in the economy had by 1974 led to a situation whereby the country was faced with [sic] surfeit of funds for which it had no immediate investment outlet internally. (Analogbe cited in Ezeani 2012:112-3).

From the start of the oil boom, financial discipline and control in the public sector deteriorated. This trend was reinforced by the inability of the centre to control the states where governors exercised their personal powers. As oil revenues increased, so federal transfers to the states accelerated. Economic policy was passive, or took the line of least resistance. The explosion of purchasing power ignited an enormous consumption boom. Some of these incomes flowed down, no matter how successful the elites were in bringing about a one sided division of the spoils. As the economy spun out of control, tariffs crumbled and non-oil sources of revenue were neglected (Forrest 1986:4). As this work interface discourse on oil boom and popular music, in this case, juju music, it can safely be said that the oil boom affected the production of Juju music in a number of ways. It led to the formation of elites consisting of a governmental administrative bourgeoisie; a private sector bourgeoisie who accumulated wealth through trade, finance, state contracts, and construction; and highly educated professional and technocratic elites “who mediate between the state and international firms ... while at the same time, maintaining their own private firms and investments” (Watts and Lubeck 1983:112 cited in Waterman 1990). Thus, the social and economic realities of the period exhibited affluence, reckless spending as well as underdevelopment, among other issues.

The period was that of fanfare and pleasure, and 1975, according to this source, was a year highlighted for record sales and disco boom: the year that saw the re-emergence of regular big-time musical promotions; the rise of indigenous labels; more exodus of rock acts to Europe; the scarcity of proficient music critics and, of course, a growing underground scene. The Udoji Salary Award, despite its notorious aftermath inflation, brought about a general entertainment boom in the country. With the increase in the worker's purchasing power, stereo sets, cassette and cartridge players soon found their way into almost every home and car in the country. The road side petty trader and commercial vehicle drivers, basking in the

joy of quick turnover and inflated prices, soon identified with the proletariat in providing in-home in truck musical entertainment. The result was that even records that would have otherwise gone unnoticed became smash hits. It has remained so ever since then; but thanks to the enterprise of local label owners who cashed in on the general light mood to find market for their products (*Lagos Weekend*, January, 1976:9).

A number of similar comments have been made about the negative impacts of Udoji money even across all sections of the country. T. A. Adenusi's *Udoji Award is not Well Distributed* article in the *Nigerian Tribune* of 1975 is a position that made it abundantly clear that the aim of setting up the commission was to spend the boom from the Nigerian oil. His criticism was anchored on the fact that the proceeds of the oil boom was not evenly distributed. The oil boom was recognised as a national cake and therefore every citizen of this country should have a share of it. But on the contrary, only 2.5 per cent of the population were consuming the national cake. Employees in the public sector were not more than one million. The Review Commission and the government ignored the aged people, the private sector, farmers, drivers, tailboard boys, the deaf, the blind and other disabled persons. The government and the commission did not consider students in the post-primary and post-secondary institutions. Why should these people not benefit from the Udoji awards? If there will be drift of our young farmers to the city. Who will then produce food for us? I am sure that very soon people will have money but they will still die of hunger. A driver who is hungry will drive carelessly. He will therefore endanger many lives. As a result of high pay, school fees will also be increased. The government and the commission are not fair to the students and their parents who labour day in, day out. The government should therefore amend the salary review and see that every citizen in the country benefits from the national cake -- oil boom (*Nigerian Tribune*, February 3, 1975:5). Adenusi's analysis truly unveiled lack of equilibrium in the distribution of the proceeds of the oil boom and it was not without its attendant negative effects.

Ayinla Omowura, in his musical dexterity, in one of his volumes was duly abreast of the issues of his contemporary society. He unfurled and commented on the 1976 Udoji salary increment. Omowura celebrated government and its policy and unveiled the benefit of the salary increment. He congratulated all the workers who were beneficiaries of this largesse –

from government officials, workers in the corporate world and, indeed, the Federal Military Government of Yakubu Gowon for payment of the salary increment. Omowura quoted the Chairman of the scheme, Jerome Udoji, as saying that the scheme would be paying arrears of three months to the workers. Omowura also urged the government to extend the largesse to the private sector (Adedayo 2020:377-378). Omowura also painted the picture that the Udoji payment would ultimately percolate to artisans and professionals like him, remarking that musicians would be partakers of the salary increment because band members would be paid Udoji money on the bandstand. The refrain of the song went thus;

O nsan'wo Udoji fun se wa... (Adedayo 2020:377-378).

They are paying us Udoji money...

Jerome Udoji himself, in *Nigerian Tribune* of May 1975 captured his writing on Udoji as: "Social and Economic Effects of Udoji," and put its effects on the Nigerian citizens in proper perspective.

I must emphasise that we did not make the salary recommendations blindly or in a vacuum. We cost the recommendations and made them in the context of the country's productivity and cost of living. We also took into account the inflationary effects of any increases and made anti-inflationary recommendations accordingly. Because of your particular interest in the matter, I have sent the Commission's consideration of the economic consequences of the salary award together with our counter inflation recommendations to your chairman for the distribution before this meeting.

He stated further that the counter inflationary recommendations were aimed at stimulating supply on the one hand and controlling demands on the other. Those regarding supply stimulation are as follows: That increased supply of consumer goods, foodstuffs and building materials should be encouraged through the reduction of duties on these goods and abolition altogether of duties on such basic food like milk, flour and sugar; that temporary importation of executive and professional skills that are in short domestic supply should be encouraged in the private sector in order to meet the long term needs of the indigenisation policy as well as the short-term requirements of the expanding economy; that massive food production should be encouraged through the following assistance to farmers: provision and

distribution of fertilisers at greatly subsidised prices, provision of fishing boats, nets and other equipment at greatly-subsidised prices in large scale expansion of agricultural extension services, massive irrigation of drought-affected areas, improved transportation facilities of farm-to-market roads, introduction of intermediate technology in agriculture in order to maximise the result of these subsidies (*Nigerian Tribune*, May 1975:4).

In the same vein, a court clerk in Ibadan, Miss Mosunmade Ogunlana confessed that the Udoji salary awards solidified her financial power. She said in anticipation of the arrears she drew up a big plan which would completely revolutionise her present and future. Mr K.O. Kassim, an electrical contractor in Ibadan also lent his voice: “My view about Udoji is that workers will be able to meet the soaring living standard. Although sellers of consumable goods have already increased prices in anticipation of the awards, the benefit of the exercise would make life much easier” (*Sunday Sketch*, December, 1974:1).

Furthermore, it is important that although the Udoji Commission decided not to attempt to link its awards with increased productivity, the White Paper of the government stated that those approved were "rewards for workers" (for what it didn't say), and to pay for inflation while maintaining social justice. As for the continued attention of the upper echelons in the public service with the level of payment vis-a-vis those in industry and commerce, the same official statement averred that the awards were considered to close the gap between the two sides (Otobo). 1986:124).

Sure enough, some popular doggerel composed in the Warri region of the former Bendel State were not favourably disposed to the 'Udoji bonanza' which had enriched the urban workers at the expense of the peasants. One of these highlighted the plight of the poor under the inflationary impacts of the rise in wages:

The Udoji inflation escalated the prices of all goods/turned parents into objects of pity. Whenever one's wife is pregnant/one does not feel comfortable. Living suddenly becomes a burden/for thought of how to cater for the children, let matters be so, let them be so/because of the Almighty Udoji! (Sil 1993:365).

To soften the blow, the government itself pronounced as follows: very well impressed by the deliberate attempt by the Review Commission to narrow the gap between top and bottom salaries... [and had decided] to narrow the gap still further by effecting a cut of 10 per cent in the salaries recommended for Grade Levels 1 -17 (Report of Public Service Review Commission 1974). Meanwhile, the oil boom of the 1970s had created an atmosphere of prosperity, reinforced by the 'Udoji award' of large wage increases, which neutralised the motivation for 'sustained class solidarity', and to emphasise the need for national solidarity and stability (Robert Nelson cited in Sil 1993:365). The reliance on the huge wealth generated by the oil sector particularly in 1970s and early 1980s proved to be the Achilles heel in the country's economic progress. Trade in crude oil was deemed sufficient to maintain the country's balance of payments to the neglect of the previous emphasis on indigenous manufacturing and production (Ezeani 2012:112-3).

Furthermore, in the history of Udoji awards, government recommendation on the award reflected thus:

the Federal Government's White Paper on the Udoji Public Service Commission recommendations was yesterday received with massive jubilation by workers in the major towns of the country. The salary awards are the highest ever general awards to be made in the long history of the public service in this country. The news of the fabulous salary awards which remained a major talking point for the day was celebrated with impromptu parties in many homes and pub houses, a *Sketch* special survey confirmed yesterday. With a sigh of big relief, one of the respondents to daily sketch pledged, "I will utilise my arrears to train my junior brothers who had already given up hopes of receiving higher education".

As mentioned earlier, inflation was a distinguishing feature of the contemporary political economy of Nigeria. Like the movement of a clock's hands, the faster inflation moves the easier you can see it - and in Nigerian cities, it is highly visible and affects everyone. It was clearly stated in 1975 that 'the main objective of monetary policy during the Third Plan will be to control inflation', and that the Nigerian National Supply Company (NNSC) was being strengthened to 'perform its anti-inflationary role through massive importation of essential commodities'. It is noted that the primary causes of the chronic inflation in Nigeria can be traced to a number of factors, among which we have the excessive liquidity as a result of

oil wealth, and the low level of productivity in both industrial and agricultural sectors. Too much paper money chases too few goods, and those with ample amounts of the former are only too happy to display their wealth by paying as much as the market can demand – and this is a great deal because of the limited competition which characterised the provision of many essential goods (Joseph 1978:233). The well-to-do displayed their wealth and enjoyed conspicuous consumption with performances by the Juju musicians:

The juju musician reached the zenith of patronage during the 'seventies when Nigeria was literally awash with currency accruing from her oil boom. The Udoji Award granted to workers by Gowon Government, laced everybody's pockets with extra loads of naira notes. Electronic gadgets promptly disappeared from the markets while night parties, christened "O wa mbe", a Yoruba coinage meaning, literally, "It's there" blossomed (Jegade 1987:65).

It is observed that as against a permanent secretary's £2,800, a university professor, hitherto, had a consolidated annual salary of £3, 000, although the former had the advantage of a non-contributory pension scheme. No one else, under Udoji, earned up to a permanent secretary. The President of the Association of University Teachers pronounced that his members were 'not impressed', making it abundantly clear in 1975 that the White Paper not only distorted the 'spirit of Udoji Commission', but was the handiwork of 'a special interest group in the public service with the intent to maintain its privileged position', and 'was manipulated to favour only the administrative class' (*West Africa*, 3 March 1975:249). The strikes that followed involved all professional groups and workers, and this led to how General Yakubu Gowon was overthrown and the award of increments that were designed, according to an intriguing official statement, to bridge the gap between the public and private sectors so that 'suitable' candidates would be attracted into the government service, and to act as a reward to workers as well as compensation for inflation, and social justice is also maintained. In some quarters, these awards were seen as a sop to the civil service which had been the backbone of the military and assumed greater importance in view of Gowon's renegation of his promise 'to stand down' for a constitutionally-elected government by 1976. The perceived anti-intellectualism of the military regime led by General Murtala Mohammed and, after his assassination, by General Olusegun Obasanjo, as well as the mass

sackings and forced retirement of thousands of civil servants, clearly served as a catalyst in the disquieting situation created in the public services by the partial implementation of a number of Udoji's recommendations (Otobo 1986:117). Thus, the oil boom was instrumental to the monetary award that was distributed to workers known as Udoji award. Unfortunately, the argument has been put forward that the benefit of the award was unevenly distributed as it was favourable to a section of the citizens at the expense of the others.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study examined the interface of *Juju* music with the oil boom and the consumption patterns of wealthy Nigerians as well as interrogated aspects of the country's socio-economic development and critiqued how *Juju* music contributed to and resonated conspicuous consumption from 1970 to 1980, the peak period of oil boom era of post-independence Nigeria. The study adopted the historical approach. It is a qualitative study that utilised the theories of conspicuous consumption and symbolic anthropology as its tool of analysis. Thirty relevant songs from ten albums released between 1970 and 1980 were purposively selected based on popularity, patronage and contemporary relevance. These became data for a better understanding of the social and economic history of the period under focus. Both primary and secondary sources were used. The primary data included in-depth interviews and information culled from lyrics of songs, and newspapers from National Archives, Ibadan. The secondary data included books, biographies, journal articles and unpublished theses. Data was subjected to critical examination and content analysis.

Juju music reflected and refracted the nuances and vibrations of the oil boom period. It became an avenue through which the socio-economic development of the period was underscored. It revealed the consumer culture and consumption pattern of the period. Due to the increase in Nigeria's foreign exchange, there was an increase in display of economic prowess, ostentation, and show of opulence. Wealth was signaled as a reflection of higher social status as celebrated personalities "sprayed" musicians who eulogised them. Social

events were enlivened; business tycoons and technocrats who were praised included eminent personalities reflected in Obey's *Board Members* (Bisilola Edionsere – "Cash Madam" and *Miliki System* (Jide Adeniyi), Sunny Ade's *Chief Rasak Okoya* and *Gboyega Adenaike* (Currency Controller), and I.K. Dairo's album on *MKO Abiola* and *Bode Osinusi*. As people who understood the desires, parameters of the ethics and the spirits of the age in which they operated, the musicians responded to the nuances and social needs of their audience through elevated praise-singing. The study's contribution is located within the context of African historiographical traditions.

5.2 Conclusion

The interrelatedness of *Juju* music, Nigeria's oil boom and consumer culture enabled an intellectual tracking of socio-economic dynamics, trends, and issues between 1970 and 1980, as it underscored the socio-economic ramifications and realities of the period. The utilitarian values of *Juju* music in society were reflected and songs became a data bank with which the accumulated experiences of the people were captured and a useful tool of historical construction. Culture of consumption influenced the rise and growth of *Juju* music, consequent on the oil boom. *Juju* music, in turn, aided and valourised conspicuous consumption in the aforementioned period in Southwestern Nigeria. *Juju* music reflected and refracted the nuances of the oil boom period, thus becoming an avenue through which the socio-economic development of the period was underscored. *Juju* music mirrored the economic and social realities of the oil boom period through conspicuous consumption by wealthy Nigerians. These have been revealed in the stylistic and textual analysis of the songs of the three notable and influential *Juju* maestros: I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey and King Sunny Ade. Arrays of these nouveau riche are celebrated and are embedded in their songs: Chief MKO Abiola, Chief Rasak Okoya, Chief Samuel Adedoyin, Bode Osinusi, Chief Gabriel Igbinedion, these personalities were reflected in Obey's *Board Members*, KSA's *Egbe Board* and I. K. Dairo's *MKO Abiola-Yorubal Solidarity*. Dairo catalogued wealthy individuals, lauded MKO Abiola and described him as the patron of the Egbe Young Stars as well as *Oloye repete, oloye merinlelogojo* (one with hundreds of chieftaincy titles); Odutola Ogbeni Oja in Ijebu-Ode; Michael Ibru; Dantata in Kano; Arthur Nzeribe in Igboland; Gabriel Igbinedion, Esama of Benin; Bode Akindele (Eleja Obokun); Ayo

Parakoyi in Ibadan; Alhaji Amzat; Adebowale Electrical; Oladipupo Olowu (Babalaje Isiwo). These notable individuals were eulogised by the musical icons.

Conspicuous consumption became the basis of societal status and reputability. Wealth was displayed in an unprecedented way in the history of postcolonial time. The musicians responded to the nuances and social needs of their audience through elevated praise-singing. Musicians were sprayed with money in bundles by their wealthy admirers. Yoruba elite were part of the social interactions and many of them also exemplified and enjoyed conspicuous consumption. Their activities were noticeable with respect to the social formation and manifestation of the time and the rendition of the musicians. The Western region was basically the home of Juju music and wealthy elites were celebrated through the songs. It was within these social and economic conditions that Juju music as a genre, noted for its employment of praise epithets (*oriki*), expansive dancing, and the use of powerful talking drums (*dundun*), grew in status as ‘the new music’ of the Yoruba political elites. As a neo-traditional form, this new music evoked indigenous Yoruba traditional performance practices as found, for example, in traditional funerals and annual festivals. Juju’s performance came to its definitive form in the music of Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey, and was well suited to serving the needs of the new social atmosphere, especially in the big cities of Ibadan and Lagos (Omojola 2009:255).

Olorunyomi maintained that “Juju portrays a traditional hierarchy mitigated by the generosity of the wealthy” (Waterman cited by Olorunyomi 2003:57). This is a succinct description of Juju music especially as demonstrated in this thesis. As a result of the oil boom, the economic prosperity and the consumption pattern of the people changed in the 1970s, unlike the agriculture economy which was previously in place. John O. Balogun, in *Lagos Weekend*, June, 1974, argued that there have been much development in the Nigerian music industry because musicians are now more original and creative than in the past decades. The expression of this originality and creativity is found in Juju music with a high sense of skill, dexterity and ingenuity displayed at various points of composition and performances. Juju musical icons have built a great reputation as they have waxed records that speak to the social and communal lives and serve as entertainment to the people.

In all, Juju music has consistently had impact on the development of the society in a significant way as it became a channel through which the economy of the period was understood. Nigeria's foreign earnings increased drastically and because of the influx of capital, money was abundant in circulation. The consumption pattern of the wealthy was revealed through the demonstration of economic prowess, ostentation, and show of opulence. As celebrated personalities "sprayed" musicians who eulogised them, wealth was signalled as a reflection of higher social status. People were entertained, and social events and parties were enlivened by the performance of these juju musicians. Eminent personalities, business tycoons, traditional rulers and chiefs and technocrats were celebrated and extolled by the musicians. Yoruba indigenous music has become an instrument of social and historical research, especially one which employed the use of the lyrics of the musicians' songs as data for historical writings. This music has been mined and harnessed as it represented the accumulated experiences of the people and yielded profound historical research in African history. Thus, ancillary sources became standard sources for historical reconstruction.

5.3 Recommendations

African indigenous music generally and juju music in particular have proven to be a veritable medium of preservation of culture and traditions. Juju music lyrics are underpinned by historical occurrences and events so this helps in revealing historical happenings. The lyrics of the songs are sources of historical writing. The songs became data for different aspects of Nigeria's socio-economic history and became an alternative source of knowledge because the musicians through the lyrics of their songs have touched virtually all aspects of human life. Without being aware of it themselves, the works of many Yoruba musical icons when subjected to careful and critical scrutiny and analysis could yield an abundance of information on periods of booms and bust, patterns and levels of conspicuous consumption, wealth, agriculture, rural and urban migration, advertisements, as well as schemes of local, state and national development (Adesina 2018). Therefore, the consciousness of inculcating indigenous music into both children and adult in society should be revived in homes, institutions and even in the educational system. The content of their song clearly exhibits the beauty of the Yoruba language and culture with appropriate dictions, deeply rooted in Yoruba philosophies. Because it is not being passed on

appropriately from one generation to another, the Yoruba language is being endangered on a daily basis (Falola and Olubomehin 2020:545).

Therefore, since positive information and values are ventilated to society through these music, and because they have immense utilitarian values, citizens should be encouraged to draw wisdom from it by listening to the music. Juju music has reinforced and contributed to societal values. Core societal values and heritage are preserved through listening and acquiring the information yielded by these songs. Juju music has preserved African culture and boosted the cultural heritage and image of Africa in general and Nigeria in particular. Therefore, Institution should float courses in the direction of indigenous music in order to tap the abundance of useful knowledge embedded in it. It should also be part of the curriculum in schools in Yorubaland for students to inculcate this sound knowledge rooted in the music into themselves. Mrs Rolake Ajao, who lived in Oyo, narrated a fascinating experience of when she was in secondary school in the 1980s, that her Yoruba teacher mandated that each of them must learnt the panegyric of Ogun (one of the Yoruba deities) using King Sunny Ade's rendition of the song in his album "Ogun". According to her she realised that the rendition in the music was more succinct and even easy to understand. Thus, she concluded that indigenous music is a veritable and profound source of knowledge. Also, households should not be left out in this as that will even enhance and entrench it further as parents make it a point of duty to incorporate the music into their homes.

5.4 Contributions to knowledge

With the aim of the study focusing on Juju music and consumer culture in the oil boom era in Southwestern Nigeria, 1970-1980, the major contribution to knowledge is that the interrelatedness of *Jùjú* music, Nigeria's oil boom and consumer culture enabled an intellectual tracking of socio-economic dynamics, trends, and issues between 1970 and 1980, as it underscored socio-economic realities of the period. Existing studies on Nigerian popular music genres have focused more on its musicological and sociological components than comprehensively exploring the genre during the oil boom period in the context of African historiographical traditions. This study therefore contributes to examining the interface of *Jùjú* music with the oil boom and the consumption patterns of wealthy

Nigerians, using historical approach. Music is a repository of information which can be harnessed and make meaningful contribution to national life.

Also, the study established that biographical writing is attainable through the instrumentality of Juju music. Biographical information of conspicuous and wealthy personalities that were elicited from Juju songs reflected that this work contributes to the genre of biographical writing. Celebrated individuals that were not yet recorded in pages of history books were given due attention through the elevated praising by the Juju maestros. It then became an alternative source of knowledge to accessing information regarding the *nouveau riche*.

In addition, this study reinforces Thorstein Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption propounded in 1899 and affirmed the universality and collective tendencies of the human nature to accumulate wealth and displayed conspicuous consumption and leisure. People engaged in conspicuous spendings as a means of showing opulence and gaining higher social status and prestige.

Jùjú music reflected and refracted the nuances of the oil boom period, thus becoming an avenue through which the socio-economic development of the period was underscored. *Jùjú* music opened important terrain of investigation into the relationship of knowledge, music, culture, class, and conspicuous consumption that was induced by petro-dollars in the burgeoning economy of the 1970s.

Lastly, this study opens a largely opportunities for scholars who might be willing to expand the frontier of knowledge in the same area of research. It also became a potentially useful vehicle for other works in promoting the use of ancillary sources as standard sources for historical reconstruction.

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Appendix I

Table showing the list of interviewees, their Names, Occupation, Age, Gender and Date of Interview

SN	NAMES	OCCUPATION	LOCATION	AGE (Years)	GENDER	DATE OF INTERVIEW
1	Emeritus Professor Abiola Odejide	Retired	USA	75	Female	02/04/2021
2	Emeritus Professor J. A. A. Ayoade	Retired	Ibadan	81	Male	28/04/2021.
3	Chief Lekan Alabi	Journalist, PR Consultant	Ibadan	67	Male	18/03/2019
4	Professor Tunde Lawuyi	Lecturing	Ibadan	69	Male	2020
5	Chief Samuel Adedoyin	Industrialist	Victoria Island, Lagos	86 & 87	Male	25/02/2021 & 29/09/2022
6	Professor Nelson Fashina	Lecturing	Ibadan	60+	Male	27/08/2020
7	Pa Ogungbade Benjamin Ibidiran	Retired Civil Servant	Ibadan	78	Male	24/04/2021
8	Mrs Oloyede	Trader	Ibadan	60	Female	24/04/2021
9	Mrs Ayobami Adeoye	Trader	Ibadan	55	Female	24/04/2021
10	Mr Adetola Tobun	Retired Naval Officer	Ibadan	65	Male	24/04/2021

11	Alhaji Ali M.O	Electrician	Ibadan	70	Male	24/04/2021
12	Alhaji Raufu Lawal	Vulcanizer	Ibadan	72	Male	24/04/2021
13	Mr Adebisi Aderibigbe	Security Personnel	Ibadan	62	Male	24/04/2021
14	Pa Kehinde Ogunmola	Farmer	Oyo	80	Male	26/04/2021
15	Mrs Banjo Adebowale	Trader	Lagos	79	Female	27/09/2022.
16	Mr Peter Agbede	-	Ikosi-Ketu, Lagos	69	Male	27/09/2022.
17	Mr Joseph Ayodele Ifabiyi	Retired from NTA	Obalende, Lagos	65+	Male	28/09/2022
18	Mr D. O. Sonaike	Retired Banker	Lagos	80	Male	28/09/2022
19	Mr Rafiu Bello	Book Seller	Falomo, Lagos	73	Male	28/09/2022
20	Mrs Funmilayo Ogunsanya	Trader	Ketu, Lagos	70	Female	28/09/2022
21	Mr Olusegun Ojo	Lawyer	Lagos	52	Male	29/09/2022

Appendix II

Ebenezer Obey's Music

1. Olowo n sore olowo

Olowo n sore olowo
Otosì n sore otosì
Oyename lore temi (Ebenezer Obey, "Board Members", 1972)

English Translation

Rich people befriend rich people;
Poor people are companions to poor ones,
But Oyename is my own friend.

2. Remo Carpet

Eni to ba lowo lowo kolo ra Remo carpet – Remo carpet lo dara
Remo Carpet o la lo pe, o lalo to – Remo carpet lo dara
Gbogbo majority e ba mi ra Remo – Remo carpet lo dara
To ba kole tan to ba fera carpet lori Remo – Remo carpet lo dara (Ebenezer Obey, "Board Members", 1972)

English Translation

Anyone who truly has money should purchase Remo carpet.
He gave a vivid description of Remo carpet – Remo carpet is good, durable and strong. He appealed to all to go for Remo carpet, after finishing their house.

3. Abewure n je lace ni?

Kin ni mama Alaso n ta to yegba dani,
Abewure nje lesi ni?

English Translation

What is the cloth seller selling that she is holding a cane,
Will goat eat lace?

4. Esa ma miliki

Ko ma rotate were were, e sama miliki o
Ko ma circulate lo were were, e sa ma miliki o
Koma sewu loro wa, e sama miliki o.
Leso leso ko ma yi lo, e sama miliki o (Ebenezer Obey, “Miliki Sound”, 1972).
E sa ma sakadeli o, E sa ma sakadeli o,
Jide Director mi, e sama miliki o
Adeniyi Director Baba ni, e sama miliki o
Leso leso koma yi lo, e sama miliki o.
Jide Director n le o see, e sama miliki o
Ko ma rotate were were, e sama miliki o
Jide Director n le ose, Jide Omo Adeniyi mi
E sama miliki o... (Ebenezer Obey, “Miliki Sound”, 1972).

English Translation

Let it rotate smoothly, *miliki* continues,
Let it circulate solemnly, *miliki* continues,
Let it continue gently, *miliki* continues,
Let it continue to roll seamlessly... *sakadeli* on... *miliki* continues...
Jide is my director... *miliki* continues,
Adeniyi is authentic one,
Jide director, I salute you.
Jide director the son of Adeniyi...
Miliki continues...

5. Alowo Majeye

Alowo majaye, eyin lemo, awon to jaye lana da won ti ku won to lo/2ce
To ba lowo ko fi logba sara re,
Ko jeun to da; ko woso to da, ko gbadun ara re
Ko se faaji doba... baya lola iku lede, olojo n ka jo...

Eda to lowo lowo ti o le na,
A o ma wara t’ahun o fowo da,
A wi tan o so le aye da wa a lo (Ebenezer Obey, “Alowo Majaiye”, 1973)

English Translation

If you have money use it to furnish yourself,
Eat what is good; wear good cloths, enjoy yourself,
Get the pleasure, because one does not know when death will come...

Any human being who has money and cannot spend it,
We will see what the miser will use the money for,

He thought we will be on earth forever.

Appendix III
King Sunny's Music

1. Oro Gbogbo Lori Owo

Oro gbogbo lori owo, yes, otito ni
Aisi owo baba ijaya, yes, otito ni
A lowo lowo baba afojudi, yes otito ni
Taba lowo lowo la n da moran n la, yes, otito ni
Adenaike, currency controller, yes, otito ni (Sunny Ade, Mr Adenaike Ololu, 1971)

English Translation

It is true that everything in life is about money,
Without money one tends to agitate and filled with anxiety.
When there is money there is confidence,
To embark on lofty and great projects.
Adenaike is a currency controller, yes he is.

2. Ewo ni ka torun bo gbese...

Bi igba ba d'oju de, a si,
Bi o si se si, a fo,
Ewo ni ka t'orun bo gbese nitori afe aye,
Awa o le tori bo gbese nitori sekarimi. (Sunny Ade, Ariya Odun Kewa, 1973.)

English Translation

If calabash turns its face upside down, we open it,
If it cannot be opened, we break it,
Why are we going into debt because we want to show off?
We cannot go into debt just to pretend we are wealthy.

3. Akanji Adefowope

Akanji Adefowope, iwo l'Oba won,
Eni to ri Oba ti o fori bale, o fe jiya ni,
Eni to ri Oba ti o f'idobale ge, o fe jiya ni,
Eni t'Olorun o ba ti pa, ko si eni to le ri gbe se,
Eniyan lo n binu Olorun o binu Olorun o sebi ire lo n se.
Ma gbadun ni ti e Akanji ma gbadun ni ti e,
Ma gbadun kelele, Adefowope ma gbadun ni ti e.
Aki binu ori ka fi fila de ibadi, Akanji ma gbadun ni ti e
Importer, exporter sa l'Akanji,
Importer exporter Adefowope.
Chairman Ijebu-Igbo National Club... (Sunny Ade, Akanji Adefowope, 1972)

English Translation

Akanji Adefowope is the undisputed king among them all.
Anyone who sees the king and will not pay obeisance will have himself to blame,

A person who sees the king and will not prostrate will be dealt with,
Anyone protected by God cannot be secured from human plots,
It is humans who do evil, God does good at all time.
Continue to enjoy life, Akanji, you continue to relish life,
Relish life Adefowope, continue to enjoy yourself,
No one can be angry with the head and wear his cap to the buttock,
Akanji continue to relish and enjoy life.
Akanji Adefowope is an importer and exporter of goods and services,
He was the Chairman Ijebu-Igbo National Club...

4. Bode Osinusi

To o ba ku logun odun, baba enikan o le gbe e sin,
Enikan o da e loko owo
Baba enikan o da e lola
Odumare lo fun e lowo
Bode n jaye telegan lo soro
Osinusi n jaye telegan lo soro
Ka fola fun olola, kafoloye fun oye
Ka fola fun olola, kafoloye fun oye
Olowo mo ba rode, Osinusi oko Afusa (Sunny Ade, "Baba orun awa nbe o", 1981).

If you don't die in twenty years to this time, nobody can kill you,
Nobody established your enterprise for you,
You are an honourable man by yourself,
Edumare is the one that bestowed money on you,
Bode is enjoying life, his detractors are the ones with problems
Osinusi is relishing, his detractors are the ones with problems
Let us give honour and respect to whom it is due,
I am performing for a wealthy man, Osinusi the husband of Afusa.

Appendix IV

I. K. Dairo's Music

1. Esa ma Miliki

Esa ma miliki tako tabo, Esa ma miliki tako tabo
Ko ma roll – Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, kama gbadun ke le le
Esa ma miliki tako tabo, Esa ma miliki tako tabo,
Ko ma roll – Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, Eko nile ayo, kama gbadun ke le le
Sakadeli - tako tabo esa ma miliki tako tabo,
Tako tabo tonile talejo - tako tabo, Esa ma miliki tako tabo... (Dairo, I.K. Ashiko Music 1970s)

English Translation

Let everyone continue to enjoy the *Miliki* song – both male and female,
Let it roll because Lagos is place of maximum enjoyment,
Psychedelic as the music is intoxicating,
Male and female, indigenes and foreigners,
Let us all enjoy ourselves, keep on rocking in the land of enjoyment.

2. Olowo Ojiji

Aye o gun gege mo, odi wokowoko,
Olowo ojiji, olowo osangangan, owo yato s'owo.

English Translation

The world is not straight, it is now disordered;
There are legal money and there are ill-gotten wealth.
There is a different between clean and unclean money.