

**AFRICANIST ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: AN INQUIRY INTO MUSIC, VALUE
AND CHANGE IN THE 21ST CENTURY NIGERIA**

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Abstract

Ethnomusicology is the study of music in culture and as culture. Africanist Ethnomusicology is concerned in the broadest sense with musical representations of social experience purposively focused on African indigenous experiences. It recognizes music as social practice embedded in a social context within a community. Musical practices are, thus, seen as taking shape within the framework of a people's native experience. In the Nigerian context, music in culture is ubiquitous. Music accompanies life (living) experiences from cradle to grave. To this end, the value of music is unequivocal, yet there are certain parameters that should be assessed within a given cultural praxis and influences. Obviously, contemporary Nigerian experiences have been mixed with cultural diversities: intra-cultural, inter-cultural, bi-cultural, and multi-cultural (global). The inquiry into music and its value within the Nigerian culture amidst these complexes of global economic sense in the 21st century is what this paper seeks to explore. The study critiques the western approach to music advancement in Nigeria. The intent is to reveal the ethnomusicological trends and the practices of music in Nigeria, which have changed or are changing and why we should bother about such changes. The discourse highlights the need to focus on promoting music within its social context from the diversity of milieu and ensure that such content is tailored towards musical scholarship in Nigeria.

Keywords: Africanist Ethnomusicology, Music, Value, Change, Education

Introduction

Ethnomusicology is the study of music in culture and the study of music as [an integral component of] culture. This definition has been explored by many frontline ethnomusicologists, including Alan Merriam who, in his work, *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), posited further that ethnomusicology is approachable from two directions, the anthropological and the musicological. Ethnomusicology, in Merriam's sense, makes its unique contribution in welding together aspects of the social sciences and aspects of the

humanities in such a way that each complements the other and leads to a fuller understanding of both. This approach accounts for one of the earliest interdisciplinary approaches to musical studies in Africa. Jaap Kunst, on the other hand, went further to opine that “the study-object of ethnomusicology or, as it originally was called, comparative musicology is the *traditional* music and musical instruments of all cultural strata of mankind, from the so-called *primitive* peoples to the civilized nations” (Italics not in original). By inference, ‘traditional music of the so-called primitive people (oral tradition) constituted the foundation of ethnomusicology. Considering this background, we will attempt an analytical evaluation of Africanist ethnomusicology—a subfield of ethnomusicology, against the fallen standards in the development of musical arts and cultural values caused by cultural diversity of the 21st century in Nigeria.

At the close of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, interest in the dynamic interaction of what recent scholarship has termed the local and the global, its interventions into the production, dissemination and reception of music, has developed its own kind of topicality. One consequence of this new topicality has been that conceptualizations of the national (of nationalisms, nation-states, national mythologizing narratives and other manifestations of national or nationalist ideologies) which have been somewhat sidelined or second-leagued in a world increasingly dominated by the processes of globalization, deterritorialization, transmigration and forms of cultural hybridity (Biddle & Knight 2007). Globalization in this perspective raises questions that revolve around the relevance of local musical products and its value within the local and global context, while succumbing to technologically required standards of the 21st century.

From this view, the need to join on-going debate becomes imperative considering the theme of this conference: The Arts or Humanities: Past, Present and Future. In this paper, we will attempt to leap into music as a professional field of study using Africanist ethnomusicology—a subfield of ethnomusicology or simply put, African Music. The discourse intended in this paper with its attendant analytical evaluation is presented in three sections – first: historical constellation of ethnomusicology and the emergence of Africanist ethnomusicology; second: music, value and education in Nigeria; and third: change and dynamism in the twenty-first century. We have chosen Nativism (decolonialism) as a theoretical guide for our discourse.

Theoretical Framework (Nativism)

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007) explain that “Nativism” is ... a term for the desire to return to indigenous practices and cultural forms as they existed in pre-colonial society. The term is most frequently encountered to refer to

the rhetoric of **decolonization** which argues that **colonialism** needs to be replaced by the recovery and promotion of pre-colonial, indigenous ways (p. 143).

This definition alludes that the indigenous model in musical praxis and cultural education forms the prototype for adoption in modern studies for development to take place. The craving to return to, accept or restore indigenous musical practices, beliefs, and cultural forms inhibited, destroyed or outlawed by a colonizing power holds the view that indigenous musical practices are more authentic (original) and, therefore, more culturally relevant and values-centred than the adopted or imposed Western Capitalist practices.

On a second thought, nativism is problematic in *Postcolonial Studies* in two ways: first, there is the question of to what extent it is even possible to restore indigenous practices under conditions of modernity (especially when there are claims of some cultural practices that are already extinct); second, there is the question of the desirability of doing so, especially when these practices would lead to the reduction of gains in rights on the part of minority groups, women, and so on (considering modern concepts like *Feminism*). Our approach to nativism in this frame of reference is analytical as we endeavour to advance objective views where subjective alternative seems to dominate.

Historical Constellations of Ethnomusicology

Agawu (1992) documents a comprehensive account which distinguishes roughly four successive phases in the history of discourse about African music: First, the period up to 1900, which is dominated by writing about African music produced by non-specialists – Europeans engaged in naval expeditions, Moslem writers pursuing a religious mission, correspondents for learners' societies, missionaries, traders, and biographers of explorers. Second, the period covered 1900-1950 in which various writers, fired by a missionary zeal ("missionary" in both literal and metaphorical senses) searched for a voice. The search for a voice during this period produced an eclectic body of texts as evidence abound. The third period 1950-1975 represents the stabilizing of a professional ethnomusicological discourse.

The third period heralded the end of the search for a voice with two related events: the formation of the *African Music Society* in 1947, in South Africa, and the inauguration of the *Society for Ethnomusicology* in the United States in 1955. African Music Society published *African Music*, while the Society for Ethnomusicology began by publishing a newsletter followed by a full-fledged journal, *Ethnomusicology*, *African Music* and *Ethnomusicology* shared one broad aim, "the advancement of research and study in the field of ethnomusicology, for which purpose all interested persons, regardless of race, creed, colour, or national origin, are encouraged to become members" (Agawu, 1992: 253). And the

fourth, the period since 1975, which is marked by an intensified self-consciousness about language and metalanguage. It is worthy of mention that during this period the shackles of colonial rule were broken in what, in retrospect, seems to have been more of programmatic affirmation of political independence than genuine (economically based) eradication of dependency on Europe. Nonetheless, this period witnessed the search for indigenous roots, “a return to indigenous musical practices” (Nativism).

Moreover, the most striking development of this period was the movement away from earlier generalisations about African music towards regional or sub-regional categorization (Yoruba, Ewe, Akan, Ibibio, Igbo, etc.) and indicated the birth of Africanist ethnomusicology. This move counteracts earlier notion at independence – predominantly the challenges of nationalism in music and the effrontery of Lugard’s 1914 ‘self-effacing’ legacy. For example, if we insinuate Fela Sowande to be a nationalist composer because of *Folk Symphony* (1960), then what nationalist compositional elements did he employ in his compositions? Or, are we factoring our understanding of nationalism to European -western hegemony with monolithic background (Italian, English, French, German, and so on? We would simply reiterate that Nigeria is not a monolithic culture and nationalist polemics should be re-evaluated in this new context to aid understanding.

Furthermore, in a more recent historical analysis of indigenous music in Nigeria offered by Tunji Vidal in his work, *What Role for Nigerian Indigenous Music in Today’s Changing Times?* (2016), which categorized the era of musical history in Nigeria into three: Firstly, The Past, which looks into the place of music and the role music performed in the indigenous life of the people of Nigeria prior to colonization; Secondly, the Colonial Experience, which has been described as double tragedy; as slavery and colonialism, then, as post-independence rudderlessness with all sorts of morbid symptoms, alleging that colonialism was a system for under-developing Africa (cf. Rodney 2009: 304); and thirdly, The Present Realities, which explores avenue of self-destruction in the guise of embracing science and technology in Nigeria 21st century. The location of Africanist ethnomusicology in the last phase provides its relevance to modern discourse on musical arts and the reason such discourse should be purposively tailored towards cultural revival and promotion of cultural values in Nigeria (cf. Adedeji’s *Transformation Musicology*).

Before we advance into the crux of our discourse, there are issues that require close examination and explanation for the above historical accounts. For instance, in Ibibio culture of Nigeria, who invented traditional musical instruments (*ntrarok, obodom, nsak, ikon, ibid*, etc.)? Why did the development of new indigenous musical instruments stopped about the same time European musical instruments were being imported into Nigeria? Many such

questions beg for answers; yet, Vidal's conclusion, which we support, is that what happened to indigenous cultures and practices is clear as we have already seen that indigenous music and, indeed, our arts and traditions cannot be conceded to move along with the changing times.

Africanist Ethnomusicology

It is not doubtful whether Christopher Waterman who used this term in the 1990s meant African music. However, Agawu's *Contesting the Difference – a critique of Africanist Ethnomusicology* (2003) makes his contest for African music very obvious. Africanist ethnomusicology, like other emerging dimensions in the ethnomusicological discourse - feminist ethnomusicology, Gay Musicology, etc., is aimed at opening eclectic discourse into ethnomusicology. In Agawu's usage of Africanist ethnomusicology, African music is remarkably different from the music of the west. But for scholars in Africa, south of the Sahara, Africanist ethnomusicology or African musicology means African Music. DjeDje and Carter (1989) confirm that "... ethnomusicology is the parent discipline of African musicology" (P. 43). Agawu explains that Africanist ethnomusicology as a subfield of Ethnomusicology regularly traffics in difference. Difference in this sense is regularly invoked by ethnomusicologists seeking to justify their stance in some sort of 'sameness', 'otherness' or 'difference' between Africa and the west. We would not attempt to explore any aspect of the polemics of difference; however, we are concerned with critiquing the "notions of difference" that have manifested in writings on African music that may directly or remotely affect 'music', which in our context is a veritable tool for inculcating cultural values within the dynamism of contemporary Nigeria.

Africanist ethnomusicology is concerned, in the broadest sense, with musical representations of social experiences purposively focused on native Africans. It recognizes music as social practice embedded in a social context within indigenous communities. Musical practices are, thus, seen as taking shape within the framework of people's native experience. In Africa, when we say that "music accompanies life (living) experiences from cradle to grave", it means that the value of music is unequivocal; yet, there are certain parameters that should be assessed within a given cultural praxis and influences. For example, contemporary Nigerian cultures have been mixed with foreign diversities: intra-cultural, inter-cultural, bi-cultural, and multi-cultural (global). In modern assessment of cultures where music in culture is ubiquitous, Africanist ethnomusicology explores music in a multidimensional paradigm within a given culture.

II

Music, Value and Education in Nigeria

The Nigerian music scene is crammed with different kinds of music: traditional, art, and popular music. However, there is a seeming overemphasis on traditional music in scholarly discourse above African popular music and the so-called art music. Most writers have argued that traditional music is music that conveys cultural integrity, identity and culture in its performances (See Stumpf, Anku, Phwandaphwanda & Mnukwana 2003). Unlike popular music which strives on popular cultures of the world with minuscule embellishment of indigenous cultures, art music imitates Eurocentric concepts of contemplative art and combines with native idioms and elements (*cf.* Omojola 1995). The main question is: What value do we attach to indigenous music? How is 'value' for native music expressed in our educational model at the tertiary level of education?

As a guide, let us examine value. Although there are diversities of notions regarding value, for the sake of this discourse, we are limited to Graeber's definition. In David Graeber's *Toward an Anthropological Theory of Value - The False Coin of Our Own Dreams* (2001), "value", in the economic sense, is the degree to which objects are desired, particularly, as measured by how much others are willing to give up to get them. While "values" in the sociological sense is the conception of what is ultimately good, proper, or desirable in human life. In these two perspectives, music utility within any given culture fits into the latter notion whereas the former conjecture presents music as a commodity. Perhaps, Graeber's posit is inundated into the transition of music from "values" to "value" (that is, from sociological to economic) - a notion that should be transmitted into Nigeria's educational model in music. We shall return to explain this in detail in the third section.

Examining the 'value' of traditional music in Nigeria from different perspectives would require a considerable amount of space. On one hand, music is examined as a concept from indigenous contexts; on the other hand, the absence of the word "music" in the indigenous languages of Africa. In the latter conjecture, the word 'music' appears to be semantically diffused, borrowing Agawu's parlance, in the indigenous language of the Ibibios where *ikwo* (song), and *bre* (play) exist. *Bre*, Efik-Ibibio verb root "play", signifies all types of singing, music, or dancing, whether performed by an individual or a group; as the noun, *mbre* "play", its specific meaning depends on context and can translate as "function", "ceremony" "celebration", "masquerade", or "festivity". The semantic diffusion of the word 'music' in Africa is not our focus as this has been comprehensively elucidated in Agawu (2003).

We are well situated, at this point, to critically examine the Africanist conjectures from the ethnomusicological purview that dovetail into 'music' and 'value'. First, there is need to question modern scholarship regarding the Eurocentric approach which places western music at the apex of musical socialization. This, in our view, is problematic – problematic

in the sense that indigenous attempts, for instance, at compositions become difficult since scholarship and composition in other cultures are always in favour of the western musical culture. It is the concern for other cultures (like Africa or Nigeria) to impact the musical world which has led to the study of Africanist ethnomusicology as a necessity to provide scholarly principles, cultural models and compositions from various cultures in Africa (not by a colonialistic approach) but by natives of these cultures themselves. As a consenting voice, Nettl writes:

By now we must understand that even the world's simplest musical cultures are in themselves sophisticated and complex organisms, and that a certain kind of stratification, a recognition of music excellence, and a kind of specialization of musical activity exists in all of them. In other words, the concept of folk and primitive music is really no longer viable (1964, P. 14).

This kind of argument as Merriam advanced implies that the purpose of Africanist Ethnomusicology is to disabuse ethnocentrists of the notion that the music of other peoples is inferior or unworthy of study and appreciation, and this must, indeed, be considered one of the aims of the discipline, for ethnocentrism must be confronted and attacked wherever it is found. On a second consideration, this argument is profound from the perspective of our discourse. The explanation is that the westerner views our music as inferior; the parallel should be that Africans should see their music as superior. Ironically, this is not the case. Maybe we should ask: What the intrinsic value of an indigenous musical performance is compared to Don Jazzy, Dbanj or Tiwa Savage performance in Nigeria?

Comparatively, if *Uta Cultural Group*, (the team that represented traditional music of the region at FESTAC '77) is featuring in a state function in Akwa Ibom State and the Mavins Crew is also invited, which of the two groups should earn higher honorarium from the government and why? It is the answers to these probing questions like the foregone into 'value' and 'values' that the discourse should instigate (irrespective of contextual deportment). Otherwise, how else do we promote cultural values and curb moral decadence in our modern society? Seeing that the folk traditions of storytelling during moonlight activities are out of use, and the contextual representation of most agents of social control on our cultures have been christened paganism.

Second, we find it sincere that the purpose in ethnomusicology is found in the frequently expressed fear that the music of the "folk" (oral tradition) is fast disappearing and that it must be recorded and studied before it is gone. Merriam (1964) asserts:

While this aim of ethnomusicology is an acceptable one, the fears for the destruction of the music of the "folk" often tend to be overemphasized, and there is implied a

failure to consider the inevitability of change. It has been held in ethnomusicology that music is among the most tenacious elements of culture, but those who espouse this view frequently turn in the next breath to overemphatic laments for the passing scene. Music does seem to be tenacious, though varying social and cultural situations clearly influence the degree to which this is possible (p. 9).

Three issues have been highlighted in the citation above – fear of destruction of music of the folk (oral tradition), inevitability of change (within a culture due to influences), and music is the most tenacious element of culture. The second issues shall be discussed in the third section of this paper. A close scrutiny at the first issues, takes us back into the previous paragraph, that is, ‘values’ and ‘value’ that contribute to the sustenance of a musical tradition. Why should we discontinue a tradition that benefits the society even when they are willing to give up anything to get it? This is not realistic, especially because we are living in a society where ‘businesses’ that generate profit are seemingly contagious.

From another standpoint, on a superficial examination of the Nigerian music milieu, among the cultures of Yoruba, Igbo, Ibibio, Ijaw, etc., we need to ask: Which music has/have become extinct? Were there efforts made at documenting them before such extinction? Where can such documents be found - in libraries abroad or destroyed by cultural nepotism and subjugation at home? Agawu (1992) sanctions the need to search for previous fieldworks in one’s area of interest which could create “open confrontations of ideas – such as publishing competing transcriptions of the ‘same’ musical objects, or developing alternative interpretations of the same system of cultural expression” (1992: 259).

The time has come for us to question the educational model in Nigeria, specifically in music. The nature of musical art education in Nigeria constitutes another issue of concern. Music educators have regularly advocated a balance in the music curriculum between western music and African music to counteract the present hegemony of western musical concepts (see Ogunrinade, 2013). Modern imperialism like colonialism is subtle impositions to perpetuated neo-colonialism from within. These concepts including neo-colonialism in Africa is kept alive by local élites (a *comprador* class) in both secular and religious arenas.

A detailed study of the BMAS in Music (Arts) for university education provides as one of the objectives: “To develop creative skills and talents in students with a view to preparing them for *self-employment and entrepreneurship in the music industry*, broadcasting, communications, entertainment, film cinematography and allied professions” (NUC, 2007, p. 144. Italics is authors emphasis). The puzzle is that most universities in Nigeria do not offer Music Business or Entrepreneurship in Music as an area of specialization,

contradictorily, Music Business is not listed in BMAS as an area of specialisation among the following: Music Education, Theory and Composition, Musicology, Music Technology, and Performance. Ideally, trained musicians should seldom desire paid employment; at least students should be exposed to elementary rudiments of music business as performers, composers and technologists. Besides, there is nothing that suggests an educational model which should have formed a major part of the learning outcome, promulgated according to the cultural mores, values, and traditions. The transition of musical values into value, we believe, would add the needed impetus to entrepreneurship, if adopted as a model for training musicologists in Nigeria as part of nativism.

III

Change or Cultural Dynamism in the Twenty-First Century

The study of the dynamics of music or change is among the most potentially rewarding activities in ethnomusicology. Change in music is barely understood, either as it concerns musical sound as a thing in itself or the conceptual behavioural activities which underlie that sound from varieties of influences. In the previous section, we cited the inevitability of change (within a culture due to influences), and that music is the most tenacious element of culture. Acceptably, the inevitability of change, in our context, entails cultural refinement and not replacement. Obviously, one wonders which musical genre can replace Yourba Oriki or *Bata*, *Dundun* or *Sekere* ensembles; Fulani-Hausa *Kakaki* or *Goje* performances; Igbo *Oja*; Ibibio *Ikon* or *Uta* practices, and so on. The advocacy towards Africanist ethnomusicology today lies not so much in understanding what has been done in the past as in blazing the way into the future toward a better understanding of the study of music in culture, the changes that may happen, and how we should respond to these changes.

The concept of change and dynamism in the Nigerian culture is sympathetic to cultural diversity, which constitutes an important dimension in the study of music in recent times. The reality is that the musical space of pre-colonial Nigeria and today has changed dramatically. Many practices of cultural diversity in music education have shed dogmatic approaches from the 19th century music education and 1960s ethnomusicology. However, this is the twenty-first century; there are many other imperious concepts that require jettisoning. In this regard, Campbell and Schippers (2005) observe that, at least, in some areas, we can witness a receding emphasis on notation and analytical teaching methods in the way material is being presented to learners of all backgrounds and levels. They went further to stress that

Issues such as context and authenticity are increasingly approached from their delightfully confusing contemporary realities. The challenges posed by music

travelling through time, place and contexts are being addressed for what they are: fascinating studies in the dynamic life of music, education and culture (2005: v).

This demonstrates that people are recognizing the diversity, rather than homogeneity, which characterizes our culture. Accessible travel and development media, including the internet, have allowed greater opportunities to connect with other cultures. Consequently, the concept of cross-cultural understanding continues to dominate the educational landscape (See Morin, 2003). In some universities today, introductory courses on “World Music” are gaining popularity with a generation of students for whom cultural diversity in music is almost as common as cultural diversity in food for the previous generation.

As already mentioned, Beaster-Jones (2014) stated further that one of the scholarly approaches to the discipline of ethnomusicology is a documentary imperative that aligns with Boasian methodological ideologies: to find relatively ‘pure’ musical traditions, structures, cultural value systems, or traditions for the sake of preservation. For a long time, the discipline largely focused upon the preservation of the heterogeneous musical-cultural expressions of others - before their music and music-makers were exploited, appropriated, and/or homogenized by the cultural imperialistic tendencies of western-style capitalism. This approach informed the ethnomusicological critique of the “world music” category in the international music industry and provided a space to critique practices and discourses of musical appropriation and commodification of the sounds of relatively powerless traditional musicians.

At the same time, even as some ethnomusicologists tended to deem any form of commodified music as necessarily inauthentic, other ethnomusicologists were among the first to describe the musical transformations wrought by the spread of global capitalism and neoliberal economic transformations. For example, Wallis and Malm’s pioneering *Big Sounds from Small Peoples* (1984) engaged with the consequences of music technology and the reification of musical practice into a physical recording. Comparing this in Nigeria, music technology is restricted, in most cases, “the builder of musical instruments and maintainer/repairer of existing ones, who may design and develop authentic and “new” instruments for public use, taking into account the need to “standardize” African instruments” (NUC, 2007, P. 145). Nevertheless, underlying the argument of much of their book is the poignant sense that global capitalism is gradually leading to a decline in musical diversity, as Michael Jackson became as much a household name in Nigeria and Ghana as he was in the United States (see Beaster-Jones, 2014).

We have already emphasized that the adoption of western-style educational approach and practice has had a perceptible effect on the musical practices in Africa. For instance, the

designers of programmes in the tertiary institutions in Nigeria where music is studied framed it to train students in western and African musical concepts, hence, bi-musicality. Bi-musicality concept, as Nettl explains, “is a full participation of an individual in two musical systems, for example, western and Japanese, somewhat in the manner of bilingualism” (1986). This development was marred because the musical outlook of its products was more western than African. Agu (2012: 4) dilates that

The acceptance of western system of education culminated to the emergence of white collar jobs, urbanization, (sic) migration to the cities and rural development which brought a lot of changes. Rural environments and communal affiliations became negatively affected by the new developments.

In the same vein, many scholars have lamented that the environment and situations have changed today, and we have seemingly changed with them. For instance, the emergence of popular music caught the interest of both young and old. And the western classical music received the attention of the elite, especially those in the academia. The academia, however, because of the “new age art”, have tried to liberate themselves from the norms and practices of the past, which have given rise to new forms of music with greater degree of uniqueness (African art music).

Paradoxically, Abiola Irele (1993) describes the dilemma of African art music with a rhetorical question “*Is African Music Possible?*” Nick Nesbit (2001) attempts to expound this question using “*African Music, Ideology and Utopia*”, that African art music has failed to secure local audiences from their respective sub-cultures. Unlike Fela Anikulapo Kuti, the originator of *Afrobeat*, who diverted into popular music; others of his age, class background and British-collegiate musical training remained in the tradition of Nigerian art music as composers. The adaptation of local folk materials to a western European compositional model was largely motivated by the modernist project of channelling ethnic identity toward a new allegiance to European-styled nation-states, with their attendant aesthetic forms and cultural institutions. We can introduce their works as diversity of a sort, provided it does not infringe on Nigerian musical integrity.

Today, a hesitation to perform or even participate in music ‘outside one’s own culture’ has given way to a more sensible and sensitive approach to performing world music, considering the origin of the tradition and its new circumstances in each musical event. This is leading to a deeper awareness that many types of music transform in new times and places. Perhaps, this is one of the benefits of cultural diversity but the underlying factor must be identity. We should explore the new environment of sound in the digital age to develop Nigerian (sub-cultural) music. Challenges in music notation appropriate for African music should be

developed. Our compositional frameworks for teaching composition should be localized and explored from traditional music. The Nigerian music education system should be driven in native models reflective of societal values.

Conclusion

Music and the arts are important sources of knowledge about world cultures and historical periods. Africanist ethnomusicology establishes primacy in difference; however, in this paper we have provided trajectories that would elicit newer discourse in ethnomusicology, especially in the representation of Africa. Agawu's leadership in this Africanist mindset is very perceptive. Indigenous music, like other African cultural arts/humanities, becomes indispensable even in the age of technological sophistication. Though, this would depend on the 'values' in sociological sense and 'value' in economic sense that we deliberately give to it. The infallibility of the arts has affirmed that by studying the subject matter of the arts, we can connect culture to culture and see/feel the joys and sorrows of our ancestors. Music has always been a viable vehicle for communicating life's experiences. It can be used as an opinionated weapon against political tyrants. Most educators in the developed world have realized that they can facilitate understanding of diverse cultures by introducing students to various types of musical and artistic expression and this has resulted in bequeathing African with their cultural productions. Not surprisingly then, current literature in music education encourages teachers to teach from a multicultural perspective. Conversely, the Nigerian educational system is grappling with western hegemony in its educational curriculum in music.

The way forward, as David Graeber (2001) has rightly proposed, indicates that we are better off beginning with the perspective that economic exchange is an epiphenomenon of other regimes of (affective, ritual, social) value, rather than the inverse. Economic values cannot operate without cooperation with other value systems. As ethnomusicologists, therefore, we are uniquely qualified to unpack how and why this is the case.

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