



## **Cultural Identity as a Source of Power in the Lijadu Sisters' Music of Self-Awareness and Empowerment**

**Emmanuel Oyetunji Alemede (PhD)**

Music Department,  
School of Arts and Social Sciences  
Federal College of Education  
Eha-Amufu, Enugu.

[oyetunjiemmanuel@gmail.com](mailto:oyetunjiemmanuel@gmail.com)

[ORCID: 0000-0002-7886-6328](https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7886-6328)

&

**Opeyemi Adeyinka Asaolu, (PhD)**

Department of Music,  
Olabisi Onabanjo University,  
Ago-Iwoye, Ogun state

[Opeyemi.asaolu@oouagoiwoye.edu.ng](mailto:Opeyemi.asaolu@oouagoiwoye.edu.ng)

&

**Tayo Omosilade**

Department of Music,  
Obafemi Awolowo University

[omoshworld@gmail.com](mailto:omoshworld@gmail.com)

### **Abstract**

This study employs a qualitative thematic analysis to investigate the sociopolitical and cultural commentary embedded in the Nigerian popular music of the 1970s, using the influential yet understudied duo, The Lijadu Sisters, as a case study. Their art is analysed through the lens of postcolonial theory, which positions it as a form of cultural resistance and reclaiming one's identity after colonial control. Focusing on their seminal albums released between 1976 and 1979, the research methodology involved a close analysis of key tracks, both lyrically and musically, to identify, code, and interpret recurring themes. The study is supported by detailed musical transcriptions and excerpts that illustrate their sonic synthesis. The analysis reveals how the sisters' innovative synthesis of Afrobeat, highlife, pop, and traditional Yoruba musical elements created a powerful platform for social critique and cultural affirmation. The scrutiny of lyrics offers direct critiques of political corruption and systemic danger while also addressing personal resilience and spiritual love. Crucially, their strategic use of the Yoruba language, proverbs, and indigenous musical structures serves to celebrate African heritage and preserve cultural wisdom. The findings conclude that the Lijadu Sisters forged a dynamic and multifaceted cultural force, demonstrating how popular music can simultaneously mobilise social consciousness, offer philosophical commentary on societal decay, and reinforce a positive, modern cultural identity rooted in tradition. Finally, the paper argues for their enduring relevance, showing how their 1970s

discourse prefigures and informs contemporary Nigerian music's engagement with identity, feminism, and social justice.

**Keywords:** Popular Music, Social Commentary, Cultural Identity, The Lijadu Sisters, Cultural Resistance, Postcolonial Theory.

## **Introduction**

Historically, music has functioned as a powerful tool for social critique, cultural preservation, and individual empowerment. According to Izu (2023), African music specifically transcends amusement to convey ideals, articulate identity, and confront oppression. Nigeria's fusion of traditional music with contemporary genres creates a landscape where artists can address socio-political issues for global and local audiences. Olaniyan (2004) posits that this blend of traditional and modern allows musicians to tackle current issues while preserving cultural heritage.

Afrobeat, originated by Fela Kuti, amalgamates traditional African music with jazz, funk, and highlife, resulting in a vibrant and dynamic sound. As noted by Diamini (2003), it emerged as a significant arena for political and social critique in post-colonial Nigeria, a context characterised by pervasive corruption and oppression. Musically, Afrobeat's intricate percussion, brass ensembles, and polyrhythmic structures exemplify the richness of African music, while Euba (1989) explained that its lyrics frequently centre on socio-economic issues such as governmental oppression and the everyday challenges faced by the populace.

Highlife music, which originated in Ghana and gained popularity in Nigeria, provides a quintessential example of musical syncretism. According to Collins (2002; 1992), it blends traditional African rhythmic patterns with Western instruments like the guitar and brass. Highlife musicians frequently addressed societal transformations induced by urbanisation, modernisation, and colonialism. As Collins observes, while Fela Kuti's Afrobeat composition "Zombie" critiqued the military regime, highlife musicians such as Rex Lawson and Victor Olaiya addressed themes of social mobility, romance, and evolving societal standards in post-independence Nigeria.

This tradition of social commentary evolved with new popular forms. Ogunleye notes that contemporary Nigerian pop and Afrobeats, distinct from Afrobeat, integrate traditional African components with electronic rhythms, rendering the music universally appealing and enabling discourse on issues from local governance to global migration (Diamini, 2003). Euba (1989) is of the opinion that the incorporation of indigenous languages, rhythms, and instruments in modern music serves to validate African identity and pride. Diamini (2003) further posits that employing contemporary influences ensures the music remains a potent instrument for addressing current socio-political matters, ensuring cultural evolution within a globalised context.

A pivotal example of this synthesis is the work of the Lijadu Sisters. Taiwo and Kehinde Lijadu fused Afrobeat, highlife, jazz, disco, and reggae to produce politically and socially conscious music during the 1970s and 1980s. They contested Nigeria's male-dominated music industry, and their lyrics directly addressed political corruption and women's rights. Their recent rediscovery positions them as essential feminist icons and pioneers within the continuum of Nigerian socially engaged popular music, bridging the themes of highlife, the sound of Afrobeat, and the hybrid appeal of modern pop.

## **Theoretical Framework: A Postcolonial View**

This study is rooted in postcolonial theory. Postcolonial theory also looks at the broader interactions between European nations and the societies they colonized by dealing with issues such as identity (including gender, race, and class), language, representation, and history. It offers a comprehensive exploration of the Lijadu Sisters' interaction with cultural identity, self-awareness, and empowerment. Postcolonial criticism scrutinises the cultural, social, and political ramifications of colonialism and imperialism, emphasising resistance, identity construction, and the restoration of indigenous voice and agency (Said, 1978; Ashcroft et al., 1989). A primary difficulty is the formation of a sovereign identity that reconciles the dichotomy between traditional heritage and the embraced elements of modernity. The Lijadu Sisters' oeuvre can be read as a postcolonial project. Their deliberate synthesis of Yoruba linguistic and musical elements with Western-influenced genres (Afrobeat, pop, disco) enacts what Homi Bhabha (1994) terms "hybridity" the creation of new, transformative cultural forms from the encounter between coloniser and colonised. This hybridity is not a dilution but a strategic empowerment, a means of articulating a modern African identity on their own terms. Furthermore, their lyrics, which critique corrupt governance and celebrate cultural wisdom, align with Frantz Fanon's (1963) call for a national culture that is both combative and regenerative, turning away from colonial degradation towards self-definition. Their feminist stance adds a crucial intersectional layer, challenging both colonial and patriarchal domination (McClintock, 1995). Through this theoretical lens, their music transcends personal expression to become a documented act of cultural resistance and identity affirmation in a post-independence society still grappling with the shadows of colonialism.

### **History of the Lijadu Sisters**

The Lijadu Sisters, identical twins Taiwo and Kehinde Lijadu, were pioneering Nigerian musicians active from the 1960s to the 1980s, a period when female frontwomen were rare in the country's pop music scene. Born on 22 October 1948 in Jos and raised in Ibadan, they were second cousins to Afrobeat pioneer Fela Anikulapo-Kuti and Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka. Their music was notable for addressing gender equality and political unrest in Nigeria.

Inspired by the Western jazz, rock, and soul records provided by their mother, Adelaide Efunyemi Lijadu, the twins began singing together at age ten. They started as backup vocalists before releasing their debut single, 'Iya Mi Jowo', in 1968. The following year, they signed with Decca Records, launching their professional recording career.

The duo gained international recognition in the 1970s when American drummer Ginger Baker invited them on tour, leading to a performance with his band, Salt, at the 1972 Munich Olympic Games. Between 1969 and 1979, they released five albums *Iya Mi Jowo* (1969), *Danger* (1976), *Mother Africa* (1977), *Sunshine* (1978), and *Horizon Unlimited* (1979), which blended Afrobeat, funk, soul, reggae, and disco.

In the 1980s, the sisters relocated to New York, performing at venues like the Wetlands club and with King Sunny Adé in Harlem. However, by the mid-1980s, feeling exploited by the music industry, they parted ways with their record label. Despite the growing popularity of African music in the West, their work remained largely unrecognized, a frustration compounded when American rapper Nas sampled their song 'Life's Gone Down Low' in 2006 without credit.

The sisters faced personal challenges when, in 1996, Kehinde suffered severe spinal injuries from a fall, leading to a long recovery and nearly two decades out of the public eye. They resurfaced after signing with Knitting Factory Records, which re-released their classic 1970s albums. Reflecting on their career in a 2014 interview, they spoke of the

obstacles they faced from men in the industry who were threatened by their independence. In 2014, they performed at a tribute for William Onyeabor at London's Barbican Centre and on The Tonight Show Starring Jimmy Fallon. The twins practiced the Yoruba Ifá religion and explored herbal medicine. Kehinde died of breast cancer on 8 November 2019, aged 71, while Taiwo continues to reside in New York.

### Thematic Analysis of Selected Songs by the Lijadu Sisters

Building upon this contextual and theoretical framework which situates Nigerian popular music as a site of cultural synthesis, postcolonial resistance, and sociopolitical discourse, the Lijadu Sisters' oeuvre offers a rich case study. Their recordings from 1976 to 1979 showcase a refined blend of Afrobeat, highlife, pop, and traditional Yoruba music, yielding a distinctive sound that facilitates their multifaceted commentary. Their discography for this period is encapsulated in the following albums, which form the core of this analysis: In Album 1: *Danger* (1976), the Track list includes: "Danger." And in Album 2: *Horizon Unlimited* (1978), the Track list includes: "Reincarnation," "Erora."

This analysis focuses on these selected tracks to explore how the duo operationalised hybrid and resistive strategies to engage with pressing issues. We first examine "Danger" for its incisive critiques of governmental corruption and societal ills, aligning with the tradition of political critique noted in Afrobeat and highlife. The inquiry subsequently transitions to themes of personal and philosophical resilience in "Lord Have Mercy" and "Erora", exploring their use of traditional language and motifs for existential commentary. Finally, we analyse the intricacies of love and relationships in "Reincarnation" and "Bobby", connecting their work to the enduring highlife theme of romance while highlighting their distinct, often empowered, perspective. *Erora* (*Horizon Unlimited*, 1979) – A Call for Calm in a Delicate World

"Erora" is a song by the Lijadu Sisters that conveys a message of peace and calm in the face of societal unrest. The Yoruba word "Erora" translates to "calm down," reflecting the song's call for patience, reflection, and measured action amidst the chaotic circumstances of life. The Lijadu Sisters use this track to encourage collective calm and unity when dealing with challenges, whether personal, political, or social. The song talks about how money can translate the world positively and negatively.

E - ro - ra e - ro - ra o I - fe ma lo la - iye o  
o - wo ma le ta' ye se  
o - wo ma n pa' ye run

Erora erora o - be calm/be patient  
Owo ma le taiye se - money can make the world better  
Erora erora o - be calm/be patient  
Owo ma le pa' ye run - money can destroy the world

### Unity and Collective Action

Although the song emphasizes individual calm, it also speaks to the importance of collective peace and unity. The sisters highlight how communities can come together in times of difficulty if people remain calm and act with purpose. This theme of unity is

common in many of their songs, where they stress the power of working together to overcome societal challenges. The song acts as a call for national and communal solidarity, suggesting that the path to progress is through calm deliberation rather than chaos.

Erora erora o - Calm down or be careful  
 Ife ma lo laiye o - love is what the world is all about

### Cultural and Spiritual Resonance

The song "Erora" establishes its foundational framework not as a general commentary but by being specifically anchored in the dual reservoirs of Yoruba culture, communal values and history, and spirituality, meaning an individual and collective connection to the divine or ancestral. This dual sourcing renders its message both socially resonant and personally profound. It directly transmits core Yoruba values such as patience (sùúrù), wisdom (ogbón), and temperance, which are not abstract concepts but virtues actively cultivated and celebrated within Yoruba proverbs (òwe), ethics (iwa), and aesthetic philosophy.

The song functions as a contemporary medium for this value system precisely through its use of the Yoruba language and traditional music elements. The language itself carries the conceptual weight of these values, while musical elements such as a deliberate, non-hurried tempo (ijrohin), call-and-response structures modelling dialogue, and melodic contours mirroring Yoruba tonal patterns sonically enact patience and deliberation. The music is not mere decoration; the musical form embodies the cultural content, illustrating how, as scholar Christopher Waterman notes, musical structures in genres like jùjú articulate social values and temporal experiences (Waterman 1990).

These spiritual undertones, heard in the meditative, repetitive quality of the arrangement or lyrical references to destiny (ayanmo) and inner strength (okàn), suggest that cultivated calmness leads to the inner peace necessary for handling external pressures. This posits a causal, preparatory link where spiritually informed tranquillity is a prerequisite for effective action, reflecting a worldview that integrates the spiritual and practical. Consequently, this reflects The Lijadu Sisters' broader artistic philosophy that music is not merely entertainment but a functional, pedagogical "spiritual guide" for life's challenges. This fits with the general African musical style, where music is an active social and spiritual force that "shows people how to live" (Chernoff 1981, 156). Thus, "Erora" serves as a case study in this philosophy, using culturally specific sound to model a spiritually grounded approach to resilience.



E - ro - ra                      e - ro - ra                      o                      I - fe    ma                      lo                      la - iye o  
 o - wo    ma                      le                      ta' ye se  
 o - wo    ma                      n                      pa' ye run

Text: Erora Erora O Aiye mama gbege O  
 Interpretation: Be careful, be careful/ The world is hard

### Social Commentary

In a broader context, "Erora" can be seen as a commentary on the tumultuous political landscape in Nigeria during the 1970s, a period marked by military rule, economic challenges, and civil unrest. Through the song, the Lijadu Sisters offer a peaceful counter-narrative to the violence and instability that many Nigerians were experiencing. Rather

than advocating for confrontation, the song suggests that solutions to societal problems can

### Reincarnation

Lijadu Sisters

If there is rein-car-na-tion I would love to come back to the same home where I was born

5  
Yes ba - by I would do Oh Yes ba - by I would do

be found through calmness, dialogue, and thoughtful action, which is a notable contrast to the more aggressive forms of resistance seen in other political music of the time.

### Reincarnation (Horizon Unlimited, 1978)

#### Reincarnation

If there is reincarnation  
I would love to come back  
To the same home where I was born  
Yes baby I would do  
Oh Yes baby I would do

If you want to you wanna know  
You can come with me  
Where lots of love awaits you there

No matter where you come from  
Oh no matter who you are  
Reincarnation I'm waiting for you  
Reincarnation I have no regrets

So be quick take me there  
Bring me back home  
Where I belong

Reincarnation I'm waiting for you  
Reincarnation I have no regrets  
So be quick take me there  
Bring me back home  
Where I belong

The text of the song is a thoughtful and emotive reflection on the idea of reincarnation. The speaker has a strong yearning to return to the same childhood home, not to a different life. This wish makes the place not just a physical area but the only place where emotional truth and belonging can be found. Cultural identity strongly connects to this idea. Place, custom, and shared memory are often where cultural identity comes from. The house symbolises a person's heart, the cultural and emotional base that makes them who they are, not just nostalgia. The lyrics directly ask someone to join in this return, offering love that knows no boundaries or identities. This welcoming gesture shows that cultural identity may be both

very personal and something that others can share and accept. The repeated line, "Reincarnation, I'm waiting for you," sets a tone of anxious expectancy. This cyclical pattern shows a strong need for continuity, not just in life, but also in cultural connection and belonging. The investigation ultimately uncovers a viewpoint in which reincarnation serves as a means for perpetual return to a distinct, treasured origin, devoid of remorse. In this way, cultural identity serves as a solid foundation, a place that consistently evokes a sense of home and a desire to return.

### The Lijadu Sisters' "Danger" (1976): A Musical Transcription of Political Critique

#### Danger



The Lijadu Sisters' "Danger" (1976) masterfully employs specific musical techniques to transform an interpersonal narrative into a potent political allegory. The 'dangerous lover' figure operates not merely as a romantic trope but as a precise sonic metaphor for Nigeria's post-civil war military regimes, characterized by political violence and economic instability. The lyric "you left long time and you left danger" painfully encapsulates the enduring structural damage inflicted by such regimes, a concept that is rigorously substantiated through the track's musical architecture.

#### Musical Analysis

**Rhythmic Foundation – The Cyclical Trap:** The song is built on a persistent, cyclical 16-beat Afrobeat groove, typically anchored by a repetitive, syncopated bassline and a steady, insistent rhythm guitar pattern (often referred to as the "tenor guitar" chop). This unyielding rhythmic bed does not develop or resolve; it simply continues, sonically mirroring the inescapable, ongoing societal problems of corruption and instability. This reflects the concept in African musical aesthetics where rhythm organizes time and social experience, here creating a feeling of entrapment within a dysfunctional system (Chernoff 1981).

**Harmonic and Melodic Tension: The Imminent Threat:** Over this cyclical foundation, the arrangement introduces dissonance and tension. The song frequently sits on a static harmonic vamp (often a minor key progression like i-iv), avoiding cathartic resolution. Tense, distorted wah-wah guitar riffs snake through the mix, their improvisational lines mimicking a state of anxious surveillance and imminent threat. The lack of a liberating chord change or melodic release sonically embodies the "danger" of the lyric; the music itself feels both captivating in its groove and hazardous in its unresolved tension.

The sisters' vocal performance is critical. They deliver the repetitive title chant "Danger, dangerous lover" not with vulnerability, but with fervent, declarative force. The accusatory line "you came into my life" is sung in clear, unison harmony, asserting collective female agency and accountability. This subverts the passive trope of the victimized lover and instead frames the narrative as one of testimony and indictment. Their intertwined voices, a product of their twin-ship, become a powerful metaphor for solidarity and resilience against the monolithic "lover"/state (Waterman 1990).

The relentless repetition of “danger” (over 15 times in the provided snippet) is a deliberate compositional strategy. This mantra-like, hypnotic repetition does more than emphasize the word; it induces a sense of claustrophobic dread, symbolizing how perpetual political crisis becomes normalized in the public psyche. The temporal lament in the line “for a long time I live my life in danger” is stretched across this repetitive structure, making the experience of chronic exposure to risk a visceral, auditory reality for the listener (DeNora 2000).

“Danger” emerged in 1976, a period of Nigeria’s oil-boom decadence and tightening military rule. As women in a male-dominated industry, the Lijadu Sisters’ performance here is an act of gendered resistance. Their strong, unflinching vocal delivery and their command over a complex, politically charged Afrobeat soundscape directly challenged patriarchal norms within both society and the music sphere. They didn’t just sing about danger; they constructed a sophisticated, three-minute soundscape that felt dangerous and unstable, thereby using musical form itself as social commentary. This aligns with the practice of West African artists using popular music as a vehicle for Aesthetic Social Analysis, embedding critique within the very fabric of the music (Olaniyan 2004).

Thus, “Danger” surpasses the confines of a breakup song. Through its specific musical components, the entrapping cyclic rhythm, the tense harmonic stasis, the assertive vocal indictment, and the hypnotic, claustrophobic repetition it creates a precise analogue for life under a corrupt and oppressive system. The Lijadu Sisters translated the collective fatigue and frustration of 1970s Nigeria into an innovative and timeless work of social commentary, proving their legacy not just as thematic observers but as masterful sonic architects of critique.

### **Gendered Vulnerability and Defiance**

As feminist pioneers in a male-dominated industry, the Lijadu Sisters channelled their experiences into a sophisticated form of coded rebellion, using their music as a platform for gendered criticism. A prime example is “Dangerous Love”, a track that functions as a sharp critique of patriarchal control and manipulation, directly paralleling their own professional battles against industry exploitation and artistic censorship. Musically, the song often employs a tense, shifting harmonic backdrop and a rhythm that feels simultaneously propulsive and unsettled, sonically mirroring the lyrical theme of treacherous relationships. The accusatory, declarative lyric, “you came into my life” is a potent subversion of passive female tropes common in popular music. This phrasing places the agency and the narrative voice firmly with the woman, asserting clear accountability for the harm caused by the male figure, a radical stance in the 1970s Nigerian pop landscape. Their signature interlocking vocal harmonies here serve not just as aesthetic texture but as a metaphor for female solidarity and strength in the face of patriarchal pressure.

This artistic strategy exemplifies what scholar bell hooks describes as using cultural production as a site of resistance, where “outlaw culture” is forged to challenge dominant narratives (hooks 1994, 5). By articulating personal and professional struggle within the framework of romantic peril, they safely yet powerfully denounced the broader structures of male dominance constraining their careers and lives, aligning with other African female artists who navigated censorship through metaphorical lyricism (Olaniyan 2004). Musically, the track merges traditional Yoruba rhythms with psychedelic guitar and drums. This fusion embodies cultural resilience, transforming “danger” into a hypnotic rallying cry that foreshadows Afrobeats’ global protest traditions.

### **Cultural and Social Context**

The Lijadu Sisters established themselves as incisive societal observers by diagnosing the ills of their time with remarkable clarity. Their music dissected Nigeria's post-civil war and oil-boom era from multiple angles, moving from internal communal flaws to external systemic failures, and ultimately proposing a philosophical path forward. They used their platform to transform prevalent societal anxieties into subjects of crucial public discussion, asserting music's role as a potent medium for social commentary and critique (Eyerman & Jamison 1998).

### **Exasperation and an Appeal for Cohesion**

Ultimately, their social commentary frequently culminates in a tone of profound exasperation coupled with a powerful appeal for communal cohesion. They achieve this not through simplistic optimism, but through music that fosters solidarity. The use of call-and-response vocals, a cornerstone of both African musical tradition and Afrobeat, literally enacts dialogue and unity within the very structure of the song (Waterman 1990). By giving voice to shared struggles from the personal venom of gossip to the systemic failure of economic promise. The Lijadu Sisters' music diagnosed societal fractures while simultaneously using collective musical practice to model and advocate for the resilience and unity required to overcome them (Frith 1996). The Lijadu Sisters masterfully explored the universal terrain of human relationships through songs that navigate the full emotional spectrum of love. Their work moves from the pain of personal heartbreak to the joy of communal celebration and, ultimately, to the hope of spiritual eternity, offering a nuanced philosophy of human connection that challenges simplistic pop narratives (Bradley 2017).

### **Conclusion**

The Lijadu Sisters' albums represent a sophisticated fusion of Afrobeat, highlife, pop, and traditional Yoruba music, creating a unique and innovative sound that exemplifies the dynamic, syncretic nature of African popular music (Collins 2007). Their lyrics provide a multi-faceted commentary, moving from critiques of political corruption to introspective explorations of personal relationships, resilient endurance, and spiritual love. Furthermore, their work serves as a powerful affirmation of cultural identity, deliberately using language and traditional musical structures to preserve Yoruba heritage. Through this artistic synthesis of diverse musical forms and profound thematic depth, The Lijadu Sisters established an enduring legacy as incisive social observers and celebrants of their cultural tradition.

When examined through the lens of postcolonial theory, their music presents itself as a purposeful endeavour to counter discourse. It confronts the cultural divides established by colonialism by fostering a dynamic, hybrid modernity grounded in Yoruba sensibility. Their songs serve not as mere artifact of the past but as dynamic frameworks for resistance and the assertion of identity. This theoretical framework raises the crucial question of their enduring relevance. It highlights the diverse contexts they navigated while shaping identity within a globalised landscape, resisting both patriarchal and political oppression, and employing art to bridge societal divides, an endeavour that extends beyond the confines of the 1970s. Their music continues to define contemporary society by offering an enduring paradigm of empowerment. It illustrates that self-awareness and authority emerge from a profound relationship with one's cultural origins, particularly when expressed through modern media. For contemporary audiences and creators, the Lijadu Sisters exemplify how genuine, socially aware pop music can serve as a medium for profound thought, a safeguard against cultural oblivion, and a driving force for individual and communal

empowerment. Their work serves as a vital reference for individuals using artistic expression to navigate the intricate issues of identity, power, and modernity, relevant both within African contexts and beyond.

## References

- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1989). *The empire writes back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures*. Routledge.
- Berliner, P. F. (1993). *The soul of Mbira: Music and traditions of the Shona people of Zimbabwe*. University of California Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. Routledge.
- Bohlman, P. V. (2004). *The music of European nationalism: Cultural identity and modern history*. ABC-CLIO.
- Bourdieu, P. (2018). Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste. In J. L. Curtis (Ed.), *Inequality* (pp. 287–318). Routledge.
- Bradley, A. (2017). *The poetry of pop*. Yale University Press.
- Bruscia, K. E. (1989). *Defining music therapy*. Spring House Books.
- Burnim, M. V., & Maultsby, P. K. (Eds.). (2014). *African American music: An introduction*. Routledge.
- Chernoff, J. M. (1981). *African rhythm and African sensibility: Aesthetics and social action in African musical idioms*. University of Chicago Press.
- Collins, J. (1992). *West African pop roots*. Temple University Press.
- Collins, J. (2002). The generational factor in Ghanaian music. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 15(1), 3–16.
- Collins, J. (2007). Popular performance and culture in Ghana: The past 50 years. *Ghana Studies*, 10(1), 9–64.
- Davis, A. Y. (1998). *Blues legacies and black feminism: Gertrude “Ma” Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday*. Pantheon Books.
- DeNora, T. (2000). *Music in everyday life*. Cambridge University Press.
- Diamini, S. (2003). [Review of the book Fela: The life and times of an African musical icon, by M. E. Veal]. *Popular Music*, 22(3), 393–397.
- Erlmann, V. (1996). *Nightsong: Performance, power, and practice in South Africa*. University of Chicago Press.

- Euba, A. (1989). *Essays on music in Africa*. IWALEWA-Haus, University of Bayreuth.
- Eyerman, R., & Jamison, A. (1998). *Music and social movements: Mobilizing traditions in the twentieth century*. Cambridge University Press.
- Fairley, J. (1984). La nueva canción latinoamericana. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 3(2), 107–115.
- Fanon, F. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. Grove Press.
- Frith, S. (1996). Music and identity. In S. Hall & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 108–127). SAGE Publications.
- Green, L. (2017). *Music, informal learning and the school: A new classroom pedagogy* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- Hale, T. A. (1998). *Griots and griottes: Masters of words and music*. Indiana University Press.
- Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who needs ‘identity’? In S. Hall & P. du Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1–17). SAGE Publications.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Outlaw culture: Resisting representations*. Routledge.
- Izu, N. (2023). *Music as social discourse in postcolonial Africa*. Unpublished manuscript.
- McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. Routledge.
- Olaniyan, T. (2004). *Arrest the music! Fela and his rebel art and politics*. Indiana University Press.
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon Books.
- Waterman, C. A. (1990). *Jùjú: A social history and ethnography of an African popular music*. University of Chicago Press.