

**BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH TO POLITICAL PROTEST: AN ANALYSIS
OF FELA ANIKULAPO KUTI, 1970-1997**

BY

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Certification

This is to certify that the thesis
Submitted to the School of Post Graduate Studies
University of Lagos
For the award of the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.) in Political Science
Is a record of original research carried out

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DEDICATION

To God: Olodumare,
And Baba Kayode, Akinola Oniwere;
Smart Akpan,
Then all African ancestors

t

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I am grateful to Olodumare, the creator, for giving me the portion of a doctoral degree holder during the course of my creation, and I salute *Orunmila baba agboniregun*, as well as the other *irunoles*, including *Jesus*, for guiding the destiny to maturity. Iba o!

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Eesuola, Olukayode ‘Segun
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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND TERMINOLOGIES

Yabbis: Act of casting aspersion on, or making verbal rebuttal at someone or an institution. Yabbis is one of the common methods Fela employed in his protest. The verb form of yabbis is 'yab'. Thus, in Fela's parlance, to yab a government official is to criticize or protest against his actions.

African Shrine: Fela's commune where he played his Afrobeat to a live audience and where he did his Yabbis and discussed political issues. The shrine was also meant for the worship of the African ancestors such as Ifa, Ogun and Sango, in protest against the established religions of Christianity and Islam which Fela considered as strange, colonial and indeed, destructive values being promoted by the dominant class.

Kalakuta Republic: Fela's residence that he declared independent in protest against the irresponsible and repressive Nigerian state. It was originally located in Yaba before it was burnt in 1978. Fela later moved it to Ikeja, in Lagos, Nigeria.

YAP: The Young African Pioneers: Fela's episodic social movement that was organized around his mobilizing cadre

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ABSTRACT

Most studies in political protest lack behavioral content. They focus on group actions such as industrial strikes, street demonstrations, riots and sit-ins; without explaining the behaviour of the individuals who partake in them. They also lack perspectives on the dynamics of factors that influence the behaviour of individual protesters as well as the forms that their protests take. Consequently, scholarly understanding of political protest appears narrow, and most theories that evolve from them are bedeviled with limited explanatory frameworks. This study is an exploration of the one man, self-styled political protest of Fela Anikulapo Kuti of Nigeria between 1970 and 1997. The study sought to understand the origin, nature and character of Fela's protest, the actual socio-political contradictions that provoked his protest, the dimensions his protest took, as well as the impacts that his protest has on the Nigerian socio political milieu. Using concept mapping and evidence-strategy techniques to analyze Fela's protest songs and key informants' responses, the study asserted that protest behaviour in individuals is often inculcated through socialization, and it transforms to protest actions when individuals react to certain socio- political contradictions around them. The explorative study of the Fela phenomenon generates the conclusion that music and deviant behaviour are possible forms of political protest actions, but the aspect of deviance may deny the protest mass supports, prevent it from transforming to social movement, render it misinterpreted, or even completely counterproductive. The study recommended that governments need to create effective institutions of grievances expression in order to prevent violent political protests in their political systems. In like manner, individuals who wish to champion socio- political protests should desist from such behaviour or activities that their societies consider deviant.

KEYWORDS: PROTEST, DEVIANCE, MUSIC, POLITICAL BEHAVIOUR,
PROTEST POTENTIALITY, PROTEST BEHAVIOUR, POLITICAL PROTEST
ACTIONS

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Political protest is a fundamental aspect of political behaviour; sharing theoretical boundary with concepts such as rebellion, resistance, contentious politics, agitation and social movement (Useem and Useem, 2001; Herring, 1989; Auvinen, 1996; Freeman, 1999; Eyck, 2001; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Schussman and Soule, 2005; Olafsson, 2007; Opp, 2009). Some scholars view it as deviant behaviour (Useem and Useem, 2001; Herring, 1989; Conway, 2000; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004 and Olafsson, 2007), while others take it as a normal form of political participation (e.g. Freeman, 1999; Schussman and Soule, 2005). Either way, what is undeniable is that some form of political protest or the other does occur in all political organizations, though the dimensions they take differ under different circumstances. This is why it cannot but keep attracting research attentions from social scientists around the world (Pickeng, 2000).

More so, recent occurrences around the world are compelling behavioral scientists to, more than ever before; intensify research efforts on the issue of political protest. Old cultures are changing. Protest volatile nations are becoming contented, while countries that would hitherto be adjudged politically stable or of low protest potentialities, (PP), are now enveloped in serious contentious politics. The French retirement age protest and the London high tuition uprising opened the scene in the close of 2010. By 2011 the trend had moved to North Africa where one-man's self-immolation protest ignited larger

citizens' revolt that forced former Tunisian President, Ben Ali, into dramatic exit after a twenty- two year rule. Tunisians now call it Benzoazi Revolution, so named after the man who immolated himself in protest against Ali's political regime. A few weeks later in Egypt, there came another political protest in which another man, Abdou Hamandah, set himself ablaze. The eighteen day imbroglio that followed did not only abruptly terminate the thirty years of President Mubarak's rule, it also eventually got the one time president and his allies imprisoned.

Also, what started as Hafiz Ghogha's one man uprising in Libya quickly snowballed into popular revolt that has now upturned the more than four decades rule of President Gadhafi. At the same time, and quite contagiously too, protest activities are threatening the regimes in Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Kuwait, Syria, Bahrain and other states in North Africa and Arab the League. Klingemann (1995) therefore made an accurate prediction when he declared that "citizens are becoming more critical towards politicians" (p. 1), and this being 'critical' often manifests in new dimensions of protest; suggesting why "we are now experiencing a flood of research and theory which purport to speak to the issue" (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004:533). This is particularly so in Africa where, according to Ekeh (1975), a wide gap still exists between the ruler and the ruled.

One element remains unmistakable in the foregoing cases: grievances of 'one' individual towards the political regime snowballing into 'self-designed' protest actions, drawing thousands others to move en-mass against regimes, attracting local and international

attention, as well as leading to changes in policies. Some form of curiosity then ensues: from where do such individuals come who take delight in protest and rebellious behaviour? What explains the type of protest action they exhibit towards their polities and how does our understanding of these issues and others assist in explaining political behavior in general and political protest in particular? Scholarly answers to these questions remain sketchy in the literature, and it explains why, with focus on Fela Kuti, the current study attempts to understand political protest from the behavioral viewpoint of the individuals who exhibit, trigger or engage in it.

Although Fela was born in 1938 and he schooled both in Nigeria and Britain , it was in 1970 when he returned from a United States tour that he became politically conscious, and from that period till 1997 when he died, he protested against the regime of military dictatorship and misgovernance in Nigeria, using his songs and deviant behaviour. His life during the twenty seven years under study was ‘protest personified’, and he corroborated this while answering a journalist who wanted to know his greatest achievement in his life. His answer:

The day I carried my mother’s coffin to Dodan Barracks (in protest), my brother, on the 30th September 1979, people of this country didn’t know what I faced on that day to do that... but, men, I had to do it... you see, they gave order to destroy the coffin that was placed in my house when I was in Berlin and I promised I must put it there. I knew I would succeed in getting it there but it was a big row...they wanted to shoot me and all that, but I came out of it. That is my greatest achievement in life (F. Anikulapo Kuti, personal communication, cited in B Hoskyns, August 1984).

The current study reveals how Fela's early socialization gave him protest potentiality; how his further exposure to wider social spaces in Europe, United States and later Nigeria increased the potentiality and inculcated protest behaviour in him, and how the regime of military dictatorship, corruption and bad governance in Nigeria later triggered his protest actions.

Fela's political protest action was multi-dimensional: he created the Afrobeat genre of popular music with an unusual style of "politically charged lyrics and anti-establishment politics," through which he periodically "launched comprehensive venomous critique of both institutions and individuals he considered as causes and perpetrators of Nigeria's reigning incredible anomie" (Olaniyan, 2004:4), he started and sustained a social movement, albeit episodic: the Young African Pioneers (Mabinuori 1986; Olorunyomi, 2003; Olaniyan 2004, etc.), and he formed a political association, the Movement of the People (MOP), with intention to utilize it as a platform for contesting in the Nigerian general elections of 1979. Fela also made an attempt to create his own state: the Kalakuta Republic, in protest against the Nigerian state.

Fela exhibited series of countercultural and iconoclastic behaviour to attack the dominant order in Nigeria. As a musician, his songs in many cases confrontationally addressed and protested against socio political problems in Nigeria and Africa, and the songs hit so hard that successive Nigerian governments, especially during the military interregnum, labeled

most of them NTBB, that is, Not To Be Broadcast (Olaniyan, 2004; Olorunyomi, 2003). Apart from songs, Fela also indulged in different deviant behaviour as forms of protest against the dominant political order during the period under study. So, unlike many musicians in his generation who either indulged in “the illusory notion of arts for arts’ sake” (Ayu, 1986: 3), or who simply sing- praised the ruling class to reinforce their incredible anomie (Olaniyan, 2004), Fela’s life and career metamorphosed into serious protest against the Nigerian establishment; and in such a way that had not been **witnessed (or studied?)** in the social sciences and humanities (Olaniyan, 2004).

Till date, majority of the socio political issues Fela protested against remain relevant in the politics and governance of Nigeria, Africa and the entire world (I. Mabinuori, personal communication, December, 2010). This suggests why Olaniyan (2004:4) declared in reference to Fela’s songs, writings and actions that “it is rare that the work of a popular musician intervene so cogently in current dominant problematics in the social sciences and humanities”. Corroborating Olaniyan’s foregoing assertion are the following words of a foremost Fela- influenced musician, Lagbaja, in tribute to Fela his mentor:

*When he starts to yab
Dictators go dey shake
Oppressors go dey fear
When he put mount for song
Philosophy go de flow*

When he starts to banter
Dictators shudder in alarm
Oppressors quake in fear
When he begins to sing
Philosophy issues forth...

(Cited in Olaniyan 2004:6).

Using such socio political concepts as "dictator" and "oppressor" to describe the targets of Fela's protest, and describing Fela's utterances as essentially philosophical, Lagbaja merely prompts a host of scholars who have explored Fela in several dimensions, asserting several issues such as his ingenious and unique creation of the political genre of popular music called Afrobeat (Oikelome, 2009), his political philosophy (Olaniyan, 2004), Fela as a 'moral reformer' (Olaniyan, 2004), a cultural nationalist (Olorunyomi, 2003), a protest musician (Ayu 1986), and, to mention just a few, a socio-political soothsayer who constantly saw the political tomorrow of Nigeria and indeed Africa (Mabinuori, 2003). Against this background, there is need to explore the issues surrounding Fela's political protest that manifested in music and deviant behaviour between 1970 and 1997.

The thesis here, therefore, is that Fela Anikulapo Kuti, one individual citizen of Nigeria, exhibited serious protest against the dominant socio-political order in his country between 1970 and 1997, using music and series of anti establishment behaviors. Fela's protest had significant impact in the polity, but it could not manifest in popular movement due to certain controversies that surrounded his behaviour.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Some scholars have long asserted that "the behavioral approach to politics identifies the behaviour of individuals or group of individuals as the primary unit of analysis" (Eldersveld and Katz 1961:7); and many others share their view: (Dahl, 1961; Herring,

1989; McAllister, 2007 and Heath, 2007). Rose (2007) asserts that the study of political behaviour is typically concerned with individual behaviour (p.283). In fact, Dalton and Klingemann (2007: vii) further assert that without focusing research attention on individual's political behaviour, "we cannot systematically study what citizens actually believe and how they act".

The truism of this position is obvious: most political protests are triggered by individuals. These individuals have different socio political contradictions they protest against, and they often adopt methods that are unique to them in carrying out their protests. Mahatma Gandhi's non- violent protest manifested in hunger strike and street march, Martin Luther King's manifested in mass civil disobedience, Noam Chomsky's in firebrand antiestablishment writings, while Gani Fawehinmi of Nigeria protested through numerous judicial actions against the State.

In spite of the forgoing trajectory, most studies in political protest still basically adopt the group, macro perspectives. Their analyses are based on the group forms of political protest such as strike, street march, civil disobedience and riots. They seldom focus on the protesting individual; "the lives of such individuals as they are lived day to day, moment by moment; the individual's affect, desires and frustrations" (Labinjoh, 1982:120). Consequently, available literature and theories of political protest lack potent explanatory capacity in terms of origin, development and dynamics of manifestation.

So, if Fela as an individual utilized his own methods: music and deviant behaviour to exhibit stern protest against the interregnum of corruption, nepotism, neocolonialism, imperialism, military repression and misgovernance in Nigeria between 1970 and 1997 to the extent of provoking reactions and attentions even in the international community, and if other individuals continue to exhibit political protest actions that are unique to them in their respective polities as demonstrated in Benzoazi's recent self-immolation in Tunisia, it becomes imperative to study what is essentially peculiar about such individuals whose lives appear to be protest embedded; to explore how they acquire their protest behaviour, the factors that trigger their protest actions, the dimensions their protests take and why they take them, as well as the impacts their protests have on their political environments.

It is in this light that the present study attempts to explore and interrogate Fela's political protest, with emphasis on typology, etiology and morphology, so that, among other things, it can provide generalized explanation for how men get pre disposed to protest, how they cultivate protest behaviour, why they exhibit protest action against their political systems at particular points in time, the several dimensions their protest actions may take; then the impact as well as contemporary relevance of their protest in their immediate environments and beyond.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of this study is to explore the nature and character of the political protest of Fela Anikulapo Kuti in Nigeria between 1970 and 1997. The specific objectives are to:

- i. Explain the form, root and patterns of evolution of Fela's political protest
- ii. Ascertain the political regime that ignited Fela's protest actions in Nigeria between 1970 and 1997
- iii. Highlight and situate the dimensions of Fela's political protest actions
- iv. Assess the impact and contemporary relevance of Fela's one man political protest

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The political protest of Fela Anikulapo Kuti contributed immensely to local and international political consciousness, culture of resistance, and general social change in Nigeria. This current study intends to systematically explain, interrogate and document Fela's songs and behaviour within the context of political protest in Nigeria. In one of songs, *Beasts of No Nations* (1989) for instance, Fela protests against the discriminatory international human rights practices and the haphazard composition of the United Nations Security Council in the heat of Apartheid in South Africa. *Akuna Kuna Senior Brother of Perambulator* (1989) addresses the question of citizenship and abuse of authority by the Nigerian governments and their agents. Also, it was Fela's Song, *Zombie* (1977) - a mockery of the repressive Nigerian military regime and its insensitivity to the socio-economic plights of the citizens- that led to the hurried formulation and implementation of the NTBB (Not To Be Broadcast) policy by the then Nigerian Broadcasting Company and Ministry of Communication.

In terms of his deviant, anti-social behaviour, Fela's declaration of the Kalakuta Republic was aimed at what Osaghae (1999) refers to as "exiting from the state", and it gives insight to the fundamentally flawed state-citizen power relations in Nigeria and most parts of Africa. It was in reaction to the increasing radicalization of youths that populated the Kalakuta Republic and patronized Fela's night club, the African Shrine, that the Lagos State Police Command introduced Wandering Offence in the early 80s, (Olorunyomi 2003:17), though the same military government also nominated Fela to serve on the Nigerian National Participation Committee of FESTAC 77; as well as on the Lagos State Police Community Relations (Mabinuori, 2003; Olaniyan, 2003).

It is then easy to understand why Olorunyomi (2004) laments that "there are far too few critical works on Fela's immense contribution to social change" (p. xxiii). While it is notable that Fela got into series of contradictions and controversies while his protest lasted in Nigeria- a situation that made one of his close friends, John Howe (1997) declare that Fela "had no interest in perfect philosophical correctness," and that "contradictions of sometimes painful sorts were apparent in his own life and household" (cited in Olaniyan, 2004:158), this type of study remains significant because it intends to explore and explain certain germane issues around Fela's political protest in a bid to arrive at some theoretical explanations; after all, as Mabinuori, (1986:6) puts it, "in order to judge a man correctly, one must have a deep knowledge of the man".

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- i. What is the form, root, as well as pattern of evolution of Fela's political protest?
- ii. What political regime ignited Fela's protest actions in Nigeria between 1970 and 1997?
- iii. How did Fela exhibit his political protest actions, and in what perspectives?
- iv. Are there some impacts and contemporary relevance traceable to Fela's one man political protest?

1.5 SCOPE AND DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The scope cum delimitation of a typical doctoral research addresses a specific aspect of a large phenomenon and locates it within a section or sub-section of a discipline, preferably within a particular time frame (Turabian, 2007). In its scope, this current study focuses on the political protest of Fela Anikulapo Kuti's songs and deviant behaviour, and tries to situate it within a sub-field of Political Science- political behaviour.

In other words, though Fela the research eponym provokes research attention from different disciplines such as psychology, sociology, music, ethics, anthropology, psychiatry and metaphysics, the current study focuses on the political aspect not only because the degree in view is Ph.D Political Science, but also, as Olaniyan, (2004:4) argues, because "it was the political Fela that subsequently became the Fela; the only one worthy of knowing and celebrating worldwide today".

The time frame, 1970 -1997 is so chosen because it was the political period of Fela's songs and activities. Fela was almost completely not political before 1970 though he had high potentiality to be, due to his socializing family environment. It was immediately after he returned from his musical tour of the United States in 1970 that he began to exhibit certain degrees of political consciousness and criticism that later snowballed into such political protest actions as Afrobeat, civil disobedience and deviant behaviour that lasted till his death in 1997.

1.7 CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

1.6.1 Afrobeat: Formed from the morphemes 'Afro' and 'beat', Afrobeat is Fela-invented genre of popular music. He used it as one of his political protest actions based on his philosophy of 'music is the weapon'.

1.6.2 Deviant Behaviour: Activities that violate popular social norms in a particular society. In Nigeria where the current study is being conducted, activities such as alcoholism, smoking, substance abuse, being nude in public, wearing of body exposing dresses, open practice and discussion of sexual activities, patronizing prostitutes and refusal to acknowledge popular religions, among other things, constitute major deviant behavior. People who partake in these activities are called deviants.

1.6.3 Protest Potentiality: Internalized tendencies to habitually query and resist established dominant practices, ideas, beliefs and norms due to social background and circumstance.

1.6.4 Protest Behaviour: Antagonistic habits towards popular customs, beliefs, practices, ideas, policies as well as occurrences that most others will ordinarily take for granted. Protest behaviour is often silent in people, but it is convertible to action especially when certain circumstances provoke it.

1.6.5 Protest Actions: Varieties of ways in which individuals or group openly exhibit protest. Such ways include but are not limited to street demonstration, riot, songs, counter cultural behaviour, self- immolation, suicide bombing, industrial and hunger strike. Unlike protest behaviour that is general, protest action is often branded in a particular form, and it is targeted at particular issue.

1.6.6 Political Protest: This is the general act of expressing aversion for, and showing resistance towards some social, economic, cultural, religious and political issues, and its action is often targeted at the political machinery which the protesters either feel is the cause of, or is empowered to address the contradiction(s) they protest against.

1.6.7 One-man Political Protest: Both protest behaviour and action that only one man exhibits against political authorities. Such one man action manifests in several forms as suicide bombing, songs, writing, hunger strike, self-immolation, etcetera; and it is capable of moving or mobilizing others for protest.

1.6.8 The Fela Phenomenon: This refers to the complexity of musical and extra musical activities that Fela exhibited in the course of his political protest in Nigeria and across Africa. As perceived by this study, the phenomenon ranges from his protest songs, civil

disobedience, struggle to exit the state, celebration of sexual orgies, smoking, and other counter cultural behaviors that were traceable to Fela during the period under study.

1.6.9 Peculiar Terminologies and Acronyms

i. **Yabbis:** Act of casting aspersion on, or making verbal rebuttal at someone or an institution. Yabbis is one of the common methods Fela employed in his protest. The verb form of yabbis is 'yab'. Thus, in Fela's parlance, to yab a government official is to criticize or protest against his actions.

ii. **African Shrine:** Fela's commune where he played his Afrobeat to a live audience and where he did his Yabbis and discussed political issues. The shrine was also meant for the worship of the African ancestors such as Ifa, Ogun and Sango, in protest against the established religions of Christianity and Islam which Fela considered as strange, colonial and indeed, destructive values being promoted by the dominant class.

iii **Kalakuta Republic:** Fela's residence that he declared independent in protest against the irresponsibility and repression of the Nigerian state against her own citizens. Originally located in Yaba, Kalakuta was burnt in 1978 and Fela later moved it to Ikeja, both in Lagos, Nigeria.

iv. **YAP:** The Young African Pioneers: Fela's episodic social movement that was organized around his mobilizing cadre

v. **Zombie:** Soldiers

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Behavioral approach to the study of politics “seeks to examine the behaviour, actions and acts of individuals rather than characteristics of institutions such as legislature, executive and judiciary” (Walton, 1985:2), and how they operate within the political system. Its origin is often associated with the 1930 works of Charles Merriam who emphasized the importance of examining political behaviour of individuals and groups, rather than only considering how they abide by legal or formal rules (Grigsby 2011:15). Traditionally, the study of politics was legalistic, normative and based on institutions, and this certainly made it challenging for it to explain and understand the political behaviour of people within their political environments. It was the need to overcome this shortcoming and achieve a better understanding of politics that gave birth to the “behavioral revolution” in the United States. The revolution was championed by scholars such as Dahl (1961), and Easton (1961). Its main aim is to “explain behaviour with an unbiased, neutral point of view” (Walton 1985:2), using methods such as sampling, scaling statistical analysis and interviewing (Petro, 1995).

Many scholars however antagonized the behaviouralist innovation right from its inception. Waldo (1975) for instance believed that it was a complex and unclear idea whose adoption may pollute the study of politics. This is also supported by Easton, (1962) and Riemer (1997). In fact, David Easton calls it “individual reductionism” (Cited

in Baer, Jewel and Lee 1991:207), based on the fact that it focuses on individuals as against institutions. Also, because it tries to move away from philosophizing and moralistic judgments, Riemer (1997) declared that it is an approach that lacks ethical consideration (p.51). These perceived shortcomings opened another chapter in the history of political science: post behaviouralism.

Whatever the shortcomings of behaviouralism or behavioral approach to the study of politics, it is undeniable that its aim is to assist the political scientist to improve his understanding of political phenomenon in the society. One key aspect of such phenomenon is political protest.

Hollander and Einwohner (2004) observed that all forms of resistance politics are ever “fashionable”- political protest and social movement inclusive- and they continuously attract research interest across disciplines such as “Anthropology, Cultural Studies, Women Studies, Geography and Political Science” (2004:533). This suggests why scholars from the aforementioned disciplines and beyond have done extensive studies on political protest and social movement: their conceptualization, why and where they occur, the several ways in which they occur, and, among others, the class or category of people that often engage in them. Approaches differ considerably; because protest, social movement, activism, rebellion and other related concepts are often categorized as resistance or contentious politics, and are, subsequently, often interchangeably used in the political behaviour literature.

This is why some scholars discuss political protest along with social movement (see Auvinen, 1996; Edelman, 2001; Schussman and Soule, 2005; Opp, 2009), while others either discuss the two concepts separately (Eyck, 2001; Olafsson, 2007), or do so in conjunction with other aforementioned related concepts (See Useem and Useem, 2001; Herring, 1989; Freeman 1999; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004). However, since, as far as contentious behaviour is generally concerned, “protest and social movement are the terms that are most of the time used to describe the field of study” (Opp, 2009: 29), this literature review shall focus on protest and political protest. The review will however be bi patterned: the superordinate which focuses on the subject matter of political protest, and the subordinate which focuses on the political protest of the research eponym, Fela Anikulapo Kuti.

What follows is a review of the literature on the subject matter of political protest. The review is compartmentalized into several areas that are considered relevant to the present study. It touches on many concepts: social movement, resistance, activism etcetera, that share theoretical boundary with political protest.

According to Auvinen (1996), “Political protest consists of demonstrations, riots and strikes which have an expressed political target and/or involve conflict behaviour against the political machinery (p.78). Auvinen highlighted a number of factors that often lead to political protest through what he called “conceptual model.” He posited that bad

economic performance in a state, ethnic dominance, authoritarian political regime, and low level of economic development often lead to relative deprivation, especially amongst the urban middle classes and youths, who, as he claimed, are the direct victims of such socio- economic situations.

Resting his position on Ted Gurr's deprivation theory, Auvinen asserted that relative deprivation among the category of people mentioned in the above paragraph would often provoke political protest, but with the caveat that the political environment must be conducive for such protest and collective action to manifest. He also identified three typologies of political protest: political demonstrations, riot and political strike; clarifying that "a political demonstration is an organized, non-violent protest by a group of citizens, (who may eventually get into violence), a riot is any violent demonstration or clash of a group of citizens, and a political strike is any form of industrial strike by industrial workers, government employees or students" (Auvinen 1996:383).

From the above, Auvinen's understanding of protest interprets that poor economic performance, ethnic dominance, as well as low level of economic development, among other factors, lead to relative deprivation which in turn leads to rebellion and, or political protest if, as he insisted, the political space is conducive. Auvinen further asserted that protests are likely to occur in urban settings than the rural areas due to the overwhelming presence of the middle class and the youth who are often the immediate victim of harsh socio-economic conditions. Notably, Auvinen described the context that is conducive for

political protest as a “democratic political environment” which permits “individual and group political association and expression” (p. 383). He added that protests were likely to occur more in areas where protests had been previously held successfully (p. 384).

Then comes the views of Opp (2009) who did not only conceptualize protest, as Auvinen did in the foregoing, but also, through exploration of many definitions from the literature, clearly situated it as a form of political behaviour. He observed that “protest and social movement are the terms that are most of the time used to describe the field of study” (p. 29), and, because of that, he collectively explored, interrogated and attempted to synthesize most of the similar and constantly interchangeably used concepts: protest, resistance, contentious politics, social movement, activism and social movement organizations. Opp however did not highlight different definitions for protest and social movement; he merely asserted that the two referred to “behaviour” (p. 30) of some people who are “makers of claims” (p. 35).

Charles (1996) conceptualized contentious politics generally, while, as many other scholars in the field did, supporting the inseparability of political protest and social movement viz a viz other concepts around them. In fact, he asserted, “Relating social movement to all forms of contentious politics should enable us to locate the former more effectively in relation to institutions, political alignments and long term political struggles” (p.2). Charles eventually defined contentious politics as “contentious activities on the part of claimants, or those who claim to represent them, relying, at least in part, on non- institutional forms of interaction with elites, opponents or the state” (p. 3). He

however took the further step of isolating social movement as “sustained challenges to power holders in the name of disadvantaged population living under the jurisdiction or influence of those power holders” (p. 3). As perceived by another scholar, political protest “refers to public group activities utilizing confrontation politics to apply stress to specific target for the purpose of affecting public policy” (Tercheck, 1974:133, cited in Kritzer, 2001:630).

The foregoing positions imply that political protest, social movement and other forms of contentious politics constitute one form of political behaviour exhibited by some people in a polity (Turner, 1969; McCarty and Zald, 1973, 1977; Tarrow, 1998; Mc Adam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001). Opp asserted that while “protest refers to behaviour, there is disagreement on what form of behaviour constitutes protest,” amongst other contentious political activities as boycott, sit-ins, street blockage, riot, arson, terrorist attack, hunger strike and suicide bombing. This position is also shared by other scholars such as Mendes (1999), Jonathan (2003) and Olafsson (2007) who believe that riot, terrorism and suicide bombing are also non institutional forms of relating to the authority, and that it might be difficult to clearly dichotomize them from protest. Although it is evidently clear from the above that protest refers to behaviour, conceptions of both political protest and social movement remains largely fussy, especially when discussed synonymously with concepts such as rebellion, resistance and others earlier identified.

However, if protest is a form of political behaviour, what form of political behaviour is it? Is protest, as well as every other contentious behaviour normal, and comparable to, say, political skepticism and apathy; or is it deviance as many will categorize riot and suicide bombing for instance? Schussman and Soule (2005) attempted a response. They noted that many scholars in the social sciences consider activities of political protest and social movement as political misnomer, while other activities such as voting and apathy are considered 'regular' forms of political behaviour (p.1083). Such scholars in the number of Useem and Useem (2001), Herring (1989), Conway (1989; 2000), Hollander and Einwohner (2004) and Olafsson (2007) asserted that protest is a non-conventional form of political participation, and that it was not only unconventional and defiant, but also, in the words of Useem and Useem (2001) "a high risk political behaviour".

But Schussman and Soule (2005) contended the position of these scholars, and asserted that political protest activities and social movement are "inherently political", not a misnomer, and that they had become "a taken for granted part of the repertoire of citizens' political activities" (p.1084). They observed that resistance, political protest and other contentious activities increase as voting and other forms of political participation decrease, and that since they share such compensatory roles, "it makes little sense to limit analysis of political participation to voting and electoral activities"(p.1084) without including political protest as a normal regular part. Some profound scholars: Schussman and Soule (2005) Charles (1996) and Jasper (1998) also considered political protest as one of the many forms of interacting with elites, opponents or the state. To

these scholars, political protest and other forms of contentious politics are merely some people's forms of political participation.

Similarly, and in what appears a psycho analysis of contentious politics, Kaplan and Xiaoru (2000) posited that political protest is deviant behaviour, and that individuals who participate in it often do so in order to compensate for some lacuna in their personality or achievement. They highlighted the works of some scholars: Zurcher and David (1981) Klapp (1969) Turner (1969) and Hoffer (1951) who "have hypothesized that participation in social movement reflects the need to increase one's self feelings of self-worth, or to reduce a person's feeling of unworthiness" (p. 599). In addition to this, Kaplan and Xiaoru asserted that while participating in social movement and protest, social tasks that are ordinarily too heavy for an individual to attain become easy in groups (p. 599). In other words, political protest can also be a form of defense mechanism, as well as compensatory behaviour or action.

Kaplan and Xiaoru however lamented the refusal of political activists and radicals to accept this postulation for ego reasons, a situation which, as they claimed, has led to a three decade abandonment of the paradigm. They then re-stated the need to return to this psycho- analytical paradigm for comprehensive understanding of political behaviour. It was on this ground that they revisited the issue of self enhancement and actualization in political behaviour of protest, and then arrived at the finding that the long time abandonment of their theory notwithstanding, till date, "people in disability who

developed oppositional consciousness as a result of participation in rallies testified to feeling of being empowered while protesting” (p.600).

Subsequently, Kaplan and Xiaoru (2000) then concluded that “ frequently, individuals affiliate with social movement activities because participation in such activities will have self-enhancing consequences, particularly under conditions where they perceive themselves subject to patterns of injustice composed by the conventional order” (p. 613).

But Conway and Feigart (1976), as well as many other socialization theorists would not agree with this position as they asserted clearly that the form of political behaviour that an individual exhibits -protest or apathy notwithstanding- is primarily a function of agents of socialization such as the family, the school and peer influence, not a matter of filling some gaps in their personalities.

Jasper (1998) attempted to showcase the emotional dimension to protest and social movement. He observed that all social actions have emotional undertone, political protest inclusive, and that protest initiators and their participants are often motivated by shared and reciprocal emotions, meaning, respectively, the sentiments they all share, either in terms of ideology or socio economic situation; or the emotion that they have would have built towards one another as a result of interaction and interrelationship over time. He reminded us that early study of protest concentrated on emotion, at a time “when crowd and collective behaviour, not social movement and collective action were the lens for studying protest” (p. 397), and that the practice disappeared around the 1970s due to

the emergence of new approaches to the study of protest. Gurr's (1970) deprivation theory is one of the new approaches Jasper referred to.

Jasper (1998: 20) cited Collin, (1990) as defining emotion as "the glue of solidarity and what mobilizes conflict" (p.399). He maintained that at all levels of protest and social movement: formation, action, sustenance and reinforcement; emotion played big roles in determining what happened. With this position, Jasper posed a fundamental question of whether or not the fact that emotion is involved in political protest and social movement makes them irrational or deviant. He asserted that scholars who conclude that protest and movement are irrational because they are emotional were all wrong. This conforms to the positions of Charles (1996) and Schussman and Soule (2005) earlier highlighted.

It is difficult to argue successfully- and one wonders if it is worth the trouble at all- on whether or not political protest and contentious politics are regular forms of political participation; after all, what is regular or irregular often remains a critical subject of debate in social contexts. A much more fruitful effort in the study of contentious politics is to seek to further understand why and who involve in political protest, then in what manner; and of what effects.

Why and how Fela Anikulapo Kuti reacted in protest action against the Nigerian polity between 1973 and 1997 are some fundamental questions raised in this present study, and

to answer them theoretically requires a critical exploration of Ted Gurr's (1970) classic, *Why Men Rebel*, as a start point.

First published in 1970, in the heat of political protest and social movement that suddenly resurfaced in the United States and began to spread among university students in countries of Africa and Asia (Lipset (1971), Ted Robert Gurr's *Why Men Rebel* remains a classic that has greatly assisted the social scientist in the systematic understanding of the causes of political protest, social movement, contentious politics, rebellion, political violence and revolution (Anifowose, 1982).

Gurr's explanation to why man rebel is clear: Man develops relative expectation as he lives in a particular polity, and whether or not he is a citizen, he expects the political system to meet these expectations. If these expectations are not met, man becomes deprived and subsequently gets frustrated. This frustration, in Gurr's widely accepted opinion, soon produces aggression which in turn snowballs to political protest, resistance, rebellion, social movement and all sorts of contentious politics against the identified causes of the frustration. Gurr's position has, over the years, evolved as a well-tested and accepted theory known as Deprivation theory, attracting association and support from other scholars such as Davies (1972) and Obeschall (1973). It is arguably one of the most consulted theories in contentious politics and revolutionary studies. .

However, widely consulted as it is, Gurr's deprivation perspective to protest is not without its criticism. Lowi (1971) for instance, criticized Gurr's theory as focusing excessively on causes and motivation of contentions, while "the spark of life" by which the "mass is to cross the threshold of organizational life" has received scanty attention (Cited in Freeman, 1999:1).

Also in contrast to the deprivation theory which claims that man rebels and protests because he is deprived, some structural functionalists: Parson (1963), Easton (1965), Lipset (1971); and some Neo Marxists, especially O'Connor (1973) have argued to successfully develop what in literature is known as legitimacy- stability thesis, which claims that man protests against a polity if he lacks confidence in the political regime. With little regards to whether or not they are deprived by the regime or the political system. Put directly, the legitimacy-stability school claims that "people translate their dissatisfaction for regimes into protesting against that regime" (Olson, 1965; Useem and Useem 2001).

Though this position does not completely negate Gurr's because it also implies expectation, albeit not material, it is yet sufficiently different from it in that it does not focus on deprivation. In place of deprivation it implies other reasons for man's dissatisfaction with a regime: ideology, party affiliation, religion, emotion, or even personal vendetta, ethnicity or race. The position of the legitimacy stability theorists also

reveals that Gurr's explanation is generic on the issue of rebellion, and lacks the platform to address political protest action in particular.

Useem and Useem (2001) also criticized the position of the legitimacy-stability theorists, but rather than develop alternative paradigm, they ended with what is best called 'modified legitimacy-stability thesis' where they claimed that legitimacy crisis was not, in its own, capable of generating political protest except there was "organized movement that can articulate grievances against the regime and translate it into effective, concrete, strategic programs" (p. 841). To Useem and Useem therefore, protesting or rebelling against a particular regime is a dual process: there must be disillusionment and hatred for the regime, and there must be a social organization that will serve as vehicle of transferring the hatred into protest.

In another light, prominent political scientists: Verba, Kay and Henry (1995), Putman (2000) Dalton (2002), Dalton and Alix Van (2004), as well as sociologists: Zurcher and David (1981) and McAdam (1986) have attempted to answer the question of why men protest. Their dual disciplinary position highlights three explanatory frameworks for political protest and social movement: "biological availability, political engagement and structural availability" (Cited in Schussman and Soule, 2005:1084).

These scholars claimed that whether or not an individual would partake in protest action depended, first, on his biographical availability, that is, “personal constraints that may increase the cost and risk of participation such as full time employment, marriage and family responsibilities” (Mc Adam, 1986, cited in Schussman and Soule, 2005:1084). They also claim that political interest and political knowledge-what they call political engagement- as well as the presence of interpersonal networks with protesters which they call structural availability, or, in the words of Passy (2001), micro structural account, are principal determinants of political protest and its participation.

Schussman and Soule (2005) however argued, after critical exploration and analysis of data used in testing the hypotheses of the combined sociologist and political scientists as indicated by Dalton, et al above, that younger people, not necessarily married or single, were more likely to participate in protest irrespective of their biographical availability. But even here, Schussman and Soule are a bit vague in their conceptualization of ‘young’.

But they also asserted that people were likely to protest because they were asked to do so (p.1097), a position corroborating that of Mc Adam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001:51), that “contentious political activities such as protest must be understood as developing through social interaction” (Cited in Schussman and Soule, 2005:1097).

Hollanders and Einwohner (2004) also observed that literature in political behaviour often equated the terms resistance and protest, or, at least use them complementarily, especially in “anthropology and political science” which they claim “have a longer history of thoughtful attention to resistance” (p.533). Stating the case of Modigliani and Francoise (1995) who define resistance as the act of “questioning and objecting” (p.534)- just as protest is- Hollander and Einwohner reveal, through analysis of what they call “published social scientists works” of Dunaway (1996) Robinson (1995) Mc Adam (1982), Morris (1984) Rapone and Charles (1996) Rupp and Verta (1987) Silvia (1997) that resistance is often seen as physical behaviour; that which involves the body, and that is why Modigliani and Francoise claimed that resistance “is most readily thought to refer to social movement” (1995:112).

Hollanders and Einwohner examined some cases of protest and resistance in Silva’s 1997 study of Hawaiian women, and Pickeng’s (2000) study of Northern Ireland women. They asserted that apart from physical body oriented activities, protest and resistance could also take the forms of hairstyle, incessant talking, or, in the opposite, just keeping mute. They however point out one technicality that resistance could only equate political protest if it is addressed or targeted towards the political or the ruling class.

In accessing some causes of political protest, especially the claim by some scholars that unemployment causes and increases the chances of such political behaviour, Mendes (1999) noted that the “high unemployment rate of the last two decades appears to have

provoked little political activism amongst the unemployed” (p. 40). This observation is contrary to what has been over the years assumed by many ideological divides, including the deprivationists and resource mobilizationists, that “high unemployment would provoke mass support for radical and revolutionary movement” (P.40). It also negates the direct claim of British sociologist, Paul Bagguley, that “declining protest results from centralized control of income maintenance” (p. 40). From this standpoint, the claim that biographical availability determines whether or not people will participate in protest and social movement activities, as advanced by Dalton (2002) and his likeminded scholars, has a great challenge ahead of it.

Freeman (1999) observed that scholars of political protest and social movements have not been very intense on the aspect of the immediate catalyst, what he calls “spark of life” of protest, and that the origin of people who organize and partake in protest, how they come together, and the circumstance that compel them to take part in protest have received little attention in political behaviour scholarship. Freeman observed and analyzed data from several contentious American politics of the 60s and the 70s, and then concluded that there must be a preexisting communication network or infrastructure that could spark up the spontaneous action of protest and resistance, and that such network must be cooptable, that is, containing a group of likeminded people who also share similar experiences and situations within, preferably, the same polity.

Observing that not all the time is there a social movement organization in place; Freeman asserts that a serious social crisis is needed to spark protest. Where that is not the case, that is, where the social movement is rudimentary not organizational, only an organizing cadre of one or more persons will institute protest. He explained how the Rosa Park's white seat saga of 1965 created a crisis that in turn led to the contagious formation of many civil right groups such as the Montgomery Improvement Association, National Association of the Advancement of Colored People and Congress of Racial Equality; to mention but a few; all in the USA.

With focus on the radical developments in the 1960s and 70s United States, Freeman highlighted that most movements and protests that occurred in the United States of these times were made possible due to the presence of likeminded blacks who were cooptable due to the discrimination they commonly suffered, and more so because they constantly met at the church and the colleges which served as what he called preexisting communication network. Thus, Freeman identified three essential elements of movement formation, either as organization or as values: preexisting communication network that is cooptable to the idea of the new movement, a series of crisis that galvanize into action and subsequent organizing effort to weld the spontaneous group together into a movement.

Herring (1989) also attempted to explain why men protest in the polity. Explaining political protest and social movement from the angle of political alienation, and

examining how two theoretical postulations: the mass society theory and the deprivation theory “point to variables which purportedly condition the various modes of political expression,” Herring observed that “those who are untrusting and who feel underemployed are significantly more likely to be involved as protesters” (p. 135).

All the foregoing exploration of positions and arguments in the literature of political behaviour reveal that there is a lot to be investigated about protest and social movement, and why men engage in them. This explains why Opp (2009) asserts that in the discourse of protest and social movements, there is lack of satisfactory theoretical construction to explain why some people protest and others do not, why protesters often damn the consequence of state repression and go ahead to protest, and why methods of protest differ from one polity and person to the other. These are the issues his book *Theory of Political Protest and Social Movement*, set out to address. As a very current text that explores many concepts, theories and perspectives on political protest and social movement, Karl Dieter Opp’s aforementioned book here requires a detailed review.

In his book, Opp first identified the characteristics of what he called “a good theory” that is needed to explain political protest and social movement, and recommended that what was needed is a socio psychological theory of high explanatory power that is, itself, explicitly and systematically explained in order to provide explanation to the macro and micro phenomena of protest. To him, a useful theory of political protest and social

movement must be generally applicable to human actions. This is what he calls middle range theory.

Opp went ahead to conceptualize protest and social movement by exploring a number of definitions from the literature. Because “ protest and social movement are the terms that are most of the time used to describe the field of study” (p.29), Opp in his conceptualization, explored, interrogated and synthesized an array of definitions of protest, resistance, contentious politics, social movement and social movement organizations- all of which are not only similar but also constantly interchangeably used. In the end, Opp’s findings are of three significant notes:

- i. That “all definitions agree that protest refers to behaviour, but there is disagreement on what form of behaviour constitute protest” (p. 30), amongst such ones as boycott, sit ins, street blockage and, riot, arson, terrorist attack, suicide bombing, and, the latest of them all, self-immolation.
- ii. That there seems to be more efforts in the social science literature to define social movement than protest, though the terms political protest and social movement are often interchangeably used (p.36).
- iii. Since protest, social movements, resistance, contentious politics and other identified similar concepts are all goal - motivated because the people involved in them are “makers of claims” (p. 37), It becomes inevitable for researchers to interchangeably use the concepts.

Opp concluded that no one definition was superior to the other in terms of determining the subject matter of protest, and that the best thing, as he earlier suggested, was to adopt a wide- middle range- definition because only such could enhance and facilitate a theory of high predictive power.

Opp gave an elaborate explanation –almost a resuscitating glorification- of the theory of collective action that emerged principally from Mancur Olson’s book, *The Logic of Collective Action*. He noted with dismay that Olson’s theory of collective action was one of the most controversial and most criticized in the political behaviour discourse, especially among scholars who utilized it to explain protest and social movements. In defense, Opp asserted that Olson’s theory merely addressed “actions of individual actors with a common goal in order to achieve their goal ” (p.38), asserting further that the theory was describing human behaviour on a generic note; not necessarily in terms of protest and social movement. Opp identified Fireman and Gamson (1979) as the main critique of Olson’s theory, and then accused them of having a misperceived judgment of the theory of collective action.

Opp went further to establish the relevance of the theory of collective action in explaining protest, stating that protest was a form of collective action of people of common goal relating to public goods and because social movement and protest contribute to public good, the theory of collective action can appropriately explain them. He used the case study of the mobilization of a Spanish mining village to elucidate the

micro and macro models of political behaviour and concluded that protest explanation that adopt the theory of collective action are “much more detailed than other approaches,” because they look at the individual as well as structures and dissect the interplay in these two different levels (p. 47).

Also, Opp addressed the resource mobilization perspectives – an old sociological paradigm of the social movement that is sometimes called solidarity theory, mainly originated by John D. McCarty and Mayer N. Zald (1977) who, according to Opp, were reacting to the deprivation theory of Gurr (1970), and his contemporaries such as Davies (1972) and Obeschall (1973). He observed that Ted Gurr’s theory of Deprivation was a micro-macro perspective, and that though the Resource Mobilization approach was also great, it needed a micro foundation to be able to withstand the status of Olson’s collective action theory.

Opp discussed political protest and social movement using the political opportunity structure perspective, also known as the political process model. He asserted that this perspective, which Eisnger developed out of a 1973 seminar paper, concentrates on the effect of the political environment “as the context within which politics takes place,” called “structure of political opportunities”, on protest and social movements. Quoting Eisnger, Opp noticed that:

Such factors as the nature of the chief executive, the mode of aldermanic elections, the distribution of social skills and status and the degree of social stratification, taken

individually or collectively, serve in various ways to obstruct or facilitate citizens' activities in pursuance of their political goals. Other environmental factors such as the climate of governmental responsiveness and the level of community resources help to establish the chances of success of citizen's political activities. In short, elements in the environment impose certain constraints on political activities or open avenue for it. The manner in which individual or group in a political system behaves, then, is not simply a function of resources they command, but of the opinions, weak spots, barrier and resources of the political system itself. There is, in this sense, interaction or linkage between the environment, understood in terms of the notion of a structure of political opportunities, and political behaviour (Eisnger 1973: cited in Opp, 2009: 11-12).

From the foregoing, Opp declared that the Political Opportunity Structure (POS) simply posits that the political environment determines and influences citizens' political behaviour. From Opp's analysis of the theory, it is clear that the POS is a macro position, and that it is at best a complementary theory of the Frustration Aggression model of Gurr, as the POS also recognizes the role of deprivation in protest activities and social movement.

Opp also addressed the collective identity and social movement activity as well as framing, and then attempted to show how the two of them influence protest and social movement in a way that other aforementioned theories do not. According to Opp, these two theories are "critiques of collective action, resource mobilization and political opportunity structures. It is not claimed that their substantive propositions are wrong but that something is missing in them: the actor is ignored" (p.127). In order to ensure that

the actor is not ignored in the current study, the next part of the literature review will focus on the research eponymy Fela Anikulapo Kuti, using what Dollard (1934) refers to as life history approach.

Labinjoh (1982) lamented that “most theories that came to dominate sociological thinking-structural functionalism and Marxism-to the extent that they are holistic in approach, neglect the lives of individuals as they are lived day to day, moment by moment; the individual’s affect, desires and frustrations” (p.120). Freeman (1999) also observed that scholars of political protest and social movements have not been very intense on the aspect of the immediate catalyst, what he calls “spark of life” of protest, and that the ‘origin’ of people who organize and partake in protest, how they come together, and the circumstance that compel them to take part in protest have received little attention in political behaviour scholarship.

Even Conway and Feigert (1976) who attempted to do a semblance analysis of immediate catalyst of political behaviour focus of issues of election and other forms of participation; they are quite quiet about the issue of political protest. It is perhaps in reaction to such scholastic lacuna that Freeman (1999) particularly wondered: “from where do people come who make up the initial organizing cadre of movement” (p.1), and concluded that it is because scholars have not been addressing their minds in the direction of this question that “so much theoretical literature on social movement concentrate on causes” (Freeman 1999:1) Labinjoh (1982) then recommended a kind of individual focused approach as a

way of understanding social behaviour, and as what is capable of giving compensation for the theoretical weaknesses he identified.

The present study seeks to, among other things, provide theoretical explanations to Fela Anikulapo Kuti's political protest in Nigeria between 1973 and 1997, and doing so demands some forms of judgment about the man, Fela. There is the need to judge Fela theoretically "correctly," and locate him within the context in which his protest took place. It is this need that informs the exploration of Fela's life in this part of our literature review, because, as Mabinuori observed, "in order to judge a man correctly, one must have a deep knowledge of the man" (Mabinuori, 1986:6). In doing so, the life history approach will be used.

As an approach, life history "is a deliberate attempt to define the growth of a person in a cultural milieu, and to make theoretical sense of it" (Dollard, 1934; cited in Labinjoh, 1982:120). This approach focuses on the individual as a prelude to understanding the society, and it will assist the current review in grasping a huge understanding of the political protest of Fela Anikulapo Kuti in the Nigerian society.

The main thrust of this part of the literature review will perhaps respond to the questions: From where did Fela come, to use Freeman's (1999) rather elegant language- who was able to confront the venal mercenary and ill-tempered post-civil war military of Nigeria

between 1970 and 1997? Under what family circumstances was Fela born and socialized? What forms of education and international exposure did he receive, who did he peer with, and what were the day to day situations, encounters as well as incidents that marked his upbringing and subsequently produced his political protest as a member of the Nigerian society, or, to use Dollard's (1934) terminology, Nigeria's 'cultural milieu'?

Literature abounds on Fela; and from diverse disciplines too: Political Science, Sociology, Music, History and Creative Arts; Gender and Women Studies. Notable authors who have written in and around the area include but are not limited to Moore (1982), Labinjoh (1982), Ayu (1986), Mabinuori (1986), Veal (2000), Schoonmaker (2003), Olorunyomi (2003), Olaniyan (2004), Oikelome (2009) and Idonije (2011, upcoming). Most of these authors assess Fela from musical point of view, and while a few of them attempt to relate his music to politics and agree that the family from which he emerged had a long history of protest and resistance to authorities, they however do not link Fela's music and politics to political behaviour that systematically developed over a period and eventually snowballed into action at a particular time; an aspect that the present study focuses on

Mabinuori (1986) for instance began his inquiry from pre-Fela's period. He highlighted one case of intra-family protest in how Fela's father, Canon I. O Ransome Kuti, who "wanted to be a lawyer," refused to preach in church throughout his clergy career because his own father had forced him to be a Reverend. Fela's father abandoned the pulpit and

took to politics of the left, and, “From his mark in Nigerian politics, one will realize that it was not Rev Kuti’s wish to become a pastor or reverend of any church or parish” (p.170.) Instead of being a voice in the Christian gospel, a job for which he was formally but unwillingly trained, Rev. Kuti, in protest, became “a voice in the Nigerian political arena. ...He was also the first president of Nigerian Union of Teachers” (p.17).

Mabinuori asserted that not only was Fela’s father a unionist; he also had records of several rebellious and anti-establishment behaviors to his ‘credit’, especially against the Nigerian colonial authorities. He revealed of Fela’s father that “As the principal of Abeokuta Grammar School, he never allowed any white inspector to inspect his school. The one who tried to, he flogged out of his school because he had insisted upon inspection after Rev Kuti had objected to it” (p.17). In another instance, this time a dramatic one,

He (Fela’s father) was passing through the premises of the military cantonment in Abeokuta with his cap on, when a soldier instructed him to remove his hat as he walked past the British flag. Rev I.O Kuti refused to obey the orders and the soldiers tried to force the hat out of his head with a bayonet...Daudu almost lost an eye from injury sustained from this barbaric act of Nigerian colonial soldiers...he protested bitterly to the authorities and, in the end, the soldiers barracks had to be removed from the heart of the town where this incident occurred, to the then outskirts of the town in Lafenwa (Mabinuori, 1986: 18).

From Mabinuori’s (1986) perspectives, and as supported by Labinjoh (1982), Robinson (1995) and Olorunyomi (2003) among other authors, one major reason Fela’s life was

laden with contentious behaviour is that he was born and socialized by a rebellious father; the same father who was his music teacher and principal at the Abeokuta Grammar School, Nigeria.

While Mabinuori concentrated on Fela's father's influence on his socialization, other authors gave maternal dimension to it. In fact, most of the authors posit that Fela's greater influence came from his mother Mrs. Olufunmilayo Ransome Kuti, who later changed her name to Funmilayo Anikulapo Kuti, in support of his son's ideology that Ransome was a slave name, and that whoever was called by it was suffering from 'colonial mentality' (See Anikulapo Kuti , *Colomentality*: 1981).

Labinjoh (1982) described Fela's mother as a prominent member of the National Congress of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) who led several anti-colonial and taxation protest against the British. He claimed that these activities were there for Fela to see and emulate, and that it was not surprising that Fela began to experiment his own method of fighting the establishment when he returned from the United States in the 1970s.

Another author, Shonekan (2009), dwelt more on Fela's mother, Funmilayo Kuti's maternal influence on him. In what she called "the bridge between mother and son" (p. 6), Shonekan asserted that Fela's mother did not only influence him in political activism and resistance politics, but also in musical composition, and the use of song as

weapon for fighting oppression. She also revealed that “Fela’s experience with activism began with his study of his mother’s political movements. As a child born in 1938, he observed her activities and became the most radical of her four children. His foundation had been firmly set by the time he left home for studies abroad” (Shonekan, 2009:5).

Fela’s mother was known in Russia. She met China’s Mao during his revolution, and, she, “like her husband was the first lady to do many radical things in Nigeria. She was the mother of Nigerian Nationalist struggle and the champion of the Universal Adult Suffrage who insisted on the rights for women to cast votes in Nigeria; she also made the Oba Alake, Sir Ladapo Ademola II abdicate his throne in Abeokuta” (Mabinuori, 1986: 19). This occurred in the highly patriarchal Nigeria of her time when most women would not dare venture such thing, thus explaining why it is very popular amongst authors (Labinjoh, 1982; Olaniyan, 2004; and Shonekan, 2009), that a son of this woman would ordinarily be born with protest potentialities in his blood. It is in defense of this hereditary and clannish position that Mabinuori declared that

Fela’s other brothers are no less forceful in their own specialties. Professor Koye Ransome Kuti (Fela’s elder brother) was known to have uncompromisingly defended showing of his films depicting the deplorable health situation in Nigeria on Scandinavian television when some diplomats questioned him on the matter. Dr Beeko Ransome Kuti is no less a strong fighter. He was the 1979/80 Secretary General of the Nigerian Medical Association...several industrial actions taken by the doctors are no doubt motivated by him and some other like-minded members of the NMA (p. 21). This is the legend behind the Kuti family. They are born fighters for social justice and total emancipation...Fela Anikulapo Kuti is only stepping in to the shoes of his ancestors (p. 20).

Whether the influence came from mother or father notwithstanding, the position that Fela was born into protest behaviour and that he was “stepping into the shoes of his ancestors” (Mabinuori, 1986:20) is well entrenched in the literature, especially the biographies.

But this clan paradigm to Fela’s political protest still requires more critical assessment for some obvious reasons. One, Fela was not the only child of his family, but only he turned out to be the real rebellious one; others, if at all radical, were gradualists. Second, and more important, Fela’s elder cousin, Professor Wole Soyinka, a socio political activist whose writings have also focused on the ills of the Nigerian society, and who revealed that Fela and he grew up under the highly political and anti-oppression home that the professor described as “Ransome Kuti –Soyinka tradition”, drew attention to the fact that “Fela had not always been political, at all, not at all”. “Matter-of-factly” he continued, “Fela was absolutely apolitical when he returned from England, and his music was purely for entertainment until his United States tour of 1969-70” (Soyinka, W. Personal communication, November, 2009), which turned him from what Olaniyan (2004) called the “apolitical avant pop hustler” to “the political Fela” (p.7-8). Moore (1982) Labinjoh (1982) Mabinuori (1986) Schoonmaker (2003) Veal (2000) Olaniyan (2004) Olorunyomi (2003) and Idonije (2011) also agree that Fela, in spite of his socialization from the family, was never political until a certain period of his life and career, though these authors differ on the very period of his being political.

Another aspect that requires clarification is that of whether or not the antiestablishment family to which Fela belongs explains his protest behaviour in terms of heredity or in term of socialization. Most authors who explained Fela's protest from the family point of view appear to assume that it is automatic that people behave along family tradition, and not in line with processes of socialization. Professor Soyinka is one of such people as he insisted in his interview that some people inherit behaviour from their family tradition, not necessarily through socialization.

Away from the family issue, other authors believe that Fela's political protest was also significantly influenced by his travel to the United States in 1969. Most of them revealed that apart from the formal education he had in Abeokuta Grammar school, Nigeria, and Trinity College of Music, London, Fela received a great deal of informal education and situated learning in the United States (Moore, 1982; Labinjoh 1982; Mabinuori, 1986; Schoonmaker, 2003; Veal, 2000; Olaniyan, 2004; Olorunyomi, 2003; and Idonije, 2010).

These scholars also noted that the period during which Fela went to the United States was the age of radicalism when several contentions such as anti-war and anti-racism movements endured. This is why Fela said "the whole atmosphere of Black revolution changed me, my consciousness, my thinking and my perception of things; I was educated" (Cited in Labinjoh 1982: 125).

For Fela who left Nigeria at a time when his people had been crippled by complications of colonialism: people who in collectivity who had been marred with complex and who continued to reject and even criminalize their own values; people who, as individual citizens had become voiceless and mentally low due to the repression and oppression they received from the post-colonial venal army, police and other agents of the state. So, when he got to the United States, and “at first hand watched individuals directly confronting the social system” (Labinjoh, 1982:126), Fela further developed the ability to interpret the social structure more critically and confront it when necessary, hence, the popular position that it was the 1969 tour of the United States that solely radicalized him. It was at this point that Fela’s protest behaviour became entrenched.

Labinjoh also explored the class dimension to Fela’s protest behaviour. Observing that “socio economic circumstances always constrain members of various classes to relate differentially to the social structure,” and that such has “implications for individual dramaturgical skills and therefore for the individual’s perception of social reality” (1982:122), Labinjoh asserted that Fela belonged to the middle class, and that unlike the working class that is often overwhelmed with scarcity of material values, the middle class often interprets social structures and “soon develop a theory of it” (Ford et al, 1971, cited in Labinjoh, 1982). Labinjoh thinks this class factor is the primary issue that informed Fela’s behaviour, and only after it should the issue of heredity or any other factors for that matter, be considered.

But even Fela's cousin, Professor Wole Soyinka would not agree with Labinjoh's class criteria as he insisted during his Key Informant interview that he came out of a lower middle class family, yet he protested against issues he perceived wrong in the society. Soyinka constantly maintained that protest behaviour is all about family traits, what he called "genetic transmission"

Labinjoh's class perspective is also theoretically opposed to Auvinen's (1996) explanation of protest. Auvinen asserted that poor economic performance, ethnic dominance, as well as low level of economic development, among other factors, lead to relative deprivation which in turn leads to rebellion and political protest if, as he insists, the political space is conducive. Auvinen noted emphatically that protests were "likely to occur in urban settings than the rural areas due to the overwhelming presence of the middle class" (p. 378).

While Auvinen believed that the middle class are likely to engage in protest, his own reason is that they often are the immediate victim of harsh socio economic conditions in the city (p. 383), not that they would often have conquered hunger and would have enough time and suitable environment to raise further questions about life and society as Labinjoh proposed (Auvinen (1996:122-123). Auvinen's position is however more common amongst other authors who claim that majority of those who supported Fela's protest and joined his informal social movement, the YAP, were members of the middle class and the unemployed urban youths. Mabinuori (1986), Olaniyan (2004) and

Olorunyomi (2003) all belong here. One can then argue, perhaps, that members of the middle class find it easy to initiate protest against the political system, while the lower class remains the tools readily cooptable for execution of the action. Apart from the hereditary and class dimension to Fela's protest, the nature of the Nigerian society where Fela lived at that time also captured the attention of authors in the literature. Fela's cousin, Professor Wole Soyinka, in 1990, after a deep reflection on the Nigerian state, lamented that "Let us not mince words; the catalogue of betrayal by our own kind as leaders is lengthy" (1990:117).

Sonekan (2009) described the Nigeria of Fela's time as turbulent and painful, and then declared of Fela and his mother, that "Both mother and son cultivated the following among the masses as a result of their knowledge and enlightened stance on the problems their people encountered" (p.6). These problems were clearly highlighted by Olaniyan (2004) and Olorunyomi (2003) as unbridled corruption, nepotism, executive lawlessness, military rascality and unrelenting repression

Although Fela tried to insulate himself from these problems by living in the Kalakuta Republic, which, according to Veal (2000) was an independent political space for maintaining a vehement opposition for the political authority of the Nigerian state, he yet soon realized that it was impossible for him to depart from the entire society. This is also why Olorunyomi particularly asserted that Fela was a creation of the Nigerian state, and

described his behaviour as resistance politics, counter hegemonic and act of social change.

Labinjoh (1982) gave another dimension to the Nigerian society that produced Fela. He noted that the discovery of oil in the immediate post-colonial era led to frustration of the masses and the embourgeoisment of the few who either belonged to the corridor of political power or were compradors who connived with multinationals to loot the wealth of the nation. Labinjoh noted that this situation choked the masses and removed them from the mainstream of government welfare, and Fela who had been exposed to the quality of life elsewhere in Europe and America, began to protest, and, at the same time create outlet for these people to support his political protest and even join his social movement, the YAP.

On the other divide is the explanation for how the society in which Fela protested that time influenced and reinforced his protest to the extent that he did not stop till he died in 1997. The contradictions embedded in the post-colonial Nigeria and her overdeveloped coercive instrumentalities created a Lagos urban audience which ordinarily would not initiate protest but would readily align with anyone who organized it along their sentiments. This situation served the dual purpose of positively reinforcing Fela's protest, and sustaining it for such a long period of twenty seven years.

According to Haralambos and Holborn (2004), "Deviance means to stray from the accepted path of the society; those acts which do not follow the norms and expectations of a particular social group" (p.330). Deviant behavior violates popular social norms, and majority of the society often disapproves of it and dissociate themselves from people who partake in it. Partakers in deviant behavior are called deviants. In Nigeria where the current study is conducted, activities such as alcoholism, smoking, substance abuse, being nude in public, wearing of body exposing dresses, open discussion of sexual activities and patronizing prostitutes, among other things, are often considered deviant behavior.

Haralambos and Holborn identify three dimensions of deviance: acts or activities that amount to criminality in a particular society; acts of inevitable deviation from social norms due to abnormal situation such as war, and acts that are against social norms but are tolerated or helplessly accepted because they are not criminalized, and as such, cannot attract prescribed sanctions.

Many contemporary sociologists "have come to recognize that interpretations of deviance are often ideological in their assumptions and implications" (Spitzer, 1975:1). It is this last dimension to deviance that forms the basis of the current study. More so, it is important to assert that due to the advantage of one group over the other, the society is in most cases prejudistic on what it refers to as deviance. In other words, even members of the dominant class do not agree on what constitutes deviance. People are often wrongly accused of deviance and once so labeled they get ostracized from the social platform for

life. In other cases, one social or ethnic group may consider activities of its rival as deviant and can so propagate in the society if it has better advantage.

Then there is the case of double standard, in which certain behaviour that the society attacks as deviant in some cases are completely ignored as normal in other cases, especially when certain interests are at stake and certain powerful people are involved.

Deviance has always been somewhat related to protest, but scholars differ considerably on the exact relationship that exists between them. On one hand are those who consider activities of political protest as deviant in a political arena (Useem and Useem ,2001; Herring , 1989; Conway, 1989 & 2000; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; & Olafsson 2007). These scholars perceive protest as a non-conventional form of political participation and “a high risk political behavior” (Useem and Useem (2001). On the other hand are those who argue that protest activities are regular forms of political participation; not a deviant form. They claim that political protest is a behavior that is “inherently political”, and a “taken for granted part of the repertoire of citizens’ political activities” (Schussman and Soule 2005: 1084).

Charles (1996) and Jasper (1998) also consider political protest as one of the many forms of interacting with elites, opponents, or the state. To them, political protest and other forms of contentious politics are forms of political participation. They increase as voting and other forms of political participation decrease, and since they share such compensatory roles, “it makes little sense to limit analysis of political participation to

voting and electoral activities” (p.1084), without including political protest as a regular part. By those who could afford to engage in them therefore, deviant acts and activities remain a form of questioning the status quo and the dominant order, and a perfect exhibition of protest actions against the authorities (Hastings and Thomas, 2009; Kong, 2009).

2.1.1 LACUNA IN THE LITERATURE

In the super ordinate part of the foregoing review, most scholars agree that political protest shares conceptual and theoretical properties with resistance, agitation and activism; including social movement, and that all of these concepts are often interchangeably used in the behavioral sciences literature (Useem and Useem, 1979; Herring, 1989; Auvinen, 1996; Freeman, 1999; Edelman, 2001; Eyck, 2001; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; Schussman and Soule, 2005; Olafsson, 2007; Opp, 2009). Most of these scholars also agree that political protest and its related concepts are aspects of political behaviour and forms of political participation, though they differ on whether the concepts are normal or deviant forms of behaviour or participation (Turner, 1969; McCarty and Zald, 1973, 1977; Tarrow, 1998; Mc Adam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2001; Jenkins and Klanderman (1995). It was Opp (2009) who however made the germane assertion that it is very difficult to typify any form of contentious behaviour as regular or deviant since all of their perpetrators: industrial strikers, protest singers as well as arsonists and suicide bombers often lay claims to, or protest against certain issues in their politics.

The reason men protest was also prominent in the review. While deprivationists maintain that men protest at the peak of their reactions to being deprived (Gurr, 1970, Davies, 1962; Obeschall, 1973; Esinger, 1973), Structural Functionalists such as Parson (1963), Easton (1965); and neo Marxist such as O'Connor (1973) especially give factors such as emotion, ideology, age, environment, marital status, regime type and others as determinants of whether people will participate in, or, on their own, initiate political protest action.

In all these, the deprivationists, the structural functionalists and the neo Marxists perceive protest as actions spontaneously reacting to certain phenomenon, and in so doing they appear to ignore the role of socialization of individuals in systematically creating protest potentiality that may manifest in behaviour and eventually actions when certain conditionality trigger them. Also by implication, these three theoretical perspectives appear to be restricted to group orientation on the issue of political protest.

The subordinate part of the review concentrates on Fela's life. Most works reviewed in this part agree that the family played a very cogent role in Fela's effrontery to confront the state (Olaniyan 2004; Moore, 1982; Labinjoh 1982; Mabinuori, 1986; Schoonmaker 2003; Veal, 2004; Olaniyan, 2004; and Olorunyomi, 2003), but they are silent on whether such family role was of heredity or socialization. Even at that, their positions are laden with prejudice towards what Updike (2011) calls youthful rebellion: a situation in which youths and other personalities who are socialized into a particular behaviour do not

manifest such behaviour but its exact opposite. This is evident in the case of Professor Olikoye Ransome Kuti who was of the same family tradition but did not turn out rebellious like Fela. Not only that, available works are also not very deep on how the then Nigerian political regime triggered Fela's political protest actions and the several dimensions they took while the actions lasted. Above all, there is much silence also about whether or not Fela's deviance was out of indulgence or was deliberately designed as supplementary protest action against the regime in Nigeria during the period under study.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In its simplistic form, "a theory is a set of ideas that provides explanation for something" (Haralambos and Holborn 2004:934). But, as rightly observed by Freeman (1999), most theories that have been used to explain political protest are essentially macro. Ranging from the Deprivation Theory, the Mass Society Theory, the Theory of Collective Action, The Solidarity Theory, the Political Process Model, Biographical Availability, Political Engagement down to Structural Availability, such theories often limit themselves to group action, ignoring the individual's internal aspect of political protest. Following Karl Dieter Opp's (2009) suggestion that any framework for adequate explanation of political protest should be a social cum psychological theory that, in itself, is systematically explained as one good enough for assessing the scenario from micro- micro perspectives, this study primarily finds solace in four theories for its analysis: the Social Learning Theory, the Political Opportunity Structure, the Legitimacy Stability Thesis and the Labeling Theory of Deviance.

2.2.1 THE SOCIAL LEARNING THEORY

The social learning theory tries to provide explanation for individual's behaviour in relation to his socializing environments. Propounded mainly by Albert Bandura, the theory posits that individuals learn not just what they know, but also what they do in terms of behaviour, from other individuals in the society, rather than from their mental initiatives. Bandura (1977) first developed this theory as a response to the need to fill the lacuna created in the dominance of some traditional learning theories which highlight an almost sacrosanct argument that reinforcement was the determinant of what people know and do. According to Bandura,

Learning will be exceedingly laborious, not to mention hazardous, if people had to rely solely on the efforts of their own actions to inform them what to do” He asserts that “from observing others one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and, on later occasion, this coded information serves as a guide for action (Bandura, 1977: 19).

Though often used in Psychology, Bandura's social learning theory is capable of explaining many patterns of behaviour: political, social and otherwise, perhaps resting on Anderson (2007) who claims that “A principal reason for the emphasis upon political behaviour research is the use which can be made of theories, concepts and techniques developed from other fields of social science” (p.1).

The social learning theory therefore has an interdisciplinary explanatory capacity in the area of behaviour. Bandura anchors the theory on the following five basic assumptions.

- First, that the individual's mind remains a tabula rasa when he is born, until he or she gets to the society where some agents of socialization will model it, determine the person's behaviour and condition him or her to certain form of citizenry.
- Second, that the individual begins his learning process through trial and error where his activities are either rewarded or resisted or ignored. Activities rewarded are positively reinforced while those ignored or resisted are negatively reinforced.
- Third, the individual's retention or otherwise of the behaviour is based on the primary reinforcer such as gifts, usually at childhood, and praise, from adolescence upward. So, by the time a child has developed into adulthood, he would have been fully molded.
- Fourth, an individual positively reinforces the behaviors that attract praise and attention to him while he desists from activities that can withdraw the praises and attention. The individual continues such behaviour even when there is danger, and with the fear of losing his praises and attention, he keeps on, even to the extent of getting to contradictions.
- Fifth, the social learning theory posits that learning follows the principles of reciprocal determinism, and that it is a causal relationship between the individual and the society where the society learns from the individual, the very things the individual

learns from it. This is a radical departure from the one-way claim of behaviorism which states that only man learns from the society and not the other way round. The principle of reciprocal determinism also implies that so long as man exists within and interacts with others in the society, he or she continues to learn new things that will influence his behaviour even as others learn from him too.

The issue under study conforms to the following assumptions of Bandura's social learning theory. Although born in what then could be called a Christian home, Fela's mind, like any other child's was quite open at birth, until he began to gather consciousness from his parents' protest behaviour and actions. This however created protest potentiality in him, but the potentiality did not immediately manifest into protest actions as it is observed that "Fela was in no way political until he returned from his United States tour" of 1969 (W. Soyinka, personal communication, November, 2009). This agrees with the position of Niemi, (1973) that "political ideas, like consumption of cigarette and hard liquor, do not just begin at one's eighteen birthday...for in their political habit as consumption habit young people are influenced by their parents and other family members and their school" (p.117). Fela's protest potentiality later manifested in protest behaviour and action, in reaction to the contradictions in the Nigerian society

There was also a sufficient level of positive reinforcement for Fela's protest behaviour and action. Fela constantly received praises and financial support from his mother who had lived similar life in her youth and probably saw Fela as emulating her. Praises of the teeming masses of the unemployed Lagos youths who readily found solace in Fela's protest songs, yabbis and other activities in the shrine also acted as secondary positive reinforcement in line with Bandura's thoughts.

Finally, a critical issue that distinguishes the social learning theory from other learning and socialization theories is reciprocal determinism. Reciprocal determinism perceives learning from causal perspective, and, as earlier highlighted, it claims that the individual learns from the society as the society comes back to learn from the individual. Clearly, and as the theory suggests, Fela who had been socialized into protest behaviour continued to learn from the Nigerian society, particularly through prominent members of his Young African Pioneers such as Femi Osunla, Duro Ikujenyo and Idowu Mabinuori. Reciprocally, while Fela's protest lasted, and even after the protest was terminated by his death in 1997, the Nigerian society began to take new dimensions in terms of resistance. Fela had demystified the government and the ruling class. He had exposed the venal and repressive nature of the police and the military, as well as resisted all attempts to silence him as a self-acclaimed one man vanguard of the people. Consequently, more Nigerians began to realize the potency of protest and resistance in the political system, especially because Fela's protest contributed largely towards abolishing some policies and practices such a wandering offence, and burning of traders items in open markets; and the people became more vocal and able to confront unpopular government via nonviolent ways.

The anti Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida protest of 1993 and the National Democratic coalition movement that choked the Abacha administration are good examples of what the Nigerian citizens learnt from Fela. The culture of resistance that Fela taught to, or banqueted on the Nigerian society also manifested in the anti-third term Agenda of 2007, and the sacking of Ando Aka and Maurice Iwu in 2010.

This is more evident because a large percentage of Fela's audience was the university students who are the elites of today. These people, when they analyze politics and discuss policies, often make reference to Fela and his protest music. Olorunyomi was therefore right when he declared in his interview, that

The greatest contribution of Fela to the Nigerian society is introduction of culture of resistance. Someone who ever could confront a post-civil war military could confront both God and the Devil.....that man has the ability to make people know that all impossibilities are possible; that was Fela Anikulapo Kuti (S. Olorunyomi, personal interview, December 2010).

2.2.2 THE POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE

What logically complements the theoretical analysis of how Fela cultivated and positively reinforced his protest behaviour is the question of the socio- political context or environment at which he targeted his protest action. This is where the Political Opportunity Structure (POS) comes in.

To understand Fela's contribution to Nigeria, society, and the academia demands a little reflection on the background to his political protest during the period under study. The Nigeria Fela left behind before travelling to the United States in 1969 was that in which the British colonial interlopers handed over political power to elite of weak economic background, and the elite inevitably had to steal wealth from the state in order to constitute a proper ruling class (Ekeh, 1975; Ake, 1981 and 1985, Amin, 1972, Ihonvbere, 1996). This is what Joseph (1991) refers to as prebendalism. Engrossed in prebendal politics, the Nigerian political elite could not work towards coalescing values that would institute hegemony, create social order and enhance quick socio-political development.

Instead, the elites concentrated more on developing coercive state instrumentalities for the dual purpose of abetting their looting and resisting possible protest from citizens. These contradictions led to military intervention in 1966, plunged the country to a thirty-month civil war, and finally truncated the process of political development that would have dialectically resulted from the crisis.

Now in control of political power, the Nigerian military elite weakened the civil society and its ability to set agenda. They also monopolized the instrument of information. The few non-government owned media houses were seriously cross filtered and sanctioned when they published anti state issues. This trend continued until much later in the 1990s.

Under the situation, there was lack of information on the part of the people. Freedom of expression as well as political association was restricted. Consequently, people remained helpless in the face of reckless kleptomania activities of the ruling elite. Amidst these there was mass unemployment, poverty, and decaying infrastructure. According to Olaniyan (2004:2), this is why Fela engaged in “comprehensive venomous critique of both institutions and individuals he sees as causes and perpetrators of the reigning incredible social anomie”. It also explains why Fela, in most cases directed his verbal rebuttal (yabbis) at officers of the state and members of the dominant class, as well as continually insist that he would engage in deviant activities not because he was a criminal, but as a way of spiting the dominant class in Nigeria (See ITT, 1979: Country of Pains, 1989; & B. Hoskyns, personal Interview, December 1984). It was under this situation that Fela’s Afrobeat music of political protest found its way across classes and stratifications of people during the period under study, in spite of the desperate efforts of successive Nigerian government to suppress it and its messages with their NTBB labeling (Not To Be Broadcast).

Fela returned to the Nigeria of the above description in 1963, and as the country moved from one crisis to another, the military intervened in partisan politics in 1966, plunged the country to a thirty-month civil war, and finally truncated the process of political development that would have dialectically resulted from the crisis. Now in control of political power, the military elite weakened the civil society and its ability to set agenda, then reckless kleptomania activities had field days pervading the system. Consequently, there was mass unemployment, poverty, and decaying infrastructure, even amidst

executive rascality, corruption and repression. “This background helps to explain why Fela devoted enormous attention to the political patron in order to undermine its symbolic figure, since it was precisely the patron-client relation that provides a sustaining framework for the manifestation of prebendal politics in Nigeria” (Olorunyomi, 2003:16-17); it also explains why Fela, in most cases directed his verbal rebuttal (yabbis) at officers of the state and members of the dominant class. ITT (1979) for instance was a direct attack on the personality of the then Head of State, General Obasanjo, and his close Friend, MKO Abiola, a business man who Fela considered one of the compradors of multinationals.

Also called the Political Process Model, the POS gives environmental perspective to explanation of political behaviour. Political Opportunity Structure, as perceived by its main proponent: Eisinger (1973), refers to the nature of the entire political environment in which his protest occurred, and its main thrust is that “the political opportunity structures have an impact on political behaviour” (Opp, 2009;1263); that the nature and character of the political environment generally determine whether or not there will be protest in the first place, the class and stratification of people that will initiate or participate in protest, as well as the forms and dimensions that their protest actions will take. It also addresses the type of reaction that the political system gives to political protest.

Eisinger developed this thesis out of a 1973 seminar paper, specifically to challenge Gurr's deprivation theory which had dominated the political behaviour explanatory discourse for about seven years, and Mainly from the point of view of psychology too (Opp, 2009). Explaining the Political Opportunity Structure, Eisinger declared that:

Such factors as the nature of the chief executive, the mode of elections, the distribution of social skills and status and the degree of social stratification, taken individually or collectively, serve in various ways to obstruct or facilitate citizens' activities in pursuance of their political goals. Other environmental factors such as the climate of governmental responsiveness and the level of community resources help to establish the chances of success of citizen's political activities. In short, elements in the environment impose certain constraints on political activities or open avenue for it. The manner in which individual or group in a political system behaves, then, is not simply a function of resources they command, but of the opinions, weak spots, barrier and resources of the political system itself. There is, in this sense, interaction or linkage between the environment, understood in terms of the notion of a structure of political opportunities, and political behaviour (Eisinger, 1973: 11-12).

The unmistakable assumption in the foregoing explanation is that political protest action is largely linked with the nature and character of the political environment of protesters. However, Eisinger's perception of political environment is rather macro and holistic, it addresses issues such as, but not limited to mode of elections, social stratification, distribution of social skills, social distribution and degree of responsiveness of government, and may not fully address the case of individual political protest actions because protesters, even as a group, often have issues their protests try to address. To the extent that we have protests actions on issues such as environmental pollution and racism,

with protester such as Ken Saro Wiwa of Nigeria and Martin Luther King Junior of the United States respectively, there is need for complementary theory that locates the exact aspect of the political environment that Fela Anikulapo Kuti was protesting against. The Legitimacy Stability thesis comes in here.

2.2.3 THE LEGITIMACY STABILITY THESIS

This theory will support and complement the Political Opportunity Structure earlier highlighted so as to explain the exact issue in the political environment that Fela was protesting against. Drawing from the content analysis of most of his songs such as *Zombie*, *Authority Stealing*, *Akuna Kuna*, and *Shuffering and Smiling*, Fela's protest focused mainly on the regime of corruption and general bad governance in Nigeria between 1970 and 1997. In doing so, Fela got positive reinforcement not only from his mother but also majority of the urban youths who refused to give legitimacy to the corrupt military regime that destroyed the socio-economic and political system in their country.

Legitimacy simply refers to popular or widespread acceptance based on what a group of people dominantly consider right or wrong; ideal and odd, that is if it is in accord with the dominant norms, values, beliefs, practices and procedures accepted by a group of people in a socio-political setting (Bendix, 1969)

We use legitimacy to denote the political domain. However, in the ordinary language, the term refers to any activity sanctioned by rules and customary practices...it refers to activities and beliefs widely acceptable to those in polity; the activities and beliefs polity members' relations

to one another and to the state as a corporate entity.
(Cohen, 1985:714)

The legitimacy- Stability thesis is a neo Marxian explanatory tool for political protest and social movement. Propounded mainly by O'Connor (1973), Legitimacy-Stability claims that man protests against the polity if he lacks confidence in the political regime, and that majority of the people in a particular polity will protest or support protest against a political regime that lacks legitimacy.

That regime that Fela was protesting and moving people against was a post- colonial one in which the colonial interlopers handed over political power to elite of weak economic background: elite who inevitably needed to steal from state wealth and economic base before they could improvise a 'proper' ruling class (Ake, 1981 and 1985; Ihonvbere, 1996). Members of this elite became predators in the process of stealing state resources, and instead of working towards coalescing values that would institute hegemony and create social order that would foster development, they continued to develop coercive state instruments for the dual purpose of abetting their looting and resisting possible protest from any citizen or group. With the manipulations of these elite, the police went venal and the military became mercenary, then the latter took over political power and continued to operate a forged, oppressive and kleptomaniac regime, playing politics of strategic exclusion and citizens alienation by totally hijacking and manipulating all sources of information.

In summary therefore, Fela was protesting against the illegitimate, corrupt, post- colonial military regime that held Nigeria to ransom between 1966 and 1999, and because the regime lacked legitimacy, Fela was, for a long period of twenty seven years, able to command support of many urban youths who could not on their own institute protest due to government repression, but saw Fela's African Shrine and Kalakuta Republic as places where they could listen to free political discourse, engage in political criticism and ventilate their anger against the political regime.

2.2.4 THE LABELING THEORY OF DEVIANCE

There are many theories of deviant behaviour: the Cultural Transmission and Differential Association theories which believe that deviance is learnt like any other behaviour, the Structural Strains and Anomie theories which explain that deviance is a response to social strains, the Control Theory which tries to explain why most people conform and then tag the few who do not as deviants, as well as the Labeling theory which sees deviance not as activities, but the name people give to them. Also available to explain deviant behaviour are other ones such as the Subcultural theories and the Medicalization theory.

Most of these theories lack the capacity needed to explain the study at hand. The Cultural Transmission theory that proposes that deviant behaviour are learnt like other behaviour, for instance, cannot explain the Fela case because Fela's parents were not traced to any major form of deviance. In fact, his father was a reverend gentleman, a great disciplinarian and moralist, and this leaves a big question on the possibility of the son's

learning deviant activities from him. However, the Labeling Theory will provide adequate explanatory framework for the case of Fela's deviance.

The labeling theory is a variety of Symbolic Interactionism, and it explains how different people or segments of the society interpret different behaviour and subsequently label them. Pioneered mainly by Becker (1963) and Spitzer (1975), the Labeling thesis argues that deviance does not really refer to acts and activities that are detrimental to the society as they are often portrayed; rather, they are mere sentiments of those who describe them. In fact, one of the main proponents asserts that

Social groups create deviance by making rules whose infractions constitute deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not the quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application of others of such rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behavior is a behavior that people so label (Becker, 1963, cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 2004:346).

In line with the above position, Chambliss (1973) in a research report observes that it is the powerful and influential people within the society who utilize the advantage of their position to label some activities as deviant and others as correct. Ranging from police officers, medical doctors, religious leaders, academics, politicians, and judges, it is often these people who label activities such as prostitution, sexual escapades, nude dressing, smoking, alcoholism and so on as deviant behaviour, and often without subjecting them to rigorous logical analysis, their labeling subtly passes down to the society and start

disseminating from one generation to the other. This is in line with the Webberian position that every dominant culture of the society is the culture of the dominant class.

In relation to the present study, the labeling theory readily explains why Fela indulged in most of the activities that the Nigerian dominant class consider deviant. Fela wanted to show that given their corruption, highhandedness, repression and moral decadence, the dominant class lacked the moral justification to condemn as deviant, his (Fela's) own behaviour.

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CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research method adopted is qualitative. The researcher prefers qualitative methods because this study is an explorative endeavor that intends to satisfy scholarly curiosity about the political protest of one person, by probing into the person's thoughts and explaining his actions. This choice is based on the fact that qualitative methods are not only good at probing into people's thought processes and situations, they are also suitable "when the key research interest is to understand the true nature of a complex phenomenon" (Ahonsi,1996:117).

3.2 STUDY LOCATION

This study was conducted in diverse places: literature and theoretical aspects developed in the University of Massachusetts, field work done mainly in Lagos where Fela lived and developed his protest and social movement; and where his bands, his Kalakuta Republic, his Young African Pioneers, his Movement of the People and other structures were located. The researcher also tapped information from Abeokuta in Nigeria, as well as Paris where Mabinuori Idowu currently runs a radio station that is dedicated to promoting Fela's music and ideology: www.radioshrine.com.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

The researcher gathered data from both primary and secondary sources.

3.3.1 Primary Data: The following are the primary data used in the study

(i) Key Informant Interviews

Freeman (1999:1) asserts that “most protest movements have inconspicuous beginnings...and the significant elements of their origins are usually forgotten or distorted by the time a trained observer seeks to trace them out”. Exploring the ‘inconspicuous beginnings’ of Fela’s protest and the several dimensions it took necessarily demands informed perspectives of certain people who witnessed his life and career; hence, the researcher’s decision to employ the Key Informant Interview.

Because they witnessed it all from beginning to the end, the Key Informants interviewed in this study assisted not only in providing explanation for the germane issues of how Fela was socialized into politics and political protest behaviour, but also the ways he exhibited his political protest actions, as well as the nature of the political environment that catalyzed and reinforced the actions he exhibit.

(ii) Population of Key Informants

The study sets out to engage four people as key informants: people who by virtue of having certain kind of relationship with Fela, would be able to provide useful information on the issues under exploration. The initial four key informants are

(a) Professor Wole Soyinka: Fela's cousin and Nigerian Nobel Laureate who, like Fela, was socialized under what the professor described as "Ransom Kuti/Soyinka family tradition". As Fela used his music to address issues in the Nigerian and African polity, Professor Soyinka is a poet and a dramatist/literary artist whose major works are directed towards protesting socio- political issues in Nigeria and Africa.

(b) Femi Anikulapo Kuti: Fela's heir apparent who has also chosen popular music not just as a career, but also an instrument of political commentary and protest. Femi reincarnated Fela's African shrine in 2002 and runs it till today.

(c) Benson Idonije: One of the oldest music journalists in Nigeria, Idonije and Fela worked together in Radio Nigeria before the former later became the first Band Manager of Fela's Koola Lobito band. He is currently writing a book on Fela.

(d) Sola Olorunyomi is a Senior Lecturer in the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan. He was a very strong member of Fela's Kalakuta commune. His book, *Afrobeat: Fela and the Imagined Continent* is a very prominent reference in this present work.

3.3.2 Snowballing/Serendipity

In a qualitative research of this nature, "the data collection process often entails some amount of improvisations and flexibility since preliminary observations or findings in the field may surface new leads that need to be followed in order to fully uncover the dimensions and causal factors that underpin the issues being investigated" (Ahonsi, 1996:117). So, although, the researcher initially identified four Key Informants that would provide supplementary data on Fela's political protest-apart from those obtained

from his songs- these four key informants later snowballed into five after discovering one of Fela's statements made in response to an interview by Barney Hoskyns (1983), while responding to the question "who are the greatest people in your life apart from your immediate family." Fela declared in that interview:

Oh there are some young boys, heavy young boys, one is called ID, one is called Duro and one is called Femi Foto. These three young boys, they've been with me for a long time... when they burnt my house many people left me ...but these boys stayed! ...and they know... they read a lot of books...history books on Africa, political books, economic books and African things, and they are very vast, knowledge and everything. I trust them completely (Cited in Hoskyns, B. personal communication, August 1984).

This important discovery necessarily landed the researcher in what Streton et al (2004) call 'snowballing', that is, a researcher's act of expanding the scope of interview either through discoveries made in the course of research or based on the recommendation of one of the key informants. However, only one of these three people Fela identified was available for interview as at the time of the study. Femi Osunla (Femi Foto) is late while all efforts made to get Duro Ikujenyo proved abortive.

(e) Idowu Mabinuori: The second person Fela described as great in his life and of great knowledge about him and things of Africa. One of the founding members of Fela's Young African Pioneers, the YAP, Mabinuori also authored the book, *Fela: Why Black Man Carry Shit*. At present, he runs an online Fela based radio in Paris (www.radioshrine.com). All the interviewees were asked certain open ended questions in line with the main research questions, and were also requested to add any

information they deemed necessary for the study, especially where such information appears to be silent in other sources.

3.3.3 Secondary data The researcher utilized a wide variety of secondary sources, prominent among which are Fela's songs.

(i) Audio Visual Materials

Audio and visual documents such as tapes, CDs, and DVDs have always been reliable sources of research data, and they remain valuable sources in intellectual tradition (Turabian, 2007). In fact, when used, such items make researchers "enrich not only specific analysis, but range of intellectual references and ability to synthesize diverse kinds of data, a crucial competence of an inquiring mind" (Turabian: 2007:35). A significant lot of Fela's socio political worldview, issues he protested against, why and how he protested against them is contained in many audio visual documents compiled in his lifetime, and, given the nature of this study, it is necessary to draw freely from them.

(ii) Newspaper Commentaries and Analysis

As a very controversial and iconoclastic person during the period under study, Fela attracted attention of both print and electronic media which ran several commentaries and analysis on him. This source is also used in the study.

3.3.4 Population of Songs Slated for Analysis

A total of twenty three songs in Fela's discography were selected for analysis in this study. These songs have political content, and they significantly express issues that Fela protested and tried to move people against. The songs selected are:

- a. Why Black Man Suffer (1970)
- b. Black Man's Cry (1970)
- c. Je n Wi Temi (1973)
- d. Zombie (1976)
- e. No Buredi (1976)
- f. Sorrow, Tears and Blood (1977)
- g. Shuffering' and Smiling (1978)
- h. International Thief Thief (ITT) (1979)
- i. Akuna Kuna Senior Brother of Perambulator (1980)
- j. Authority Stealing (1980)
- k. Uniform Chancing (1982)
- l. Coffin for Head of State (1981)
- m. Original Suffer Head (1982)
- n. Big Blind Country (1983)
- o. Movement of the People: Political Statement Number 1 (1984)
- p. Look and Laugh (1986)
- q. Overtake Don Overtake Overtake (1989)
- r. Chop and Clean Mouth Like Nothing Happen Na New Name for Stealing (1989)
- s. Army Arrangement (1985).
- t. Beasts of No Nation (1989)
- u. Just Like That (1990)
- v. Movement Against Second Slavery (1990)
- w. Pansa Pansa (1992)

To supplement these songs, the study also drew from selected lectures that Fela delivered to university students and other publics, his constant newspaper writings in the *Daily Times* and *The Punch*: ‘*The Chief Priest Says*’, the newspaper he published, YAP News; as well as other sources such as books, doctoral dissertations, scholarly journal and press articles that have been written on, and about Fela, his political protest and anti-establishment behaviour.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher engaged in the content analysis of the data generated.

3.4.1 The Content Analysis

Content Analysis, specifically, is a research technique that makes it possible for researchers to make valid inferences from data they gather. It mainly looks at documents, texts, speech, or songs to see what themes emerge from them (Weber, 1983).

3.4.2 Strategies of Content Analysis

Scholars still differ considerably on the issue of what analysis method suits what research endeavor, especially when dealing with social phenomenon of this nature which Babbie (1986) describes as ‘observing ourselves’. In fact, O’ Leary (2004:2) declares that it is always important to “remember that particular strategies are good or bad to the exact degree that they fit with the questions at hand”. Supported by others such as Osunla (1982) Babbie (1986) Ahonsi and Aina (1996) as well as Nwogwu (1999) who also stress

the need for researchers to tailor their methods towards answering the questions they raise and achieving the objectives they set, O' Leary further advises that "the perspectives you will adopt and the method you will use need to be as fluid, flexible and as eclectic as is necessary to answer the questions posed" (p.3). The act of research design is therefore neither sacrosanct nor cut and dried; it should always adjust to the dimensions of the questions raised in the research. It is against this background that the current study adopts two different strategies for analysis of each of the primary and secondary data.

Contents of key informant interviews were analyzed through the evidence–claim strategy while those of selected Fela's songs were analyzed using the concept matching device.

i. **Evidence–Claim Strategy:** This is a content analysis device in which information obtained from data is used to test, refine and develop ideas in a bid to give some empirical support to the possible qualitative deductions of the researcher (Rosenwasser and Stephen, 2000:31).

ii. **Concepts Mapping:** This is a content analysis strategy of mapping issues emerging from data with concepts that the researcher creates to envelope them. The concept mapping strategy ensures systematization and orderliness of presentation in qualitative endeavors (see Berg, 1989, Hubberman and Mathew, 1194; Babbie, 2002; Oshodi, Njoku et al 2010).

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CHAPTER 4

4.0 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT OF FELA’S POLITICAL PROTEST

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The major objective of this study is to explore Fela's one man, self-styled political protest; to examine its nature and character in a bid to arrive at specific generalizations about it. Two of the specifics in this object are to trace the social origin of Fela's behaviour as well as identify the socio political contradictions that triggered off his actions. Achieving these dual objectives demands both micro and macro analysis of Fela's background, so as to understand how his political behaviour evolved over the years: from mere potentiality to actual protest actions that manifested in songs and deviant behaviour during the period under study. It also requires perspectives on the context that immediately triggered his protest actions. These are the aspects of the study that the current chapter intends to address.

Although studying political behaviour should focus on individuals as asserted by Rose (2007) who, as one strong advocate of individual approach, claims that “study of political behaviour is typically concerned with individual behaviour in the society” (p.283), only few studies focus on behaviour of individuals. Even these few have been given sacrosanct colouration of the disciplines of the individuals who conduct them. For instance, economists often provide material based explanations, psychologists concentrate on personality and sociologists assess behaviour in relation to the larger environment

(Conway, 1989). In the end, analysts are left with narrow information to work with on the subject matter. But Conway, as well as Labinjoh (1982) before him stresses the need to synergize the foregoing disciplinary approaches in investigating and explaining behavior of people, so as to be able to include what Conway calls “the legal and political environment in which individual political behaviour occurs” (p, 3). Opp (2009) also fully supports this position. In other words, while it is noted that the study of behaviour needs to be focused, its complex nature often makes it require explanation from diverse orientations about individual whose behaviour is under investigation.

Given that “protest action threatens elites, and protesters refuse to acknowledge hierarchies and power structures that have been established or established themselves” (Olafsson, 2007:433), and given that Fela was exhibiting political protest actions in a post-civil war Nigeria, coupled with his awareness that the military elites who were the direct target of his protest often characteristically greet protesters with state repression and suppression, why did Fela insist on confronting and protesting against them, and how was he able to sustain his confrontation and protest for a period of twenty seven years?

On one hand his protest and antagonism became more venomous as he suffered several forms of state repression. On the other hand the dominant class in Nigeria were "concerned about his growing influence on the Nigerian youths who dressed the way he does (sic) and smoked what he smoked" (Mabinuori, 2003:18). This growing influence made a Fela strategically impossible for any government to ignore, and it explains why in

1979, the Obasanjo led Supreme Military Council that Fela vehemently criticized and protested against enlisted him on the organizing committee of the FESTAC 77. (Mabinuori, 2003). Even the Lagos State Military Government appointed him to serve on the State Police Community Relations Committee in the year 1977 (Mabinuori).

Yet, and again in protest, Fela decried these engagements with malice aforethought, and he continued constituting himself to what his fans often referred to as ‘alatako agbaye’ (the universal antagonist) towards the Nigerian state and its military elite, at the risk of threats to his life and that of his family, especially given the background of the burning of his Kalakuta Republic. Little wonder then why a Nigerian citizen in 1992 confessed while commenting on the Fela phenomenon, that “If you know Fela in the seventies... he had the whole country in his hand; it was like he owned Nigeria. To tell the truth, Fela at that time was law unto himself ...” (Cited in Veal, 2000:121).

In line with Freeman's (1999) unending puzzle, about where people come from who, like Fela, choose the path of confrontation especially when they are aware of the sanctions that often await such action, any behavioral scientist will wonder and ponder where the likes of the fearless, rebellious and consequence-damning Fela came from to arrive at a point where he confronted the Nigerian establishment, and sustained the confrontation for a period of twenty seven years, as well as what actually triggered his protest.

The current chapter explores this question from both the micro and macro angles. The micro examines the family tradition of the Kutis, viz a viz the early childhood socialization that Fela received; while the macro focuses on Fela's interactions with larger social spaces in Nigeria and abroad, how such interactions engendered his political behaviour and determined his political protest actions, as well as what socio political contradiction triggered his protest actions.

4.2 FELA'S SOCIALIZATION IN THE 'RANSOME KUTI/SOYINKA FAMILY TRADITION'

In its simplest form, "political socialization refers to the ways in which a society transmits its political orientation -knowledge, attitudes, norms and values- from generation to generation" (Easton and Dennis, 1973: 59). The family is the principal agent here, political or otherwise. In fact, Jennis (2007:38) asserts that "from the early scholarly inquiries on through to the present time, the role of the family as a prime agent of socialization has occupied an imports in the literature". This is because the family is a relatively small and enduring institution that makes the processes of learning and imitation easier. Apart from this, the family is the first point of call of the individual, and, to that extent, it determines a lot about individual's behaviour; including the political.

The Ransome Kuti/Soyinka family (as key informant Professor Wole Soyinka called it) has a well-documented history of rebellion and protest against establishments. Fela's grandfather, for instance, forced him to be a pastor, but he, in protest, refused to preach in church services throughout his lifetime. Reverend Kuti, instead, became a politician and a school principal. Mabinuori (1986) observes that "from his mark in Nigeria politics, one will realize that it was not Rev Kuti's wish to become a pastor or a reverend of any church or parish" (p.27). Instead of being a voice in the Christian gospel, a job for which he was formally but unwillingly trained. Rev. Kuti, in protest, decided to become "a voice in the Nigerian political arena. ... he was also the first president of the Nigerian Union of Teachers" (p. 17).

Fela's father also had records of several rebellious and anti-establishment behaviour to his 'credit', especially against the Nigerian colonial authorities. It is in record that "As the principal of Abeokuta Grammar School, he never allowed any white inspector to inspect his school. The one who tried to he flogged out of his school because he had insisted upon inspection after Rev. Kuti had objected to it" (p. 17). In another dimension, in Abeokuta Nigeria, an account is given of a drama that ensued when Fela's father

..was passing through the premises of the military cantonment in Abeokuta with his cap on, when a soldier instructed him to remove his hat as he walked past the British flag. Rev I.O Kuti refused to obey the orders and the soldiers tried to force the hat out of his head with a bayonet... Daudu almost lost an eye from injury sustained from this barbaric act of Nigerian colonial soldiers.... he protested bitterly to the authorities and, in the end, the soldiers' barracks had to be removed from the heart of the

town where this incident occurred to the then outskirts of the town in Lafenwa (Mabinuori, 1986: 18).

Obviously, Fela was barely a high school child at that time, but, in line with the principles of socialization, he was conscious of his father's behaviour and was internally undergoing the process of emulating it. From Mabinuori's (1986) perspectives, and as supported by Labinjoh (1982), Robinson (2003) and Olorunyomi (2003) among other authors, one major reason Fela's life was laden with contentious behaviour is that he was born and socialized by a rebellious father; the same father who was his music teacher and principal at the Abeokuta Grammar School, Nigeria.

But in spite of the foregoing activities that Rev Ransome Kuti displayed in ways that must have influenced his son, Fela always claimed that his greater political inspiration and influence came from his mother, Mrs. Olufunmilayo Ransome Kuti, who later changed her name to Funmilayo Anikulapo Kuti, in support of his son's belief that Ransome was a slave name, and that whoever was called by it was suffering from 'colonial mentality.' Fela once declared in an interview that

there are only two people in the whole of Africa who follow people to wherever they go (in protest), Nkrumah and my mother! what are you telling me...all these other men they sit down in cars men!

(Fela, cited in Music is the weapon,).

Fela's mother, Mrs. Olufunmilayo Ransome Kuti was an outstanding political protester, rights activist and anti-colonial rebel who led several anti-colonial and taxation protest against the British during her days in Abeokuta (Shonekan, 2009). She was the pioneer female fighter for the universal adult suffrage in Nigeria. A prominent member of the National Congress of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) and a close friend of Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Mrs. Funmilayo Kuti took part in some notable world events. She met China's Mao during his revolution, and, she, "like her husband, was the first lady to do many radical things in Nigeria. She was the mother of Nigerian Nationalist struggle and the champion of the Universal Adult Suffrage who insisted on the rights for women to cast votes in Nigeria. She also made the Oba Alake, Sir Ladapo Ademola II abdicate his throne in Abeokuta."

One may then agree with the opinion that "Fela's experience with activism began with his study of his mother's political movements. As a child born in 1938, he observed her activities and became the most radical of her four children" (Shonekan 2009:5). So, in line with Hess's (1974: 15) assertion that "political socialization is completed, in several important respects, by the time the child reaches the high school", Shonekan then concludes that having lived with his radical mother beyond the age of twelve, Fela's "foundation had been firmly set by the time he left home for studies abroad". This is what she calls "the bridge between mother and son" (p. 6). Shonekan also observed that Fela's mother's activism occurred in the highly patriarchal Nigeria of her time when most women would not even dare venture into conventional political participation such as voting and campaigning, let alone protest and rebellion.

Clearly, the scenario painted above supports the position that the unusual and dare devil traits that prompted Fela to confront a post-civil war military was majorly learnt from his mother, and it explains why Mabinuori (1986) then declared that any son of Olufunmilayo Kuti would ordinarily be socialized into rebellion and protest potentialities. Mabinuori observes further:

Fela's other brothers are no less forceful in their own specialties. Professor Koye Ransome Kuti (Fela's elder brother) was known to have uncompromisingly defended showing of his films depicting the deplorable health situation in Nigeria on Scandinavian television when some diplomats questioned him on the matter. Dr. Beeko Ransome Kuti is no less a strong fighter. He was the 1979/80 Secretary General of the Nigerian Medical Association... several industrial actions taken by the doctors are no doubt motivated by him and some other like-minded members of the NMA (p. 21). This is the legend behind the Kuti family. They are born fighters for social justice and total emancipation...Fela Anikulapo Kuti is only stepping in to the shoes of his ancestors (p. 20).

4.3 THE QUESTION OF CLASS

In addendum to issues that created protest potentiality in Fela comes the social status and class of the Ransom Kuti Family. The social class to which a person belongs plays a very important role in the political behaviour he exhibits (Labinjoh, 1982; Peterson, 1990). This belief has its root in the Marxian tradition which claims that it is not the being that determines the consciousness but the consciousness that determines the being. This Marxian position is a micro macro analysis that links the political behaviour of man to an amalgam of his socio economic condition and his consciousness. This is why Peterson

(1990) asserts that “a person thinks politically, what he is, socially”, and that “Social characteristics determine political preferences”.

Also observing that “socio economic circumstances always constrain members of various classes to relate differentially to the social structure,” and that such has “implications for individual dramaturgical skills and therefore for the individual's perception of social reality” (Labinjoh, 1982:122), Labinjoh asserts that Fela belonged to the middle class, and that unlike the working and under class that is often overwhelmed with scarcity of material values, the middle class often interprets social structures and “soon develop a theory of it” (Ford et al, 1971, cited in Labinjoh, 1982). Labinjoh thinks this class factor is the primary issue that informed Fela's behaviour, and only after it should the issue of social learning or any other factors for that matter, be considered. Labinjoh's position may be convincing when considering how Ebenezer Obey, another popular musician of Egba origin like Fela, used his own music for praising the business and political class as well as endorsing the status quo. The obvious reason here is that Obey came from the lower class in the Egba tradition (K. Soremekun, personal communication, 24th December, 2011).

Whether the influence came from mother or father, or the social class of the family notwithstanding, the forgoing analysis makes it clear that Fela was socialized into a very high protest potentiality, given his family background. It was this protest potentiality he took with him to London and the United States, and it determined the company he kept in

these places and the kind of influence he subjected himself to out of the many issues that could influence any visitor of his status. Thus, by the time he returned fully to Nigeria in 1970 and began to exhibit his protest behaviour, he was simply demonstrating what Mabinuori (1986:20) referred to as "stepping into the shoes of his ancestors"

4. 4 FELA IN THE LARGER SOCIAL SPACE

While it can be supported that Fela's family socialization enhances his protest potentiality and determines his political behaviour, further explanation is needed on why he fearlessly exhibited his protest actions against the military and the repressive state at the time he did, after all, he was not the only child under the Ransome Kuti/ Soyinka family tradition, but only he turned out to be and even advanced beyond the real rebellious character of their parents. Other children, if at all rebellious, were gradualists who exhibited their protests and rebellious characters either within the caucus of their professions or in more regular, less confrontational, gradual ways.

Also, and more importantly, Fela's elder cousin, Professor Wole Soyinka, a socio political activist whose writings have focused on the ills of the Nigerian society, and who revealed that Fela and he grew up under the highly political and anti-oppression home that the professor described as "Ransome Kuti -Soyinka tradition", drew attention to the fact that in spite of their upbringing, "Fela had not always been political, at all, not at all". "Matter-of-factly" he continued, "Fela was absolutely apolitical when he returned

from England, and his music was purely for entertainment until he returned from his United States tour of 1969” (W. Soyinka, personal communication, November, 2009), and turned from what Olaniyan (2004) called the “apolitical avant pop hustler” to “the political Fela” (p.7-8). Moore (1982) Labinjoh (1982) Mabinuori (1986) Schoonmaker (2003) Veal (2000) Olaniyan (2004) Olorunyomi (2003) also agree that Fela, in spite of his socialization from the family, was never political until a certain period of his life and career, though these authors differ on the very period of his being political.

What this suggests is that what early socialization did was to, at best, create protest potentiality in Fela, and that manifestation of that potentiality into actual behaviour was achieved through his further exposure to the larger socio political spaces, beginning from his travel to the United States in 1969, to the many people he interacted with when he returned to Nigeria in 1970.

Fela engaged in a musical tour of the United States that lasted for almost a year. This period of his visit falls under the larger period that scholars have widely referred to as the ‘age of radicalism’ in the United States, and around the world (See Califano, 1970; Lipset 1971; Gostin, 1988), due to certain events that positioned protest and resistance as very reliable means of addressing social problems and achieving social change.

“The sixties were years of many unusual social and economic events with their devastating effects on the psyche of conscious black youths like Fela” (Olorunyomi, 2003:22). Through protest and resistance the African Americans in the United States had just been liberated from white oppression and racial subjugation in 1968. The Civil Rights Movement that was used as a vehicle for this achievement had just melted into the Black Power Movement after the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King Junior, and it had continued the struggle by ensuring that all forms of economic and political subjugations of the black people were eliminated in the United States.

During the same period, university students in the United States engaged in a wide variety of protests marches, riots, and sit ins, against American war in Vietnam that had threatened to return the States to the economic problem she experienced during the great depression of 1938, and these protests never stopped until the last batch of American troupe was withdrawn from Vietnam in 1974. Around this same time a host of similar protests and rebellions were happening in other parts of the world, especially amongst university students, with the Paris Students Uprising of 1968 and the student’s movement of West Germany and West Berlin (Socialistischer Deutsche Studentenbund) of 1969 as examples. Fela was also in Berlin. With these events in the United States, Fela “at first hand watched individuals confronting the social system” (Labinjoh, 1982:126), and achieving historical results from them. He also read about what protest and resistance was doing in other places as Rhodesia and South Africa, and must have, through these experiences, further internalized the protest potentiality he had from his family background.

Then came Fela's meeting with Sandra Isidor, a former member of the militant Black Nationalist organization, the Black Panther Party (Olaniyan 2004:29). Olaniyan describes Sandra "as a political activist, (who) had been imprisoned for three months in 1967 for attacking a police officer during the Los Angeles riots." Fela was confronted with the idea and reality of determining political goals and fighting for them even at great personal risk. Sandra's personal sacrifices for a larger political cause left a particularly strong impression on Fela, especially, given Sandra's gender, and he confessed:

I got jealous. 'How can a woman do that and a man like me can't do it? ...Sandra became Fela's mentor. She introduced him to the history, ideas, literature and personalities of the black struggle for civil rights (Olaniyan 2004:30).

So, while Fela witnessed a lot of anti-establishment movements in the United States and got exposed to series of information on similar issues around the world, his meeting and interaction with Sandra Isidore -who later became one of his mistresses- was a significant factor that snowballed his protest potentiality to protest behaviour.

Another very significant aspect of the social learning Fela received from her interaction with Sandra is the opportunity to read the biography of Malcolm X, a book, kind of which Fela confessed he had never read in his lifetime. The central idea in Malcolm's biography that Fela so much adored is that

endless plea and meekness would not free Africa from the pathologically racist American, only black's own independent determination, cultural self- confidence and active struggle, 'by means necessary', would free them

(Olaniyan, 2004:30).

By virtue of what eventually became of Fela's relationship with the Nigerian political establishment till his death in 1997, one will understand why he summed up his social interaction with Sandra thus:

Sandra gave me the education I wanted to know. She was the one who opened my eyes, I swear, man! She's the one who spoke to me about Africa... Sandra was my adviser. She talked to me about politics, history. She taught me what she knew and what she knew was enough for me to start with (Fela, cited in Olaniyan 2004:30).

Two logical questions arise from this last statement. What else did a Fela that was already endowed with protest potentiality 'want to know' that he eventually got to know from Sandra, and what was the knowledge from Sandra 'enough to start' that started immediately Fela returned to Nigeria in 1970? From his confession to Carlos More that he "came back home with the intent to change the whole system" (1982:89), Fela had been able to reinforce from Sandra and the events in the United States, his socialization that protest and resistance were the most effective ways of achieving freedom from economic backwardness and subjugation, and this knowledge was enough for him to start off political protest activities in Nigeria, as his own version of what he experienced in the United States. This is perhaps why Olanjyan (2004) asserts that "Sandra supplied the

political and intellectual catalysts for the invention of Afrobeat” (p. 116). Apart from the Sandra scenario, two other thinkers that would later influence Fela were Walter Rodney and Frantz Fanon, with their respective works, *The Wretched of the Earth* and *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Olorunyomi, 2003: 13).

4.5 FELA AND HIS YOUNG AFRICAN PIONEERS

As earlier established, Fela's learning of protest, contentious and rebellious behaviour started from the micro level of the Ransome Kuti-Soyinka family, and continued to the macro level of his observation and interactions with people in the United States. But social learning is a continuous process, and, as asserted by Albert Bandura, man continues to learn socially as he continues to interact, and this continuous interaction does not only make man learn more, it also helps to either positively or negatively reinforce whatever he has already learnt. So, apart from Fela's family background and the exposure he got from Sandra in the United States, back home in Nigeria Fela continued to interact with other people who introduced him to new ideas that positively reinforced his protest behaviour and anti establishment worldview. This is in line with Mc Adam, Tarrow and Tilly's (2001) claim that continuous political activities such as protest must be understood as developing from social interactions. Fela in answering question on who the greatest influences in his life were, apart from his immediate family and wives. Fela responded:

Oh there are some young boys, heavy young boys, one is called ID, one is called Duro and one is called Femi Foto. These three young boys, they've been with me for a long

time... when they burnt my house many people left me ...but these boys stayed! ...and they know... they read a lot of books... history books on Africa, political books, economic books and African things and they are very vast, knowledge and everything. I trust them completely

(Cited in Hoskyns, B. personal communication, August 1984).

Apparently, the three that Fela mentioned in the foregoing were merely those who remained close to him after the burning of Kalakuta Republic till the time of the interview in 1994. But much more people influenced him politically and indirectly contributed to his continuous radicalization. Every blessed day in the Kalakuta Republic, the hours between 8pm and 12 midnight often witnessed what was then called 'Ideological Session' with "Fela and a core group of committed followers reading and discussing classics on African history, pan Africanism, Afrocentricism and African liberation." (Mabinuori, 2003) Members of this session belonged to Fela's Young African Pioneers, these three people were founding and constant members of the group, and, as Fela confessed in the foregoing, they read a lot of books that formed the basis of discussion and ideology that Fela projected during his protest.

Other members of the ideological session include Lemi Gbhariokwu, Benson Idonije, and several other episodic ones who often breezed in to 'learn from the feet of the master'. Interaction with these people on daily basis definitely reinforced and eventually manifested protest behaviour in Fela Anikulapo Kuti.

4.6 THE NIGERIAN POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

In the foregoing, 'Fela's protest potentiality is traced to the family socialization and the interaction with the larger social space that positively reinforced the protest potentiality and internalized the protest behaviour in him. But people may not necessarily exhibit protest actions out of protest behaviour they have internalized except there are issues that catalyze or trigger such protest actions. The catalysts and triggers are often located in the political environment, or what Labinjoh (1982) refers to as the 'social milieu' of the protester.

Sadly, most studies in political protest has taken little cognizance of this complexity, justifying Labinjoh's declaration that "most theories that came to dominate sociological thinking-structural functionalism and Marxism-to the extent that they are holistic in approach, neglect the lives of individuals as they are lived day to day, moment by moment; the individual's affect, desires and frustrations" (p. 120). Freeman (1999) also observed that scholars of political protest and social movements have not been very intense on the aspect of the immediate catalyst, what he calls "spark of life" of protest, and that the 'origin' of people who organize and partake in protest, how they come together, and the circumstance that compel them to take part in protest have received little attention in political behaviour scholarship.

The need for understanding the background to, and immediate catalysts of protest makes many scholars explain the kind of socio political environment that often lead to rebellion or protest from people. Ted Gurr (1970) and other deprivationists such as Davies (1962) and Obeschall (1973) for instance argue that man develops relative expectation as he lives in a particular polity and if these expectations are not met, man becomes frustrated and soon produces aggression which in turn snowballs to political protest, resistance, rebellion, social movement and all sorts of contentious politics against the identified causes of the frustration.

On the other hand, structural functionalists such as Parson (1963), Easton (1965), Lipset (1971); and some Neo Marxists, especially O'Connor (1973) often align with the position of the legitimacy- stability thesis, which claims that man protests against a polity if he lacks confidence in the political regime. Put differently, the legitimacy-stability school claims that "people translate their dissatisfaction for regimes into protesting against that regime" (Olson, 1963; 1990; Useem and Useem 2001; Anifowose, 1982).

Useem and Useem (2001), claim that legitimacy crisis is *not*, in its own, capable of generating political protest except there is "organized movement that can articulate grievances against the regime and translate it into effective, concrete, strategic programs" (p. 841). To them, therefore, protesting or rebelling against a particular regime is a dual process: there must be disillusionment and hatred for the regime, and, on the other hand,

there must be a social organization that will serve as vehicle of transforming the hatred into protest.

Other social and behavioral scientists such as Verba, Kay and Henry (1995), Putman (2000) Dalton (2002), Dalton and Alix Van (2004), as well as sociologists: Zurcher and David (1981) and McAdam (1986) also give reasons such as "biographical availability, political engagement and structural availability" as triggers of protest. These scholars claim that whether or not an individual would partake in protest action depends, first, on his or her biographical availability, that is, "personal constraints that may increase the cost and risk of participation such as full time employment, marriage and family responsibilities" (McAdam, 1986, cited in Schussman and Soule, 2005:1084). They also claim that political interest and political knowledge-what they call 'political engagement'- as well as the presence of interpersonal networks with protesters and social movements, which they call 'structural availability', or, in the words of Passy (2001), 'micro structural account', are principal determinants of political protest and participation in it.

Schussman and Soule also assert that people are likely to protest because they are invited or enticed to do so (p. 1097), a position corroborating that of McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001:51), that "contentious political activities such as protest must be understood as developing through social interaction" (Cited in Schussman and Soule, 2005: 1097).

To Freeman (1999), there must be a preexisting communication network or infrastructure that could spark up the spontaneous action of protest and resistance, and that such network must be cooptable, that is, containing a group of likeminded people who also share similar experiences and situations within, preferably, the same polity. Herring (1989) observed that "those who are untrusting and who feel underemployed are significantly more likely to be involved as protesters" (p. 135).

While his political protest lasted, Fela was the centre of dissemination of political information in Nigeria. At this period, the military elite that controlled Nigerian political power monopolized the instrument of information as most print and electronic media houses were either owned or controlled by the government, while the few non-government owned ones were seriously cross filtered and sanctioned when they published anti state issues. Consequently, there was no freedom of information on the part of the people. Freedom of expression as well as political association was restricted.

All the foregoing scholarly positions indicate clearly that in a bit to judge a protester correctly, at least theoretically, there is the need to locate him or her within the context in which his protest takes place. Indeed, it is undeniable that the Nigerian society where Fela lived between 1970 and 1997 provides germane background to his political protest. But what exactly is this context; this socio political context?

4.7 THE CONTEXT OF FELA'S POLITICAL PROTEST IN NIGERIA

When in August 11, 1958 Fela left for Trinity College, London to obtain his degree, the motion of self-government that Anthony Enahoro had moved five years before, precisely in 1953, was generating positive attention in Nigeria and creating the hope of returning into a new, independent Nigeria that would create opportunity for human development and make life meaningful for the youths. But the Nigeria Fela left behind was that in which the British colonial interlopers handed over political power to elite of weak economic background, and the elite inevitably had to steal wealth from the state in order to constitute a proper ruling class (Ekeh, 1975; Ake, 1981 and 1985, Amin, 1972, Ihonvbere, 1996). This is what Joseph (1991) refers to as prebendalism. Olorunyomi (2004) observes that

Characterizing the nature of the emergent Nigerian state, Richard Joseph contends that any fruitful discussion about Nigeria must take into account the "nature, extent and persistence of a certain mode of political behaviour, and of its social and economic ramifications", and suggests a conceptual notion of prebendalism to explain the centrality in the Nigerian polity of the intensive and persistent struggle to control and explore the offices of the state

With prebendalism and kleptomanialism in place, the Nigerian political elite could not focus on working towards coalescing social values that would build hegemony, create social order and enhance quick socio political development. Instead, they concentrated on developing coercive state instrumentalities for the dual purpose of abetting their looting and suppressing possible revolt from the people. This made the police venal. It also rendered the military politicized and unprofessional. This is why Fela's cousin, Professor

Wole Soyinka, in 1990, after a deep reflection on the Nigerian state, lamented that "Let us not mince words; the catalogue of betrayal by our own kind as leaders is lengthy" (1990: 17).

Shonekan (2009) describes the Nigeria of Fela's time as turbulent and painful, and then declared of Fela and his mother, that "Both mother and son cultivated the following among the masses as a result of their knowledge and enlightened stance on the problems their people encountered" (p.6). These problems were clearly highlighted by Olaniyan (2003) and Olorunyomi (2005) as unbridled corruption, nepotism, executive lawlessness, military rascality and crude repression.

Fela returned to the Nigeria of the above description in 1963, and as the country moved from one crisis to another, the military intervened in partisan politics in 1966, plunged the country to a thirty-month civil war, and finally truncated the process of political maturity that would have dialectically resulted from the crisis. Now in control of political power, the military elite weakened the civil society and its ability to set agenda, then reckless kleptomania activities had field days pervading the system. Consequently, there was mass unemployment, poverty, and decaying infrastructure, even amidst executive rascality, corruption and repression. "This background helps to explain why Fela devoted enormous attention to the political patron in order to undermine its symbolic figure, since it was precisely the patron-client relation that provides a sustaining framework for the manifestation of prebendal politics in Nigeria" (Olorunyomi, 2003:16-17). It also

explains why Fela, in most cases directed his verbal rebuttal (yabbis) at officers of the state and members of the dominant class.

ITT (1979) for instance was a direct attack on the personality of the then Head of State, General Obasanjo, and his close Friend, MKO Abiola, a business man who Fela considered one of the compradors of multinationals.

Labinjoh (1982) gave another dimension to the Nigerian society that produced Fela. He noted that the discovery of oil in the immediate post-colonial era led to frustration of the masses and the embourgeoisment of the few who either belonged to the corridor of political power or were compradors who connived with multinationals to loot the wealth of the nation. This is explained in ITT (1979). Lyrics of all these songs are presented in data analysis as well as under the dimensions to Fela's political protest: chapter 5. Labinjoh noted that this situation choked the masses and removed them from the mainstream of government welfare, and Fela who had been exposed to the quality of life elsewhere in Europe and America, began to protest.

So, in summary, Fela left Nigeria with rising expectations during which he got advanced political knowledge which Zurcher and David (1981) call 'political engagement' –but he returned to see them un met. He confessed in an interview that "I came back home to change the entire system", but when the system was antithetical to change, Fela with his

high protest potentiality and internalized protest behaviour, developed high disillusionment for the regime, and could not have behaved differently from what he called "deciding to face the regime" because, as he declared in same interview, "if someone is not firm, the society will break up" (F. Anikulapo Kuti, cited in B. Hoskyns, personal communication, August 1984). Thus, between 1970 and 1997, Fela began to exhibit protest actions against the Nigerian establishment, using his music as well as deviant behaviour such as sexual orgies and disregard for law and established norms.

In addendum, it should be noted that the period under study was a military interregnum during which all forms of freedoms: speech, association, movements were restricted, and all fundamental human rights put on hold following the suspension of the constitution. Most media houses operating during this period were government-owned. The few owned by individuals would either be conservative towards government in order to attract its patronage, or avoid criticizing it in order to avoid closure. Even international news were first filtered before they got disseminated to the people. In fact, around that time, the teaching of Marxism was banned in most universities in order to suppress avoid growth of radicalism among the youth. A big lacuna then existed in term of citizens having critical information about their government, as well as giving their views and opinions towards it.

It was Fela and the activities of his Young African Pioneers in the African Shrine that filled this gap. Most citizens who patronized the shrine during this time did so in order to

get latest information about their government through Fela's songs and yabbis sessions. It was about the only opportunity they have also, to express their views about their country. This socio political situation in the country did not only create the Fela phenomenon, it also played the role of what Bandura's (1970) social learning theory described as reinforcement, to the extent that by 8pm most Fridays and Saturdays, the entrance tickets in the shrine would have been sold out; in spite of state repression, police harassment and social stigmatization that hunted the patrons of the shrine. This continued till Fela died in 1997.

In other words, the military elite that controlled Nigerian political power weakened the civil society and its ability to set agenda. They also monopolized the instrument of information. The few non-government-owned media houses were seriously cross filtered and sanctioned when they published anti state issues. This trend continued until much later in the 1990s. Under the situation, there was lack of information on the part of the people. Freedom of expression as well as political association was restricted. Consequently, people remained helpless in the face of reckless kleptomania activities of the ruling elite. Amidst these there was mass unemployment, poverty, and decaying infrastructure. According to Olaniyan (2004:2), this is why Fela engaged in "comprehensive venomous critique of both institutions and individuals he sees as causes and perpetuators of the reigning incredible social anomie". It also explains why Fela, in most cases directed his verbal rebuttal (yabbis) at officers of the state and members of the dominant class, as well as continually insist that he would engage in deviant activities not because he was a criminal, but as a way of spiting the dominant class in Nigeria (See ITT,

1979: Country of Pains, 1989; & B. Hoskyns, personal Interview, December 1984). It was under this situation that Fela's Afrobeat music of political protest found its way across classes and stratifications of people during the period under study, in spite of the desperate efforts of successive Nigerian government to suppress it with the NTBB labeling (Not To Be Broadcast). So, with his exhibition of political protest against the system, what has Fela contributed to Nigeria and the society?

4.8 A NOTE ON FELA'S CHOICE OF MUSIC FOR POLITICAL PROTEST

What factors inspired Fela to embrace music as an instrument of political protest? An immediate explanation is located in the main thrust of the social learning theory. The social learning theory in Bandura's view, posits that "from observing others, one forms the idea of how new behaviour are performed, and on later occasion, this coded information serve as guide for action" (Bandura, 1977: 19). There are clear indications from the literature earlier reviewed that Fela's socialization from the family, and his socialization into the larger society were a great influences upon his love for music generally, as well as the choice of same for political protest.

Music runs in Fela's family. Fela's grandfather, J. J Ransome Kuti was a great musician who composed the tonic sofa that almost all musicians use for elementary training today (Mabinuori, 1986; Olorunyomi 2003). Fela's father, Reverend 1.O Kuti was also his school principal and music teacher in Abeokuta Grammar School, and music was one of

the subjects he took so seriously that even negligible errors in it could lead to hard punishment for the students (Mabinuori, 1986).

Then comes Fela's mother, Funmilayo Kuti, another aficionado of music. Following a longstanding tradition within Yoruba culture where song was a way of circulating news and expressing political opinion, Funmilayo Kuti composed as many songs as possible during her leadership of the Abeokuta women in revolts against colonialism. Apparently music was one of the things Fela knew and learnt socially from his family. This background provides some hints on his decision to abandon his parent-decided plan to study medicine in London, and settle for a degree in music instead.

Fela witnessed the power of music as an instrument of social control as demonstrated in his mother's role during the Abeokuta Women's Riot. He also had practical exposure to the role that music played in African American struggle in the United States of America. All these encounters within the Nigerian and international spaces led to the learning and consolidation of his love for music, especially as an instrument of socio-political uplift. From his experience of his mother's activities in Egba land and the role that music played in black nationalism in the United States, Fela could not have been unaware that music, as a work of arts, "has the potentiality for developing consciousness" amongst the oppressed class, while, on the other hand, "for the class in dominance, it is an extra tool for concretizing hegemony" (Ayu, 1986:3).

For Fela, music was the most readily available, convenient and skilled means of expressing any action at all, including actions of protest. This is why he created the Afrobeat genre of popular music to protest against the contradictions of military regime in the postcolonial Nigeria. According to Olaniyan (2004) "to listen to Fela's music then is to listen to a kind of cultural and specifically musical 'biography' of post-colonial African state: an account of the state's crisis ridden life so far as seen by oppositional music- whose potency as oppositional music depends on continued tumultuous life of the state" (p.5). A whole gamut of protest expressed in Fela's music is thematically highlighted in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 DIMENSIONS OF FELA'S POLITICAL PROTEST:

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter highlights three dimensions of Fela's political protest action against the military regime and its attendant contradictions of corruption and oppression in Nigeria: music, deviance and exit from the state. People who protest do not necessarily seek approval of government or state for the actions of their protest- for in most cases they will not get it. What they do is adopt actions they consider most potent for disseminating issues of their protests and attracting attention of the authorities to which their protests are directed. Their choice is determined by a variety of factors, including, but not limited to personal worldview, socialization, religion and career, in relation to the character of the state or society where they protest. Sometimes protesters even ignore issues of law or morality, especially where such issues constitute part of the dominant order that they challenge. (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly 2001; Schussman and Soule 2005). Protest actions are indeed unlimited, as exemplified by Hollanders and Einwohner's (2004) study in which Hawaiian and Ireland women utilized hairstyle and dress mode to protest against certain contradictions perceived in their political systems.

This background explains why Fela's political protest manifested in many actions: songs, yabbis, lectures, writings, religion, substance use, sexual disposition and relationship with political authorities, each of which was informed by his socialization, career or socio-political temperament during the period under study. Bringing them together under three headings of songs, deviance and exit from the state, the current chapter attempts to discuss and explain each of Fela's protest action viz a viz the dominant socio political circumstances that provoked it, as

well as the effect it was conceived to create in the view of Fela the protester. In the end, the third research objective which focuses on the dimensions of Fela's political protest shall have been adequately explored.

5.2 MUSIC

Music is the systematic combination of sounds and voices for creation of certain harmonious effect that may, or may not be tailored towards disseminating particular messages. Dating back to the ancient African - Yoruba civilization, the days of Plato in Greece and, in fact, irrespective of how far back in history one wishes to go (Conford, 1941), music has always been a formidable instrument of political expression. *Orin nii s'aaju ijo; oun naa nii s'aaju ote*, says a popular Yoruba proverb that means "music preludes dance; it also preludes politics and intrigues". Olaniyan (2004) explains why. According to him, "music, because of its power to activate emotional intensities, inscribes experience with greater potency than any other arts" (p.5), and, as Craig (1998) asserts, musicians sometimes "articulate the views of the powerless citizens and provide a critical discourse on national and international affairs," while playing vital roles in "mass based socio political movements, seeking change" (p.1).

Apart from its role in general socio political engineering, music also plays a vital role in the expression of conflicts amongst classes in the society (Ayu .1986; Craig 1998; Street, 2011), especially given the Marxian position that history of all human societies is the history of class struggle. This suggests why Ayu asserts that there is little doubt that music, as a work of arts, "has the potentiality for developing consciousness" amongst the oppressed class, while, on the other hand, "for the class in dominance, it is an extra tool for concretizing hegemony" (1986:3).

In Yoruba cosmology, an Ifa verse, Oyeku *Meji*, also gives account of how music became indispensable to, and inseparable from human political activities since the pre historic times.

According to Oyeku *Meji*:

*Onijo nii mowo ijo e gbe/oloosa nii mowo ojee re e
to, iye sese n la a bo loke, gbogbo araye se b'ojumo
lo n mo, adifa fun orin l'ojo ti s'awo rode iselu ebo
ni won ni k'orin o se fun orike rike ara, b'orin ba bu
niwaju, gbogbo ara a mi lehin; nje orin tun siwaju,
gbogbo ilu n bo leyin; baa ba rorin iselu a fararo*

Only the dancer best understands his body gyration, only the priest best utilizes the spiritual staff, it merely approaches the dawn, humans think it's already day, this thesis explains the case of music, during it sojourn to the land of politics. Music was billed to make sacrifice to parts of the human body. And so it did. When song blasts in the fore, the human body responds in the rear; behold song in the fore, and the whole polity behind, without song politics becomes tiring.

(A. Ifafimihan, personal communication, Oyo Town, September, 1999)

In recent history, music played pragmatic roles in the United States' struggle against color subjugation and racism. As the civil liberty groups advanced the course of its struggle against racial discrimination, a host of musicians made several albums that aimed at sensitizing more people to join the struggle, while, at the same time strengthening the conviction of others already in it. Examples of musicians involved include Phil Orchis, John Lenon, Patti Smith, Tom Paxton, Peter Seeger and Edwin Starr. Even in other parts of the world where there were no specific internationally publicized movements like the United States' Civil Rights', musicians continued to direct their songs towards addressing certain contradictions in their societies: Bob Merely of Jamaica, Victor Jara of Chile; Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela of Southern Africa (Ayu 1986). In Bolivia and other parts of Latin America, Kunin (2009) reveals, the Altiplano

music remains an artistic manifestation that is considered a tool for the demand for social justice by both youngsters and national, local and international institutions" (p.1).

Back in Nigeria, music has been and is still a common medium of expressing political concerns, especially considering the works of Hubert Ogunde and Fela Kuti in the past, and those of Lagbaja, Idris Abdulakareem and Tu Face Idibia in the present (Oikilome, 2009; Oshodi, Njoku and Odiogor, 2010). Many of the forgoing musicians and others have songs that are aimed at either raising people's consciousness towards political problems, or inciting them to protest against certain socio political contradictions around them.

5.3 AFROBEAT: FELA'S MUSIC OF POLITICAL PROTEST

Afrobeat is a bi-morphological concept: Afro and beat. It was invented by Fela Anikulapo Kuti, purposefully for protesting against the socio-political contradictions that confronted -and are still confronting Nigeria and Africa (Olaniyan, 2004; Olorunyomi, 2003; Oikelome, 2009). It is conglomeration of artistic, political and spiritual activities that Fela often presented in songs, dance, musical participation (underground Spiritual game), and yabbis. To Fela who invented it, Afrobeat was the major means of projecting African ideas and concerns into the larger local and international spaces.

Fela's political protest songs began immediately after he returned from the United States in 1970, and the songs underwent four interrelated phases that were determined by the emergent socio political orders and Fela's disposition towards them. The first is the phase of 'analysis and criticism'- what Fela called "preaching to change the system" (Personal communication, B.

Hoskyns, August, 1984), during which he merely identified certain socio political contradictions and appealed to the government on the need to change them. This is followed by songs of confrontation, phase 2, which Fela began to produce when he sensed the futility of changing the status quo through his ‘preaching’ songs. The third phase consists ‘songs of skepticism’ in which Fela got frustrated and became skeptical towards the change he was preaching, especially because there seemed to be very low response from the masses he was singing to mobilize. Then followed the fourth phase, the phase of cynicism.

Fela arrived at this stage after exploring all forms of confrontation and tried all he could to mobilize popular movement against the establishment; and to no avail. He then became frustrated, and that frustration manifested in cynicism, almost turning his protest songs to fun and sexual commentaries. Thus, by his use of music, Fela exhibited behaviors such as political skepticism and cynicism even as forms of political protest, and his own frustration manifested in cynicism. A comprehensive analysis of Fela’s numerous songs during these four phases is presented in the next chapter

5.4 DEVIANCE

According to Haralambos and Holborn (2004), “Deviance means to stray from the accepted path of the society; those acts which do not follow the norms and expectations of a particular social group” (p.330). Deviant behavior violates popular social norms, and majority of the society often disapproves of it and dissociate themselves from people who partake in it. Partakers in deviant behavior are called deviants. In Nigeria where the current study is conducted, activities such as alcoholism, smoking, substance abuse, being nude in public, wearing of body exposing dresses,

open discussion of sexual activities and patronizing prostitutes, among other things, are often considered deviant behavior.

Functionalists such as Durkheim (1938) argue that deviance is a normal part of the human society, and that a society of saints will not be natural, but will be hypersensitive to human behaviour. On the other hand, there is the interactionists' perspective which "focuses upon the interaction between deviants and those who define them as deviants (Haralambos and Holborn 2004: 346). The interactionists posit that deviance does not really refer to acts and activities that are detrimental to the society as they are often portrayed; rather, they are mere sentiments of those who so describe them. One of the most influential deviance interactionists in fact asserts

Social groups create deviance by making rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not the quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the applications of others of such rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label

(Becker 1963, cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 2004:346).

Many contemporary sociologists also share the opinion that interpretations of deviance are often mere assumptions. They also assert that due to the advantage of one group over the other, the society is in most cases prejudistic on what it refers to as deviance. In other words, even members of the dominant class do not agree on what constitutes deviance. People are often

wrongly accused of deviance and once so labeled they get ostracized from the social platform for life. In other cases, one social or ethnic group may consider activities of its rival as deviant and can so propagate in the society if it has better advantage. Then there is the case of double standard, in which certain behaviour that the society attacks as deviant in some cases are completely ignored as normal in other cases, especially when certain interests are at stake and certain powerful people are involved.

Finally, deviance does not in many cases conform to logic; it is often fallacious and sentiment based. This is why in defence of his celebration of sexual orgies that many people often criticized as deviance; Fela said in one the opening remarks of one of his 1990s songs, *Akuna Kuna*.

*One day, I go play for Kano
Someone come meet me say make I no sing this kind song O,
Small pikin dey there
I tell am say
My son wey dey here self, na small pikin
I don teach am everything: fuck, O, woman o, he know
Because me I no believe say
The thing wey person go know when him grow up
Make you hide am for am when him young
Why now!
Wetin God no want make him know,
Him no go put am there
Na Christians and Muslim hide am
Dem say na immoral
How can the sweetest thing be immoral?
Dem dey craze!*

(English)

One day, I went or a show in Kano
Someone warned me against vulgar songs,
Because kids were in the audience
Then I said
Even my son here is a kid

But I have taught him everything
Sex women he knows
Because I do not believe that
What a person will know in adulthood
Has to be hidden for him at childhood
Why!
What God does not want people to know, he will not put in their body
Its Christians and Muslims that hide them
They said they are immoral
How can the sweetest thing be immoral?
They are crazy!

On the ground of logic, it is difficult to provide answer to the fundamental questions Fela asked in the foregoing opening regarding why an action is considered deviant, but, a earlier highlighted it is the dominant values of the society that determine it, not the quality of the action.

In whichever way deviance is perceived, what is evident is that every society refers to as deviant, whatever activates or acts that are not generally accepted by her dominant class. The dominant class in every society often coalesce their beliefs and sentiments into consensus values, build and exhibit such values as the shared sentiments of all people, and use same as control mechanism over all members of the society. Departure from these shared sentiments is often called deviance, and people who so depart are called deviants.

However, Haralambos and Holborn identify three dimensions of deviance: acts or activities that amount to criminality in a particular society; acts of inevitable deviation from social norms due to abnormal situation such as war, and acts that are against social norms but are tolerated because they are not criminalized, and, as such, cannot attract prescribed sanctions. It is this last

dimension to deviance that Fela Anikulapo Kuti's political protest can be majorly located. But what is the connection between deviant behaviour and political protest?

5.5 DEVIANCE AND POLITICAL PROTEST

Deviance has always been somewhat related to protest, but scholars differ considerably on the exact relationship that exists between them. On the one hand are those who consider activities of political protest as deviant behaviour, (Useem and Useem, 2001; Herring, 1989; Conway, 1989 & 2000; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004; & Olafsson, 2007). These scholars perceive protest as a non-conventional form of political participation and in fact, "a high risk political behavior" as some of them, Useem and Useem (2001) call. On the other hand are those who argue that protest activities are regular forms of political participation; not deviant. They claim that political protest is a behavior that is "inherently political", and a "taken for granted part of the repertoire of citizens' political activities" (Schussman and Soule 2005: 1084). Charles (1996) and Jasper (1998) also consider political protest as one of the many forms of interacting with elites, opponents, or the state.

To them, political protest and other forms of contentious politics are forms of political participation. They increase as voting and other forms of political participation decrease, and since they share such compensatory roles, "it makes little sense to limit analysis of political participation to voting and electoral activities" (Schussman and Soule p.1084), without including political protest as a regular part. By those who could afford to engage in them therefore, deviant acts and activities remain a form of questioning the status quo and the dominant order, and a

perfect exhibition of protest actions against the authorities (Hastings and Thomas, 2009; Kong, 2009).

While scholarly debates continue on what form of behaviour protest can be clearly and logically categorized as, the intention of this part of the study is to primarily explore Fela's deviant activities and situate them as certain forms of political protest action against the regime of military dictatorship and mis governance in Nigeria during the period under study.

Most of the activities of Fela and the members of his Kalakuta Republic could not but qualify as deviance in the Nigeria during the period under study. Nigeria was a post-colonial state that was ruled by the military. The ruling elite and the dominant class who inherited power from the colonialists also inherited their socio-political, economic, cultural and religious values. Because every dominant idea in a society is the idea of the dominant class, European and American socio political values permeated Nigeria. The cultural, social and political practices of the pre-colonial people became barbaric, their religions became superstitious, their language became vernacular, and their spirituality became fetish (Babalola 1974; Oloruntimehin 1976). All too soon, the Nigerian post-colonial ruling elite labeled as fetish, vernacular, barbaric and the superstitious; in short, deviant, whatever behaviour that did not conform to their values, using the schools, the churches and other colonial agents of socialization.

Majority of Fela's deviant behaviour so called, save the nudity: the twenty seven wives, the numerous teenager concubines, ancestral worship and use of cannabis were not directly against

African culture, they were considered as deviant because they transgress Euro western religious values, and this is what Fela was partly protesting against.

Deviant acts and activities are a form of questioning the status quo and the dominant order, and a perfect exhibition of protest actions against the authorities (Hastings and Thomas, 2009). Because it was the dominant class that manipulated the Nigerian society and labeled smoking, sex, polygamy, ancestral worship, nudity and traditional practices as deviant - the same dominant class that engaged in corruption, authority stealing and colonial mentality that rendered their people vulnerable to hardship, Fela in protest against this class decided to engage in all the activities so labeled deviant to protest against them. His declaration in one interview reveals this:

See, it is the society that says don't do this and don't do that, okay, the society can do so. But why does the same society not condemn the bad bad things that government is doing? For example, why did the society not complain and take action when police and soldiers burnt my house and killed my mother? Why did the society not protest? But the same society condemns marijuana and wants me to stop. You see, everybody now sees what they call marijuana now as different thing. If I had been afraid of the society I would not be able to make that point, that Marijuana is not a bad thing. It is a natural herb ... but when I take this alcohol thing that Oyinbo man make, which they do not condemn, I get confused; I can't think! But Igbo, oh my, I don't smoke Marijuana because I am a criminal, but I see the effect, the experience; ... so Nigeria is a Gestapo country

The current chapter does not, in any way, argue that Fela's use of cannabis, celebration of sexual orgies, nudity and other forms of deviant activities have no negative consequence on the society. Matter-of-factly, many human activities do have its negative side. Fela's deviant activities

inflicted many negative consequences on him and other members of the Nigerian society. Fela defiled many young ladies, introduced many people into hemp smoking and contributed immensely to sexual immorality amongst the youth while his protest lasted in Nigeria (Moore, 1982). This is the same way in which actions of street protest may cause heavy traffic that may result in some human causality, or deny someone a much needed job or multi million naira business contract. In the same manner, suicide bombers risk their lives and others' while protesting against certain issues. In fact, the case of Mohammed Benzoazi who sparked up revolution in Tunisia was self-immolation, a form of protest carried out at the detriment of the protester's life. Indeed, protesters feel so passionate about the points they want to make that they throw all cautions to the winds and may even manifest certain contradictions that are antithetical to the very claims they make. These do not remove their activities from what they are: protest.

The present argument merely provides explanations for why Fela chose deviant activities as protest actions against the political system, and assert the position that apart from relying on their skills as Fela relied on music, protesters can also choose other protest actions that they consider most potent in attracting or arresting attention of the society and the authorities to which their protests are targeted. In doing this they can ignore law and morality, and also damn the negative consequence their protest actions may possibly inflict on them and others (Jasper, 1998).

5.5 EXIT FROM THE STATE: FELA AND THE KALAKUTA REPUBLIC

Although it was Osaghae (1999) who first coined the phrase 'exiting the state' in his discussion of the relationship between the Nigerian state and its civil society, the scenario of citizens trying

to willingly isolate themselves from their state- as Fela did in his 1974 declaration of the Kalakuta Republic- is quite historical, and it is often done in protest against certain dominant political situations in the state. Jean Jack Rousseau's classical statement, "Man is born free but everywhere in chains" applies here, and the chains partly refers to some dominant practices to which a man is not favorably disposed but cannot really change due to the repressive and coercive powers of the state, leaving exit as the only option.

Exit can be geographical, in which case a citizen moves out of the geographical location of a state, of course, to another state, in protest against the dominant order. This is the case in migration of many African citizens to North America and Europe, a situation that caused what in Nigerian parlance is called brain drain. Exit can also be substitutional, in which case citizens consider the state ineffective, and seek substitute and alternative means of achieving what the state is supposed to provide to them. Town associations and community development groups in some areas of Africa are forms of citizens protest against the state by "bypassing it; by defining them in relation to economic, political and cultural systems which transcend the state" (Bayart 1991:60). The last one is ideological, in which a citizen, again in protest, declares himself and members of his family non-citizen of a state by refusing to respect norms, rules, and civic responsibilities. In all these cases the citizens are either trying to escape corruption and excessive theft (Osaghae, 1999), or lawlessness on the part of the state agents (Hoff and Stiglitz, 2004).

Generally, those who exit the state do so in reacting to, or protesting against what Du Toit (1995) calls "a domineering yet ineffective state" (p.31), so, exit, like voice and loyalty, is a

product of state power relations that exist in a polity" (Ake 1995, cited in Osaghae, 1999:86). It is within this context that Fela's creation of the Kalakuta Republic can be assessed.

Fela declared his Kalakuta Republic in protest against the dominant practices of the military regime, and to escape obeying their laws which he claimed were made by criminals, arguing that the military was an unconstitutional government and any law made by it was illegal and indeed criminal. Another reason was to protest against the brutality inflicted on him by the Nigerian police who invaded his house on several occasions and jailed him for frivolous reasons. "The incessant attack on Kalakuta and its final burning in 1978 was the most cruel and dehumanizing act of the Obasanjo military regime; it was a case of heinous crime to humanity" (w. Soyinka, personal communication, 2009). Olaniyan tells part of Fela's Kalakuta Republic story thus

He survived (the police brutality), but, expectedly, the experience only made him more belligerent. He christened his commune Kalakuta Republic, a name he got from one of the many police cells he made home. The prisoners told him that the name in Swahili means Rascal's Republic, so, Fela reasoned that 'if rascality is going to get us what we want we will use that name because we are dealing with corrupt people, so we have to deal rascally with them'. (Olaniyan 2004:56)

Olaniyan adds that

Kalakuta was supposedly independent of the Nigerian Republic, with Fela himself as president. ... He fortified the security of his republic and electrified the fence (p.56) ... Kalakuta had its own laws and constitution...In the Kalakuta Republic, Fela with his deconstructive insight, sardonic humor, and exhilarating sounds taught young people to see the state as fundamentally illegitimate,

selfish, dictatorial, even unpatriotic and un African;
and to see many of his policies as irredeemably
foolish (p.85).

Olorunyomi (2010) recalls that Fela's Kalakuta Republic was membered by all classes of people, and from many nationalities too (Personal communication, December). He recalled how as a university sophomore he escaped to Fela's Kalakuta Republic after the Ali Must Go persecution which led to the death and arrest of many Nigerian Students, and asserted that majority of those who eventually turned Kalakuta to their second abode as he also did, were university students.

In the Kalakuta all sorts of things happened to demonstrate the possibility of a free, communal, Africanised, a- religious welfare state that Fela's political protest was always asking for as against the poverty and lack of freedom that characterized the military regime. But this free society also inevitably indulged in the use of drugs, indiscriminate and unprotected sexual activities, and crime. The paradox of the situation made Olaniyan (2004) conclude that

Fela destroyed Nigerian youths, but only the kind of mindless, pliant youth the dictator carves. Many of those students who were in Fela's Kalakuta Republic graduated to become fearless journalists, educators, civil rights lawyers and social activists; they were the bulwark of opposition to the hideous dictators General Ibraheem Babangida and General Sanni Abacha, even Obasanjos' second coming as elected in 1999 has not been spared ... (Olaniyan: 86)

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CHAPTER SIX

6.0 DATA ANALYSIS: FOUR STAGES OF FELA'S PROTEST SONGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Fela's political protest songs began immediately after he returned from the United States in 1970, and the songs underwent four interrelated phases that were determined by the emergent socio political orders and Fela's disposition towards them. The first is the phase of 'analysis and criticism'- what Fela called "preaching to change the system" (Personal communication, B. Hoskyns, August, 1984), during which he merely identified certain socio political contradictions and appealed to the government on the need to change them. This is followed by songs of confrontation, phase 2, which Fela began to produce when he sensed the futility of changing the status quo through his 'preaching' songs.

The third phase consists of 'songs of skepticism' in which Fela got frustrated and became skeptical towards the change he was preaching, especially because there seemed to be very low response from the masses he was singing to mobilize. Then followed the fourth phase, the phase of entertainment and cynicism. Fela at this stage had explored all forms of confrontation and tried all he could to mobilize popular movement against the establishment; all to no avail. He then became frustrated and his songs of protest went cynical, almost turning the serious business of protest to fun and sexual commentaries. Thus, by his use of music, Fela exhibited behaviors such as political skepticism and cynicism as forms of political protest. The four phases of Fela's protest songs are given in what follows. Where the lyrics are presented in language other than Standard English, the lyrics are italicized and later translated in English.

6.2 PHASE ONE: SONGS OF CRITICISM (1970-1978)

As earlier mentioned, Fela's songs during this phase identified certain socio-political contradictions he observed in the system, and, in most cases, appealed to the government on the need to address them. Typical songs during that period are *Why Black Man Suffer* (1970), *Black Man's Cry* (1970), *Buy Africa* (1970), *Je n Wi Temi* (1973), *No Buredi* (1976), *Sorrow Tears and Blood* (1977) and *Shuffering and Smiling* (1978).

Olaniyan (2004:5) recalls that because Fela was positively awed by America, and the New York in particular-especially its evident technological sophistication and apparent social and institutional orderliness", his reaction to this was the feeling of why Africa could not transform to the same level, especially given the background of what he later discovered, that African Americans had immense contribution towards the transformation of the United States. Fela's immediate reaction to this meditation was that it was the scourge of state mismanagement, repression and oppression that had prevented the black man in Nigeria and other African countries from achieving the transformative capacity of their counterparts in the United States.

So, in ensuring that African governments and their people utilize their potentials to better their lots, Fela in 1970 Fela released the songs *Buy Africa* and *Black Man's Cry* in which he criticized extensively African leaders' refusal to make and promote policies that would encourage purchase of African made goods so as to enhance African people's economic development and independence. Colonialism had just ended a decade earlier, and the African people were yet to leave the shackles of Euro superiority that manipulated them to patronize foreign made goods

and discredit local ones. Thus in *Buy Africa* (1970), Fela laments the state of not patronizing African goods in what follows.

*Se tiwa ni o, mi o fe, Se tiwa ni o, mi o gba, tani maa ba wa
jeee, nijowo la maa lowo l'Africa? My brother na soo, na
so African man go see the thing wey him brother make for
Africa, he no go buy, he go come go buy that thing wey
oyinbo make for Euroupe and America....*

Is it ours, I don't want. Is it ours? I reject it. Who will patronize us? How are we going to prosper in Africa? That is it my brother. That is how African people ignore the products of their brothers in Africa and then begin to patronize those ones made in Europe and America....

Durotoye (2003) however notes that "the message contained in *Black Man's Cry* did not inspire most of Fela's fans" (p.177), and that the situation made Fela release another song titled *Why Black Man Suffer* some months after. Like in *Buy Africa* and *Black Man's Cry*, the lyrics of *Why Black Man Suffer* were equally appealing for change and were in no way confrontational. Meanwhile, Fela had fully established *Yabbis* in his African Shrine night club where he devoted about half an hour to rebutting the political elite and their retrogressive policies. So, even when his publicly released song albums were merely appealing for change, Fela had, in his African Shrine declared confrontational protest at the Nigerian political elite during the yabbis session of his life musical shows and wherever he was invited to play.

As a results of such activities demonstrated in the above, series of security reports went to the state and the federal governments on Fela's activities in the African Shrine, and the need to

curtail them in order to prevent citizens' revolt against the state. As a result, bulk of threats began to hunt him, but in response to the threats he declared his resolve towards what Ayu (1986) called "speaking truth to the seat of power irrespective of the cost to his person or life". This attitude is declared in *Je N wi T'emi* (1973) where Fela yelled at the conservative forces and the state agents to allow him air his view as a citizen of Nigeria, and warned that it would be impossible to gag him even in the face of crude repression. Fela sang in *Je N Wi T'emi*

Je n wi t'emi yee o, je n wi t'emi
Ti n ba r'oto ma so o, oo le pa nu mi de
Otito koro o, omo araye o fe
Agadagodo mi o si lowo re, oo le pa nu mi de
Maa l'anu bi apere o, Oo le panu mi de
Boo ti mi mole o, oo Ie paa nu mi de
Je n wi temi yee o, je n wi temi
Owo kii fowo lorun
Je n wi temi

Don't gag me, behold, don't gag me
I will simply be blunt, you can't gag me
Truth is bitter, the mortals abhor it
You hold no padlock to my mouth you can't gag me
I will open my mouth like a basket, you can't gag me
Even if you incarcerate me, you can't gag me
Don't gag me, behold, don't gag me
One business doesn't choke the other,
Don't gag me!

Obviously, Fela refused to be gagged in exposing the inefficiency, repression and bad governance of the military, as well as the danger that such scenario portended for the people. This is exhibited in *Shuffering [sic] and Smiling* (1978) where he criticized the dehumanizing condition of public transport system in Lagos.

Every day my people dey inside bus (Shuffering and smiling)[sic]

*49 sitting 99 standing,
Dem go fall, dem go wake up like cock
Dem go rich work query ready
Dem rich house food no dey
Dem go reach pocket money e no dey
Every day na the same thing
Every day na the same thing
Suffer suffer for world, enjoy for heaven...*

Everyday my people are packed in the bus (suffering and smiling)
49 seated 99 standing
They fall and rise like cock
They get to work only to be queried
They get back home no food to eat
They check their wallet there is no penny
Every day the story is the same
Every day the story is the same
Suffering in this world, Enjoy in heaven.....

6.3 PHASE TWO: SONGS OF CONFRONTATION AND INCITEMENT (1977-1985)

Fela around 1977 changed the tone of his music from criticism to confrontation when he sensed that the government of Nigeria was not ready to change, nor were the people prepared to confront them. It was from this point that Fela began confrontational protest, and while doing that he also made frantic efforts to sensitize the citizens and incite them towards staging popular revolt against the government. Dominated by songs such as *Zombie* (1977), *Sorrow, Tears and Blood* (1977), *Shuffering and Smiling* (1978) and *Authority Stealing* (1980), Fela confronted the Nigerian political system with truths, and in his African shrine every Friday and Saturday, he "launched comprehensive venomous critique of both institutions and individuals he considered as causes and perpetrators of Nigeria's reigning incredible anomie" (Olaniyan, 2004:4), in a bid to provoke popular

uprising against the government. This is well highlighted in *Sorrow, Tears and Blood* (1977) where Fela lamented that

(Pidgin)

*My people sef dey fear too much
They fear for the thing they no see
They fear for the air around them
We fear to fight for freedom
We fear to fight for liberty
We fear to fight for justice
We fear to fight for happiness
They always have reasons to fear:
I no wan die
I no wan quench
Mama dey for house
I get one child ...*

(English)

*My people fear too much
They have fear of the unseen
They fear the air around them
They fear to fight for freedom
They fear to fight for liberty
They fear to fight for justice
They fear to fight for happiness
They often give reasons such as
I don't want to die
I don't want to perish
My mother still lives
I have a child*

Fela continues in the same song that due to this fear of the known and unknown, the current African people condone repression by the state and its agents, and then groan helplessly in 'Sorrow, Tears and Blood.

(Pidgin)

*So policeman go slap your face,
you no go talk!
Army man go whip your yansh
you go dey look like monkey*

(English)

*So, a policeman will slap you
and you won't complain!
A soldier will flog your buttocks
and you are mute like a stupid monkey!*

Fela protests against his people's continuing tolerance of *Governments of Crooks* that turn their countries into *Countries of Pains* a replica of the Hobbesian state of nature where there is always *Sorrow, Tears and Blood*, apparently worried that the people did

nothing even with examples of two countries that successfully resisted and protested against such:

(Pidgin)	(English)
<i>Rhodesia dem do dem own</i>	Rhodesians did their own
<i>Our leaders dey yap for nothing</i>	Our leaders brag in impunity
<i>South Africa dem do dem own</i>	South Africans did their own

With this song Fela's influence began to rise, especially amongst the Lagos urban youths, and it was becoming apparent to the regime in Nigeria that some form of state control needed to be urgently instituted against him.

Thus, the agents of Nigerian state raided Fela's residence twice within a period of six months in 1974 alone. The first raid of April 30 was in search of Indian hemp -as the police claimed, and it ended as a national drama in which Fela employed several clever tactics to beat the ill trained and unprofessional men of the Nigerian police. After his release from the Criminal Investigation Department, Alagbon, apparently for want of evidence, Fela went back to his constituency- the shrine- to narrate his experience to his audience during a yabbis session:

(Pidgin)

You see my brother, Tribune themselves print am say 129, 000 youths dey for prison for this country; 129, 000. What is happening inside prison is not worthy for human beings to see. Every morning the police go flog boys 21 stokes of cane without permission of court. 1 see am. They must take me there to see. Very good. As I don see am now, I must to expose them to the world. Very good.

(English)

You see my brother, Tribune newspaper reported that 129,000 youths are currently held in Nigerian prison, 129,000. What happens in the prisons is not worthy of human sight. Every morning the police flog inmates 21 stokes of cane without permission of court. I witnessed it; they took me there to see; very good. As I have seen it now, I must expose them to the world. Very good

(Cited in Hoskyns 1984).

Fela did not stop at reporting to just his constituency, he composed a special songs titled *Alagbon Close* and released it to the public in the same year, 1974. In *Alagbon Close*, Fela makes a descriptive protest of the utter dehumanizing treatment that the police gave to prison inmates as a sectional instance of gross violation of human rights that was characteristic of the military regime in Nigeria during the period under study:

(Pidgin)

*For Alagbon,
Den no get respect for human being
Dem no know say you get blood like them
Dem go send dem dog to bite bite you
Dem go hit your head with dem gun ...
The gun dem take your money to buy
Dem go lock you for months and moths and month*

(English)

At Alagbon
They lack respect for human beings
They don't know you have feelings like them.
They will send their dogs to bite you incessantly
They brutally hit their guns on my head.
The gun bought from the tax you pay
They will detain you for months indefinite

After reporting this brutality to the public through his song, Fela then sent an instructive message of his unrepentant posture, even amidst such brutality, saying literally that it was the uniform that the police wore that gave them such power to abuse their fellow citizens with gay abandon and that that uniform was nothing but clothe sown by tailors. He sings:

(Pidgin)

*If you know them for Alagbon,
Make you tell them make I hear
Uniform na cloth na soldier dey sow am*

(English)

If you know them in Alagbon
Please tell them to my hearing (that)
Uniform is mere cloth sown by tailor

Some six months after this, precisely on 23rd November 1974, another raid was carried out on Fela's residence. This time Fela was reduced to a pathetic pulp, with twenty stitches on his head, and was hospitalized for seventeen days. This resulted in his release of *Zombie* (1976), theme of which is a confrontational criticism of military brutality and insensitivity to the plight of the Nigerian people.

(Pidgin)

*Zombie, o Zombie
Zombie no go think unless you tell am to think
Zombie no go go unless you tell am to go
No break no jam no sense, ajoro jaara joro ...*

(English)

Zombie, o zombie
Zombie lacks independent thinking ability
Zombie won't move unless you tell him to
A bunch of uncultured and senseless people

Zombie became one of the most offensive confrontations that Fela gave to the military, and Ayu's (1986) comment provides explanation for why this is so:

Zombie is an animated corpse. In the record it is a metaphor for a robot or a stupid and useless person controlled and manipulated by forces outside the self. Extended from here, the metaphor assaults one of the most cherished military hierarchy and ideology of unquestionable obedience to superiors. (p.24)

Fela also produced *Authority Stealing* in which he protested how government officials engaged in free stealing of millions of naira do so with impunity, while they prosecuted a poor man who went stealing a loaf of bread due to hunger. To Fela, this is the highest form of administrative hypocrisy; a clear indication that the Nigerian legal system was designed to favour the elite at the expense of the masses. Extracts from *Authority Stealing* (1980)

(Pidgin)

*You be thief, I no be thief
You be robber, I no be robber
You be rogue, I no be rogue
Argument argument argue
Argument about stealing
Somebody don steal something wey belong to another person
And you o hear
Catch am catch am, he be robber
Watching go start, looking go start
Somebody go dey, wey dem go catch
Dem go beat am well well, Police go come one time
Dem go charge am to court
Dem fit give am five years dem fit put am for ten years
I say if the man no stand well well, Dem go shoot am for armed robbery
I say turn your face into the other side Oga patapata dey for there
Authority people dey for there
Authority man in charge of money*

*Him go steal ten billion naira
You no go hear dem shout
Thief thief thief
You no go hear them shout robber robber
Authority stealing pass armed robbery*

(English)

You are a thief, I am not
You are a robber, I am not
You are a rogue, I am not
Argument galore,
Someone has pilfered another person's property,
Then you hear,
Get him, get him,
Eventually
There will be someone caught
They will beat him to a pulp
Police will arrive later
The man is charged to court
They can jail him for five years
They can jail him for ten years
If the man is not influential, he can be shot for armed robbery
But pay attention to the other side
The high government officials are there
The people in authority are there
The man in charge of money
Will steal billions of naira
No one will shout
Thief!
No one will shout Robber
Authority stealing is worse than robbery
We African must resist this nonsense

Another prominent song during this era is *Army Arrangement* (1985) in which Fela confronted the then military Head of State, General Obasanjo's embezzlement and misappropriation of public fund, as well as rigging of the 1979 general elections in favor of Alhaji Shehu Shagari.

(Pidgin)

*Nigeria get money
Plenty money for oversea...
2.8 billion naira, oil money is missing
Dem set up inquiry
Dem say money no loss o
Dem dabaru every body
Supervisor Obasanjo
E say make we no talk o
Money no loss dem shout again
Enquiries don close oooo
E no finish e no finish
Election story n ko
Obasanjo plan am very well
E take old politicians
Wey rule Nigeria before
The same old politicians
Wey spoil Nigeria before
Obasanjo carry all of them
All of them dey there now!*

*The young African dey get ear for head
Dem get two eyes too,
Dem dey see the thing wey dey happen
Dem dey hear am too
Few people dey fat with big money
And the rest dey hungry
Me Fela I challenge Obasanjo, na wayo e dey all the time
Make e carry me go anywhere
I go open book for am
Na wayo government we dey o
E gba mi o
Na rigimo government we dey, yee paripa o
Put am together give me the answer
Army Arrangement
One answer you go get
Army Arrangement....*

(English)

*Nigeria has money
Plentiful money overseas...*

2.8 billion naira, oil money is missing
They set up inquiry
They said no money was lost
They confused every body
Supervisor Obasanjo
Prevented people from complaining
No money is missing, they insist.
Enquiry closes
That's not all
What about election story
Obasanjo planned it very well
He took old politicians
Who ruled Nigeria before
The same old politicians
Who spoilt Nigeria before
Obasanjo took all of them
All of them are there now!

The young Africans have ears
They also have eyes
They see the things that happen
They hear them too
Few people prosper live in affluence
And the rest are hungry
I Fela, hereby challenge Obasanjo, he is a fraudulent person
Let him challenge me to it
I will give evidence
We are under governmental scam
Somebody help
We are in government of manipulation
So unfortunate
Put them together and give me the answer
Army Arrangement
One answer you will get
Army Arrangement....

6.4 PHASE THREE: SONGS OF POLITICAL SKEPTICISM (EARLY 1980S)

By the 1980s the Nigerian economy had collapsed and all over the streets there were depression and other signs of austerity. Executive corruption and highhandedness continued in the military regime, even as citizens groaned in repression, yet, Nigerian people appeared indifferent towards

Fela's long time call for citizens' uprising against the status quo. This threw Fela's songs into another phase; the phase of political cynicism. In protest against this system, Fela decided to adopt what he called 'siddon look'. This phase produced songs such as Look and Laugh (1986), Just Like That (1990), and Overtake Don Overtake Overtake (1990) in which Fela chronicled all the songs he had produced in exposing the social ills in Nigeria and the need for popular uprising against them. He lamented how people remained docile as things were getting worse just like that. In Look and Laugh (1986), Fela sings

(Pidgin)

*Long time I never sing new song
Long time I never say new thing
Many of you go dey wonder why,
Your man never sing new song
Many of you dey wonder why
Your man never say new things
My brother no be say I weak
Abi I wan keep quiet
Wetin I dey do be say/*
Luuku and Laafu
Wetin I no sing, about in this country
Sing sing sing, dem burn my house
Sing sing sing, seize my property
I must to looku and laafu*

(English)

For long I haven't released new songs
For long I haven't said new things
Many of you will be wondering why
Your man has not released new songs
Many of you will be wondering why
Your man has not said new things
My brothers it is neither for weakness
Nor that I have been silenced
What I am doing is/*
Look and laugh

What have I not sung about in the country?
I sang, they burnt my house
I sang, they seized my property
I must look and laugh

What exactly was Fela looking and laughing about in the political affairs of Nigeria? The other parts of the song give the answer:

(Pidgin)

*No be here we dey
When Obasanjo carry government give Sagari
Sagari dey there for four years, No head no tail
Inside the no head no tail
Same no water, no light still dey
All for 1983,
I just dey look and laugh
Which kind wayo be this
Ojukoroju stealing
Original ole...
Looku looku looku laafu lafu laafu
Police uniform come important Passi foodu for this country
Looku luku luku Laafu lafu laafu
Nigeria still dey where e dey poor man still dey plenty more
Luuuku luku luuku laafu lafu laafu
Government people dey enjoy go, with police supporting
Go to court na big big English
And still dem dey do dem nonsense
Luuku luku luuku Laafu lafu laafu*

(English)

Weren't we here
When Obasanjo transferred government to sagari?
Sagari ruled for four years, no meaningful impact
Even in that situation same water and electricity failure endured
All in 1983
I just look and laugh
What kind of fraud is this
Open stealing
Original theft

Continuous watching, incessant laughter
Police uniform is more important than food in this country
Continuous watching incessant laughter
Nigeria remains stagnant, people get poorer everyday
Continuous watching, incessant laughter
Government officials continue stealing, aided by the police
In courts they speak jargons, yet they do meaningless things
Continuous watching incessant laughter

At a point Fela found no other expression to describe the continuous degeneration of Nigeria's economy and politics under the military than say Overtake Don Overtake Overtake..... In this album, (1989) Fela lamented how incessant military coups and counter coups, what he called 'Soldier go Soldier come' had drastically eroded the economic and social well being of citizens in Nigerian and other parts of Africa.

(Pidgin)

*When dem want to call Nigerian government dem give am name
Federal military Government
For Zaire dem give am name Liberation Council
For Liberia dem give am name Revolutionary Council
Dem get different different name
For different different government
But the correct name for them na soldier go soldier come...*

*When Obasanjo and Yaradua chop bele full and go
Dem put civilians friends for there to spoil second republic
People wey no know dey happy, people wey know dem dey laugh
Me I no mind their name me I call dem soldier go soldier come*

(English)

When they want to call Nigerian government they say
Federal military Government
In Zaire they say Liberation Council
In Liberia they say Revolutionary Council
They have different names
For different government
But the correct name for them is soldier go soldier come...

When Obasanjo and Yaradua siphoned the state wealth and left
They imposed their civilians friends to spoil the Second Republic
People who did not know were happy, people who knew were laughing
I don't mind their name I call them soldier go soldier come

Fela then begins a recap of most of his protest songs he had composed to sensitize people towards the contradictions of the military and the political elite so that the people would join in his struggle and revolt against them

(Pidgin)

*I put my mouth for song
Zombie o Zombie
Zombie no go think unless you tell am to think
Attention, quick march double up turn right
I put my mouth for song
Shuffering and smiling
Every day my people dey inside bus,
49 sitting 99 standing
Dem go fall dem go wake like cock
Dem go reach house food no dey
Dem go look pocket money no dey
Dem go go for road police go yap
Every day na the same thing
I put my mouth for song
Mr. follow follow, Mr. follow follow,
You follow follow, make you open eyes...
I put my mouth for songs
Unknown soldiers, unknown soldiers
Dem go kill some students
Which kind injustice be this
Wetin concern government inside
We get unknown police
We get unknown soldiers
We get unknown civilians
All is equal to unknown government...
Overtake don overtake overtake ee yah....
Na so our life for Africa dey be since dem say we get independence
Na bigi wahala soldiers do dabaru all things
Na big wahala for man to waka for road at any time*

*When you wear police uniform na to collect money for road
Police station don turn to bank, DPO na Bank Manager
Police station don turn to bank, IG na managing director*

*When you want start business nko, na big wahala
Na big wahala you go get orisisrisi begging...
So you see my people, overtake don overtake overtake , ee ya,
Overtake don overtake overtake....*

(English)

I begin to sing
Zombie o Zombie
Zombie, o zombie
Zombie lacks independent thinking ability
Zombie won't move unless you tell him to
A bunch of uncultured and senseless people

I begin to sing
Suffering and smiling
Every day my people are packed in busses
49 sitting 99 standing
They fall and rise like cock
They get to their houses no food
They check their pockets no money
They walk on the road police harass them
Every day, same story

I begin to sing
Mr follow follow, Mr. follow follow,
You follow follow, open your eyes...
I begin to sing
Unknown soldiers, unknown soldiers
They killed some students
What kind of injustice is this
What concerns government in it

We have unknown police
We get have unknown soldiers
We have unknown civilians
All is equal to unknown government...

Overtake has overtaken overtake, .
That has been our fate in Africa since independence
Its big trouble, soldiers have destroyed the polity
It's big trouble to walk freely

When you're in police uniform, you extort money on the streets
Police station is now a bank, the DPO is manager
Police station is now a bank, IG is managing director

When you want start business it is big trouble
You will have to lobby and beg ...
So you see my people, overtake has overtaken overtake...

6.5 PHASE FOUR: SONGS OF ENTERTAINMENT AND CYNICISM (1980s TO 1997)

This phase almost ran concurrently with the third phase. One significant difference is that Fela, by 1989, stopped all forms of public albums, in protest against the refusal of people to engage in popular uprising against the military interregnum. He however rekindled his protest songs in the '90s, but, this time, they were laden with humor and sex, apparently depicting the cynical stage that he was. Prominent among the cynical songs are Chop and Clean Mouth (CCMLNHNNS), Country of Pains (COP), Movement Against Second Slavery (MASS), Big Blind Country (BBC), Government of Crooks (GOC), Clear Road for Jaga Jaga, (CRJJ) Condom, Baamaiyi, Akunakuna Senior Brother of Perambulator, (ASBP) Organization of African Uselesspeople (OAU) etc, all of which were not officially released but played to the life audience in the African Shrine. He however released another public record in 1992 (Underground System), but that record also made it clear that Fela's cynicism was manifesting in the direction of contradictions as the album was in praises of some military dictators such as Thomas Sankara and Idi Amin. As contained in what follows, the lyrics of the typical songs during this phase are quite vulgar and jocular, even though they make cogent points of protest against socio-political anomalies. Country of Pains for instance opens like this

(Pidgin)

*Na transfer o, from kirikiri to Maiduguri
In the night I come dey hear one sound
Gbi gbi gbi gbi, pa, gbi gbi gbi gbi
I come ask alaji Buka, say
Which kind song be that
Alaji come say
Dat na the song wey dem dey sing
when dem wan go dash woman to man
Na im I talk say that one na MOF
Music of Fucking*

*This one
You go dey help me answer say, tajireee
Everybody say tajire
That means com mot your dress*

*Lebulebulebulebu tajire
F ebofebofebofebofebo Labolabolanolabolabo Randirandirandi
Everybody say yee yee*

(English)

*It was transfer o, from kirikiri to Maiduguri (prisons)
In the night I began to come hear one sound
Gbi gbi gbi gbi, pa, gbi gbi gbi gbi
Then I asked alaji Buka, that
What kind sound is that?
Alaji replied, that
That is the song they sing
when they want to give women to men
Then I said, that one is MOF
Music of Fucking*

*This one
You will say after me tajireee
Everybody say tajire
That means take off your dress*

After the vulgar jokes, Fela then began the main anomalies of citizenship and governance that the songs was composed to protest

E no easy o, e no easy to be Nigerian e no easy

E no easy o public dey citizen no dey
As I be citizen I must talk all the thins
To be citizen
They must seek to kill you
When dem kill you finish, you must wake up again
Dem must burn your house too
Dem must kill your mother
Dem must charge you armed robbery
When dem charge you finish, you must come out all time
Dem must charge you transporters
Dem must jail you five years
E no easy a e no easy to be Nigerian
E no easy o a bi citizen for Nigeria
As I be citizen I fit talk all the thing
Lebu lebu lebu lebu lebu

It is not easy to be a Nigerian, it is not easy
 It is not easy, the public exists without citizen
 As a citizen I can talk about it
 To be a citizen
 They must seek to kill you,
 After killing you, you must resurrect
 They must also burn your house
 They must kill your mother
 They must charge you for robbery, after your trials
 You must be discharged at all the times
 They must charge you for trafficking
 They must jail you for five years
 It is not easy to be Nigerian
 It is not easy, I am Nigerian citizen
 As a citizen I can say it all
 Lebu lebu lebu lebu lebu

(Pidgin)

In the state of Nigeria
We get important places
One of these important places
The court of law and justice
In the court of law and justice
Serious people dem dey there

Make you hear the nonsense things
Dis serious people dem dey do

(English)

In the Nigerian state
 We have key institutions
 One of these key institutions places
 The court of law and justice
 There In the court of law and justice
 You find terrible people

Imagine the terrible things
 That these terrible people do

<i>Make you hear the yeye thing</i>	Imagine the rubbish things
<i>Dis serious people dem dey do</i>	That these terrible people do
<i>Police go go arrest people for road for wandering</i>	Police arrest people for wandering
<i>Police wey no get destination</i>	Police that have no destination
<i>Police wey dey waka about perambulating</i>	The police that perambulate
<i>Police wey dey wanders about the street</i>	The police that roam the street
<i>E go start to stop somebody for road</i>	The police will stop people in the road
<i>Just because he get some authority</i>	Just because they have authority
<i>Arresting the man wey get destination</i>	Arresting the man on a destination
<i>Harassing the woman wey get destination</i>	Harassing the woman on destination
<i>Try to fuck women by force by road by night</i>	Trying to rape women by the road side
<i>Police go charge them for wondering</i>	Police will charge them for wandering
<i>Police dey wander, e dey charge you for wandering</i>	Wandering police charging for same
<i>Steve Wonder self him go start to de wonder</i>	Steve wonder will begin to wonder

(English)

Police go start arrest
 Arrest puff puff seller
 Arrest Akara seller
 Arrest moin moin seller
 Arrest rice seller
 Arrest food seller
 Arrest amala seller
 Arrest okro seller
 Arrest Ice cream seller
 Arrest Ghana bread seller
 Arrest fresh meat seller
 Arrest fried food seller
 Very very very hot food
 Very very fresh food
 Carry them go for court
 Magistrate pass judgment
 Puff puff exhibit
 Moin moin exhibit
 Akara exhibit
 Rice exhibit
 Food exhibit
 Amala exhibit
 Okro exhibit
 Ice cream exhibit
 Ghana bread exhibit

(Pidgin)

*The exhibit me I know na marijuana
The exhibit me I know na stolen money
The exhibit me t know na heroin or cocaine
The exhibit me I know na stolen property
But for Nigeria court e no dey happen so
courts
Lebulebulebulebu*

(English)

*The exhibit I know is Marijuana
The exhibit I know is stolen money
The exhibit I know is heroin or cocaine
The exhibit I know is stolen property
But that is not the case in Nigerian*

<i>After dem don seize the food from the owner</i>	<i>After seizing the foods from the owners</i>
<i>Magistrate go take some money from them</i>	<i>The magistrate will take some kickbacks</i>
<i>Him go send them all away from the court</i>	<i>He will dismiss them all</i>
<i>Magistrate go start open mouth any how</i>	<i>Then the magistrate opens moth anyhow.</i>
<i>Open mouth any how to start to chop puff puff</i>	<i>To eat puff puff</i>
<i>Open mouth any how to start chop rice and soup</i>	<i>To eat rice and stew</i>
<i>Police go start open dem mouth any how</i>	<i>Then the police opens mouth anyhow</i>
<i>Open mouth anyhow to start to chop moin moin</i>	<i>To eat moin moin</i>
<i>Open mouth any how to start chop Ghana bread</i>	<i>To eat Ghana bread</i>
<i>Government of the people na spoilers</i>	<i>Government of the people is a spoiler</i>
<i>Police go spoil you by beating</i>	<i>Police spoils you by merciless beating</i>
<i>Magistrate go spoil you by jailing</i>	<i>The magistrate spoils you by jailing</i>
<i>Judge go spoil you by judgment</i>	<i>The judge spoils you by judgment</i>
<i>Government go spoil you by wahala</i>	<i>The government spoils you by troubles</i>
<i>See dem, look dem, watch them everything e be money</i>	<i>Everything is about bribery</i>
<i>See dem, look dem, hear them, everything e be trick</i>	<i>Everything is about pranks</i>
<i>After the thing happen to you one time</i>	<i>After you have experienced this once</i>
<i>You go start to make up your mind yourself</i>	<i>You will begin to make up your mind</i>
<i>You go start to point at your enemy</i>	<i>You will begin to point at your enemy</i>

*Spoiler international don dey gooooooooooooo
Just before he go anything he must spoil
Many things he must spoil, many things he must spoil
Akuna kuna senior brother of perambulator .*

Then after such serious exploration of the rots in the executive and judicial arms of the state, Fela would begin again on cynical notes

(Pidgin)

*Randi, randi Judi Judi
A beg, you see brother and sisters...but me I dey preach about
you...for my people it is difficult to do things...one must suffer
make you see...one must wake up make you see...Me am 52 now, I
no go die lai lai ...Idahosa e get fat neck fat stomach, e go dey*

preach All the power wey e get dey him stomach... Obasanjo, all him power dey for stomach..but Babangida, all him power, e dey him yansh; no be front yansh o na back yansh

(English)

My brothers and sisters I preach about you. For fellow citizen things are difficult .You must suffer . You must die and wake up . I am now 52 years old .I will never die .Idahosa has fat neck and fat stomach. When he preaches, all his senses are in his stomach. Obasanjos's senses are in his stomach. That is why his stomach looks like cooking pot. As for Babangida his senses are in his stomach and buttocks, Not buttock, but the pubic area. They all think they have ideas .They are all there serving no purpose

6.6 DATA INTERPRETATION (1)

In line with the need to adopt eclectic devices in order to organize and analyze the wide range of data used in this study, content of the responses of the key informants was analyzed using the evidence–claim strategy discussed in the foregoing. As presented in the following table, each research question is re-stated and paraphrased into propositions. The propositions are in turn tested against the responses of the key informants to the areas of research questions. The testing completely supports, weakens, or completely invalidates each proposition based on the principle of holistic majority.

S/N	Areas of Research Question	Core Ideas in the Statement of the Problem	Proposition	Derived Understanding from Key Informants Responses	Scoring Ratio	Implication by Decision Rule
1.	Research Question 1: “What are the root, as well as pattern of evolution of Fela’s political protest?”	“Fela’s early socialization, education, and travel to the United States endowed him with protest potentialities. His continuous interaction with certain radical elements in larger social spaces within and outside Nigeria inculcated protest behaviour in him, while the regime of military corruption, ill governance and repression catalyzed his protest actions”(p.3).	Proposition 1. Fela’s family background and further exposure to local and international issues all contributed to the evolution of his political protest.	All the five key informants agree that Fela’s family background endowed him with protest potentialities, though without much emphasis on whether the endowment came through heredity or socialization. They believe that rebellious and resistant behaviour were so entrenched in Fela’s family- which Soyinka (2010) called Ransom Kuti/ Soyinka family tradition- that even without further exposure, Fela would still have manifested protest behavior and exhibited it in one form or the other.	5:5	By absolute majority, the claim in proposition 1 is strongly evidenced and supported by key informants’ responses to the areas of research question 1.
2.	Research Question 2:	“Returning in 1970 to meet the same country full of corruption,	Proposition 2. The regime of	Four out of the five key informants' responses opine that Fela’s protest actions were reacting to military	4:1	By highly skewed majority,

	“What regime ignited Fela’s protest actions in Nigeria between 1970 and 1997?”	nepotism, oppression and repression, Fela with his high protest potentiality and behaviour could not have behaved differently from what he called “deciding to fight it”, because, as he declared in same interview, “if someone is not firm, the society will break up” (p.3).	military corruption, bad governance and oppression was the immediate catalyst of Fela’s protest actions between 1970 and 1997.	intervention in politics, and the contradiction of state repression, corruption, nepotism and abuse of human rights that accompanied it. One of them however disagrees with this view, claiming that Fela was inherently rascally, and would always manifest such behaviour anyway and anyhow.		proposition 2 is strongly evidenced and supported by key informants responses to the areas of research question 2
3.	Research Question 3: “To what extent can Fela’s songs- some of which are laden with sexual vulgarity; and his deviant behaviour constitute political protest actions?”	“Thus, between 1970 and 1997, Fela began to exhibit protest against the Nigerian establishment, using his music as well as deviant behaviour such as sexual orgies and disregard for law and established norms” as definite actions (p.3).	Proposition 3. Fela’s songs, even in their sexual vulgarity, as well as his deviant behaviors were all designed as political protest actions in Nigeria.	Two of the five key informants’ responses affirm that most of Fela’s songs were targeted at the Nigerian ruling class and political elite. They also noted that his deviant activities were designed to do the same since every dominant culture is the sentiment of the ruling elite and all attempts to break it are interpretable as protesting against the elite. However, the rest three responses saw Fela’s defiance and the vulgarity in his songs as taking advantage of a weak and non-hegemonic state to exhibit immorality and rascality.	2:3	By slightly skewed minority evidence, proposition 3 is rendered weak and vulnerable to different perspectives and interpretations

4.	Research Question 4: “What are the impacts and contemporar y relevance of Fela’s one man political protest”?	“So, if in Fela and others such as Gandhi, Soyinka, Gani, Lama, Kyi, and King Junior we have individual political actors who manifested protest behaviour and exhibited protest action that provoked major political reactions and change, it becomes imperative to study... the impacts their actions have on their political environments” (p.4), and be conscious of Fela’s protest songs creating a social movement that can engineer large citizens revolt in Nigeria.	Proposition 3 Fela’s one man political protest has impacts, and it still commands contemporary relevance in Nigeria. Its growing influence in Nigeria and elsewhere in the world is capable of snowballing into social movement and citizens’ revolt.	Only two of the five key informants opine that Fela was a stumbling block on the military government and that he created culture of resistance in the Nigeria people, concluding that his one man political protest had some impacts and still commands global contemporary relevance, especially given the fact that it was Benzoazi’s only one man, self-styled protest that sparked up another set of global revolution from Tunisia. The rest three however felt that Fela’s protest did not make significant impact in the polity especially because most, if not all of the issues he protested against are still largely present in the system. They also feel that his deviant behaviour raised some moral questions which did not allow his acclaimed ideology to attract wider patronage, and that whatever is being celebrated today about Fela all have to do with his musical ingenuity.	2:3	By slightly skewed minority evidence, proposition 4 is rendered weak and vulnerable to different perspectives and interpretations

In the end, the claims in propositions 1 and 2 are absolutely supported by highly skewed key informant evidences of 11: 1, while propositions 3 and 4 attract un-skewed evidences of 7:6. This implies that while propositions I and 2 are absolutely upheld, 3and 4 are valid both in the affirmative and in the reverse.

6.7 DATA PRESENTATION (11)

This model is divided into two: 7.1 and 7.2. 7.1 analyses Fela's songs to show the issues he protested against at different times while 7.2 shows how some of Fela's songs reflect his mood and attitudes towards the polity.

7.1

This model shows the preliminary results of the content analysis of selected songs of Fela Anikulapo Kuti. The strategy used in analyzing the contents of the songs is called concepts mapping (see Berg, 1989, Hubberman and Mathew, 194; Babbie, 2002; Oshodi, Njoku et al 2010), and the intention is to map the concepts together to see what commonly obtains amongst them in a bid to interpret Fela's protest, just as Babbie (1986:127) asserts that "the aim of social research is to discover regular pattern in social behaviour", then give them interpretations and implications

S/N	Theme of Protest	Selected Songs and Date	Sample Lyrics/Chorus	Dominant Social Order
1.	Military Governance/ and military Intervention in Politics	1. Zombie (1976) 2. Governments of Crooks (1983) 3. Political Statement Number 11 (1987) 4. Overtake don Overtake Overtake (ODOO) (1989)	"Zombie o Zombie, zombie no go think unless you tell am to think... go and queue, go and die..." (Zombie, 1976) "This is my country, nobody suppose harass me, police and soldiers no go gree, for my country...zombie cannot be oga, how zombie go be oga, zombie na zombie o (Government of Crooks, 1987) "Na so our life for Africa dey roll, soldier don dabaru all things...soldiers go soldiers come soldiers come soldiers go..." (ODOO, 1989).	Starting from the first military coup of 1966, military government continued to overthrow and succeed one another in the manner that Diamond, et al (1997) called 'Transition Without End'. Apart from the brief four year period of military imposed civilian rule between 1979 and 1983-which again was truncated by the same military, Nigeria continued to be ruled by the military till

			“How soldiers go be president, soldiers cannot be president, e just be like robbery. Like armed robbers take over your house, eat all your food, steal all your things, go to backyard, fuck all your wives, na so e be ooo, soldier governments o.” (MASS: Political Statement Number 2, 1987)	May 29, 1999.
2.	Economic depression and social hardship inflicted on Nigerians by the military	1. No Buredi (1976) 2. Shuffering and Smiling (1978) 3. Original Suffer Head (1982) 4. Look and Laugh (1986) 5. Chop and Clean Mouth (1988)	“ Me I tire for the thing dem dey call no buredi...” (No Buridi, 1976) “ Every day my people dey inside bus, suffering and smiling, forty nine sitting ninety nine standing, dem go faint, dem go wake like cock, dem go reach work query ready, dem go look pocket, money e no dey, everyday na the same thing: suffer suffer for world, enjoy for heaven amen...” (Shuffering and Smiling, 1978) “Water light, food house, yee paripa o wetin do dem... where you go see am, Akara n ko, twenty kobo for one, janjala e dey, dodo n ko, thirty kobo for one, konkolo e dey, ...na the big bigs man go dey plant cocoa, if dem no plant cocoa dem go plant robber, ordinary food for man to chop n ko o, e no dey...na the big big men dem go dey get electric, if dem no get electric dem go get plant o,	Military intervention in politics continued to attract socio economic sanctions from the international community. The sanctions and mismanagement of the economy by the military resulted in serious economic depression, unemployment, food and water scarcity as well as collapse of other infrastructures such as electricity and communication. The Structural Adjustment Policy (SAP) was introduced, only to worsen the situation, and that is why Fela referred to it as sucking African people to the point of death. (Suck African People—suck dem die)

			ordinary light for man nko o, e no dey, but trouble iyen dey...dem don turn us to suffer head ooo, original suffer head. (Original Suffer Head, 1982) “ No be here we dey when Obasanjo carry government, give shagari ooo, shagari do government for four years, no head no tail, inside the same no head no tail same no water, no light still dey... all from 1983, I just dey look and laugh, which kind wayo be this? Ojukoroju stealing, original stealing. ...Look, look, laugh laugh, police uniform come important pass food for this country., go to court na big big English and still dem dey do dem nonsense, Nigeria still dey where e dey poor man still dey plenty more look look look; laugh laugh laugh...” (Look and Laugh, 1986). “See how the naira e dey fall, if you no know naira na Nigerian money, e go dey fall, e roll, e break, e jam; when naira fall many people fall with am...na him be SAP; S, A, P: suck African people, suck them die” (Chop and Clean Mouth Like Nothing Happen Na New Name For Stealing, 1988)	
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3.	Corruption and Nepotism that characterized military regime	1. ITT (International Thief Thief) (1976) 2. Army Arrangement (1986) 3. Authority Stealing (1980) 4. Overtake don Overtake Overtake (ODOO) (1989)	“ Dem go find one African man, a man with low mentality, then dem go start their corner corner , under under, cover cover dey steal money like Obasanjo and Abiola international thief thief , ITT, international rouge....we don tire to carry anymore dem shit..” (ITT, 1976) “ One day go be one day those wey dey steal money for government, one day go be one day...4.8 billion naira, oil money is missing, dem set up inquiry, dem say money no loss o, dem dabaru everybody, supervisor Obasanjo, e say make we no talk o, money no loss dem shout again! Inquiry don close oo, ... The young Africans get eyes for head, dem get two ears too, dem dey see the things wey dey happen, dem dey hear am too, few people dey fat with big money and the rest dey hungary, me Fela I challenge Obasanjo, na wayo e dey all the time, make e carry me go anywhere I go open book for am, na wayo government we dey o, e gba mi o.. put am together give me the answer, Army Arrangement “ (Army Arrangement, 1980) “ Authority man dey inside government billion billion na him dey steal, you no go	Right after the first coup, the military began to connive with multinationals to siphon the wealth of the Nigerian nation while corruption, embezzlement and misappropriation of funds also continued in the internal polity
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			hear dem shout, thief thief thief,...authority stealing pass armed robbery, we Africans must do something about this nonsense” (Authority Stealing, 1980) “When you wear police uniform, na to collect money for road, police station don turn to bank, DPO na bank manager, police station don turn to bank, IG na Managing Director, the reason of our suffer e don dey show him face to us ...soldier go soldier come, soldier come soldier go, so you see my people overtake don overtake overtake... (Overtake Don Overtake Overtake, 1989)\	
4.	State Repression and Executive Rascality of the military Regime	1. Sorrow Tears and Blood, (STB) (1977) 2. Unknown Soldiers (1979) 3. Confussion Break Bone (1990) 4. VIP (Vagabonds in Power) (1979) 5. Akunakuna (1986) 6. Uniform Chancing	“Everybody run run run, everybody scatter scatter, police dey come army dey come, confusion everywhere. Several minutes later, all don cool down brother, police don go away, army don disappear, dem leave sorrow tears and blood, dem regular trademark...” (Sorrow, Tears and Blood, 1977) Look ooo, yeeparipa, left right left right left right left, where one thousand soldiers dem dey go, to Fela house Kalakuta... dem break some some head, dem rape some some girls, dem throw my	The military regime militarized the polity. It destroyed civility and introduced the use of naked force on citizens. So, the military, and the police had field days inflicting violence and arson on citizens since the constitution had been suspended and the courts had been incapacitated. Fela’s Kalakuta Republic was burnt during this era. Several traders got their markets burnt

			mama, out out of window. ...Twenty seven days, dem lock us, press dey shout, radio dey ring, people dey talk, dem go burn Fela house , wetin this Fela do, Fela talk about soldiers, flogging civilians for road, Fela talked about soldiers, wasting money for FESTAC, ...dem dey say...unknown soldier, na him do am...” (Unknown Soldiers, 1977) “This time around 1976/77, police go go market everything wey cost money dem burn burn them, army go go market everything wey cost money dem burn burn them, se army we go defend citizen na them dey burn burn so?...” (Confusion Break Bone, 1990) “VIP means very important personality, ministers, commissioners, big men. But these VIPs when they get too rich, they do not want to see the ordinary man on the street. They don’t know hungry people, they don’t know jobless people, ...dem go dey ride big cars, dem go dey steal money, dem go dey commot for road for them, them be wrong men, na vagabonds in Powers ni...” (Vagabonds in Power, VIP, 1979) “E no easy o, e no easy to be a Nigerian,	and also got publicly flogged and molested by soldiers under the disguise of street trading offence. Wandering Offence was also introduced around this time
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			e no easy. To be citizen, dem must plan to kill you, when dem kill you finish, you must wake up again, dem must kill your mother, dem must burn your house, dem must jail you five years. ...Police go arrest people for road for wondering, police wey no get destination, police wey dey waka about perambulating, just because e get small authority, arresting the man wey get destination, arresting the woman wey get destination, try to fuck women by force by road by night, police go charge them for wondering, Steve Wonder himself him go dey wonder...Police go start arrest, arrest moin moin seller, arrest Akara seller, moin moin exhibit, akara exhibit...” (Akuna Kuna Senior Brother of Perambulator, 1986) “ Na uniform chancing u dey use for me, because of uniform na him you brag, without that uniform, nothing you no fit do. The government wey wey get, na oversee sense dem dey use, the government wey we get, na them be master, we na dem servant. Food na plenty money, poor man no fit live. That is why judge dey go, one police go follow am, assembly man dey go, two police go follow am...”	
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			(Uniform Chancing, 1980's)	
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The military (Zombie) is the dominant concept in the foregoing mapping. Other concepts are corruption (Authority Stealing) Poverty (suffering) and oppression. The foregoing table therefore reveals that majorly, Fela Anikulapo Kuti's songs were protesting against the regime of military dictatorship that manifested in corruption, economic depression , repression and executive rascality during the period under study.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 FELA’S POLITICAL PROTEST IN NIGERIA: THE GOOD, THE BAD AND THE CONTROVERSIAL

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The main thrust of political behaviour is to emphasize the link between attitudes and dispositions of individuals or groups towards their political environments (Eulau, Eldersveld and Janowitz, 1959; Conway and Feigert, 1976; Rose 2007). So also imply Eldersveld and Katz (1961) who assert that “the behavioral approach to politics identifies the behaviour of individuals or group of individuals as the primary unit of analysis” (p.7), even as supported by others such as Dahl (1961), Ulmer (1961), Herring (1989), Heath (2007), and McAllister (2007). By interpretation therefore, all the foregoing authors and their positions are of the opinion that social scientists operate under the framework that man is a gregarious being who lives and exhibits behaviour in societies of other men which Labinjoh (1982) calls ‘social milieu’.

This is why Opp (2009) suggests that in studying the political behaviour of individuals and, or groups, it is often appropriate to do so from the micro to the macro, that is, from the point of view of individuals or group being studied, to the impacts on the larger political system of which they are parts. It is in a bid to meet this micro-macro requirement that the present study in its second chapter, adopted the social learning theory as its principal framework of analysis; a theory which posits, among others, that learning in the society follows the principle of reciprocal determinism in which people simultaneously teach some values to the society even as they learn some from it.

So, concerning the present study, particularly its fourth objective, what are those things- ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ as they may seem, that Fela deposited in the Nigerian society in the course of his political protest that lasted between 1970 and 1997? Of what impacts are his styles of protest, and what contemporary relevance can we trace to them? These are some of the questions to which the current chapter shall provide answers.

In doing so however, it will be appropriate to, as a prelude, situate political protest as a form of political participation, so as to limit the possibility of values judgment that his kind of study may evoke, especially given the controversial and iconoclastic nature of the study eponym, Fela Anikulapo Kuti.

7.2 POLITICAL PROTEST AS POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The way in which individuals and groups relate with, and participate in the overall political affairs of their polity is multi-dimensional, and political protest is one form of such relationship or participation (Almond, 1959; Charles, 1996; Jasper, 1998; Schussman and Soule, 2005). Although some scholars have challenged this position by normatively prescribing the ‘ideals’ of relating with the political system, especially between the two extremes of protest/ contention and voting/ civic responsibilities, others have also claimed that political protest activities are not a misnomer, and that they are “a taken for granted part of the repertoire of citizens’ political activities” (Schussman and Soule: 1084).

They further observe that resistance, political protest and social movement activities increase as voting and other forms of political participation decrease, and that under such compensatory relationship, “it makes little sense to limit political participation to voting and electoral activities” (p.1084), without including political protest as a normal part. With others such as Charles (1996) and Jasper (1998), these scholars also consider political protest as one of the many forms of interacting with elites, opponents, or the state, and try to dissuade scholars from considering them as abnormal or irregular.

Political participation takes different forms. Participating in elections, engaging in socio political debates, observing citizens’ responsibilities, leadership and governance are all political activities. Also, resistance, criticism, mediation, adjudication and protest are other forms. All these are indexes of political participation. Thus, Fela’s protest that manifested in the Afrobeat music and deviant behaviors can be categorized as one of the various forms of political participation.

We must pre warn, however, that this is not to argue that Fela’s use of cannabis, celebration of sexual orgies, nudity and other forms of deviant activities have no controversial consequence on the society, matter-of-factly, they do to a certain degree, but this controversies should not debar the social scientist from objectively isolating the issue of protest, after all, one of the reason adduced in favour of behavioral revolution in political science is the need to disengage from the normative and subjective orientation of early studies of politics, and then concentrate on what is empirical and objective. Thus,

rather than being judgmental about what activities constitute the ideal political participation or otherwise, the role of the social scientist is to objectively explore issues of protest and identify what is, with a view to making certain generalization. This is the approach adopted by this chapter.

7.3 IMPACTS OF FELA'S POLITICAL PROTEST ON NIGERIA

First, to the extent that the character of the Nigerian state was venal and repressive, and that of its post civil war military was brutal and trigger hungry during the period under study; a period characterized with abrogation of fundamental rights in the face of military brutality, Fela's political protest was the first major and consistent attempt by any Nigerian citizen to confront the state. Most other people or associations who made similar attempts were either silenced or bought over by the state. The few that stood operated through the gradualist and conservative means of strike actions and legal battle.

For Fela, it was fight to finish, and by open confrontation too. The confrontation greeted almost all Nigerian Heads of State/ Presidents between 1970 and 1997 because, as he rhetorically sings in one album, all of them, with no exception, had stolen. Fela sings

(Pidgin)

*Which Head we get e never steal?
Which President we get he never steal?
Dem come go hold Sagari,*

(English)

*Which head did not steal?
Which President did not steal?
They held Sagari,*

*Dem say President Sagari e steal
Se Sagari alone dem go hold
What about other presidents?*

(Fela, Confusion Break Bone: 1990)

On the allegation of theft
Is theft peculiar to Sagari
What about other presidents?

In ITT, International Thief Thief (1979), he openly accused the 1976-1979 Head of State of collaborating with some local businessmen and multinational companies in siphoning the wealth of Nigeria and destroying the socio economic well being of the people:

(Pidgin)

*Dem go dey friend friend the journalist
Friend friend the Permanent Secretary
Friend friend the Head of State
Start start dem inflation
Start start dem oppression
Start start dem corruption
Start start to steal money
like Obasanjo and Abiola
International thief thief*

(English)

They lobby journalists
They lobby Permanent Secretaries
They lobby the Head of State
Begin their inflation
Begin their oppression
Begin their corruption
Begin to loot the treasury
Like Obasanjo and Abiola
International thieves!
(Fela, International Thief Thief, 1979)

In like manner, Fela exposed the missing 4.8 billion naira oil revenue in 1978 and the election rigging of 1979 and 83 that he claimed were masterminded by General Obasanjo who was Head of State,

(Pidgin)

*4.8 million naira, oil money is missing....
Election story n ko,
Obasanjo plan am very well*

(English)

4.8 billion oil revenue was at large
What about the story of election rigging
Obasanjo cleverly manipulated it

He then went ahead to confront the then Head of State, saying

(Pidgin)

*Me Fela I challenge Obasanjo
Na wayo e dey all the time
Make he carry me go anywhere
I go open book for am
Na wayo government we dey o
E gba mi oooo...
Put am together give me the answer
Army Arrangement*

(English)

I Fela hereby challenge Obasanjo
That he is ever dishonest
Let him challenge me anywhere
I will confront him with documented evidence
We are under a fraudulent regime
Please help!
Put them together and give me the answer
Army Arrangement

(Fela: Army Arrangement, 1985)

Fela confronted other Heads of State in many other songs because of his belief that all of them had been fraudulent, corrupt and high handed in managing the treasury of the nation. He declared General Buhari as “animal in craze man skin” due to his repression and brutality towards the citizens (Beast of No Nations, 1989). General Babangida was described as the evil Maradona who computerized treasury looting (Chop and Clean Mouth, 1990), and General Sanni Abacha was described as Jagajaga brutal president (Clear Road for Jagajaga (1995). Thus, through his songs he tried to fight the cankerworm of official corruption in Nigeria. Fela was an anti corruption crusader.

Second, Fela’s political protest demystified the Nigerian state and its ruling class, and this encouraged other citizens to either strengthen their protest potentialities, or commence their own forms of resistance. This was done majorly through his music which “has the potentiality for developing consciousness” as asserted by Ayu (1986:3). Fela’s songs were directed towards “running commentaries on local and global headlines as they affected Africans in general and Nigerians in particular, and withering satires against

public institutions or officials whose actions or policies it considered untoward” (Olaniyan, 2004:51), and this went a long way in demystifying and ridiculing the ruling military elite and their collaborators, as well as enhanced the evolution of the political culture of resistance in the Nigerian people, especially the Lagos urban youth and university students who, all too soon, began to patronize Fela’s shrine and emulate his anti-establishment behaviour (Mabinuori: 2003). Not only is “this ridicule of the state very important to strip away its aura and magic” (Mbembe 1992, cited in Tchouaffe, 2005:19), it is also a fundamental step towards establishing freedom of speech and democratic culture amongst a people.

Third, Fela’s Afrobeat was about the only political music that almost consistently operated from ideological point of view all through the years under study. (Olorunyomi, 2003; Olaniyan 2004, and Tchouaffe, 2005). Other musicians who attempted a semblance of Afrobeat were either non assertive or inconsistent, implying lack of ideological base for their action. For instance, while Ebenezer Obey would lament the economic hardship in one song.

(Yoruba)

(English)

Austerity measure yi ga lola
Ijoba ologun o
E ba wad a si

The austerity in town it chocking
 The military government
 Please intervene

He would later return to defend the government and say

(Yoruba)

(English)

Ijoba n sewon ton le se
Won se o
Omi lo po joka lo, won n se o

The government does its best
Yes it does
It's a daunting task, the government tries

Another musician, Sikiru Ayinde Barrister would glorify military dictatorship in one song

(Youruba)

(English)

A o so fun won
Pe military li nijoba
Awon kii gba gba kugba
Tise baya ise ti ya
Bee lomo okunrin n se o
E sere bee

We will show that
This is military era
The military takes no nonsense
Work is work
Doing so implies bravery
keep it up

In another, Sikiru Ayinde would sing

Nigeria
Which way are we going
For military men to rule
Our nation at all time
Politicians
You better get together
For the benefit of our nation
And the incoming generation.....

Fourth, Fela's political protest opened a new chapter for social and scholarly interaction between music and politics in Nigeria. Majority of Nigerian popular musicians who concentrated either on praise singing or art for art's sake have now directed their music at political commentaries and protests (Oikilome, 2009; Oshodi, Njoku and Odiogor, 2010). Some of the musicians who now follow Fela's tradition of music as weapon of political protest include but are not limited to Tuface Idibia, Sound Sultan, Black Face, African

China, Edris Abdulkareem, WasiuAyinde, Wande Coal, Femi Kuti, Seun Kuti and Lagbaja, who, in recognition of the role Fela played with his music in the Nigerian political setting, paid the following homage to Abamieda

<i>When he starts to yab</i>	When he starts to banter
<i>Dictators go dey shake</i>	Dictators shudder in alarm
<i>Oppressors go dey fear</i>	Oppressors quake in fear
<i>When he put mouth for song</i>	When he begins to sing
<i>Philosophy go dey flow</i>	Philosophy issues forth...

(Lagbaja: Abami, 2000, cited in Olaniyan 2006:6).

In addendum to this, social scientists in Nigeria and elsewhere are now increasingly concentrating on researches that focus on music and politics. This is reflected in the works of Moore (1982), Labinjoh (1982), Ayu (1986), Shonekan (2009), Oshodi et al (2010) as well as Street (2010, 2011) The current study also attempts a humble contribution in that direction.

Fifth, while his political protest lasted, Fela was about the centre of dissemination of political information in Nigeria. At this period, the military elite that controlled Nigerian political power monopolized the instrument of information as most print and electronic media houses were either owned or controlled by the government, while the few non-government owned ones were seriously cross filtered, or outright sanctioned when they published anti state issues. Consequently, there was no freedom of information on the part of the people. Freedom of expression as well as political association was restricted.

It was Fela and the activities of his Young African Pioneers in the African Shrine that filled this gap. Most citizens who patronized the shrine during this time did so in order to get the latest information about their government through Fela's songs and yabbis sessions. It was about the only opportunity they had also, to express their views about their country.

Sixth, Fela's political protest contributed to socio political thoughts and consciousness on such issues as citizenship, good governance and international power relations. His Beasts of No Nations (1989) for instance, highlights how **not** to form an international organization as it vehemently criticized the veto power clause and the politics of stake holders versus vested interest that was entrenched in the United Nations Organization. Fela sings

(Pidgin)

*Dem hold meeting every where
Dem reach America
Dem call the name o United Nations
Hear dem o another animal talk!
Wetin united for Unites Nation
Who and who unite for United Nations
Disunited, United Nation!
One veto vote is equal to 99
Which kind sense be that o na animal sense
Beast of no nations
Egbe kegbe na bad society
Beast of no nations egbe kegbeeeee,*

(English)

They hold meetings everywhere
Including the United States of America
They call themselves United Nations
Hear them, another animal talk!
What is united in United Nations?
Who is united with who in United Nations
Disunited, United Nation!
One veto vote is equal to 99
Is that sense not animal sense
They are beasts of no nation
Bad organization
Beast of no nations, bad organization

(Fela, Beasts of No Nations: 1989)

In another song, Fela after a narration of the ordeal of Nigerian citizens under repression of the military government, concluded that in Nigeria, no one was citizen, but what Mamdani (1986) called ‘subject’, or, at most, members of the public. Fela’s narration:

(Pidgin)

*Police go go arrest people for road for wandering
Police wey no get destination
Police wey dey waka about perambulating
Police wey dey wanders about the street
E go start to stop somebody for road
Just because he get some authority
Arresting the man wey get destination
Harassing the woman wey get destination
Try to fuck women by force by road by night
road side
Police go charge them for wondering
wandering
Police dey wander, e dey charge you for wandering
same
Steven Wonder self him go start to de wonder
wonder*

(English)

Police arrest people for wandering
Police that have no destination
The police that perambulate
The police that roam the street
The police will stop people in the road
Just because they have authority
Arresting the man on a destination
Harassing the woman on destination
Trying to rape women by the
Police will charge them for
Wandering police charging for
Steve wonder will begin to

Fela then concludes based on this typical experience that the Nigerian people had under the military, that

(Pidgin)

*E no easy o e no easy to be a Nigerian
E no easy o citizen no de for Nigeria!
E no easy o public dey citizen no dey*

(English)

It is not easy to be a citizen in Nigeria
It is not easy, there is no citizen in Nigeria!
In Nigeria only the public exists, no citizen

(Fela, Akunakuna Senior Brother of Perambulator, 1989)

And in another song, Fela concludes that since military government is full of oppression, repression and harassment, it is an aberration for soldiers who he called ‘zombies’, to rule any country at any time. The lyrics:

(Pidgin)

(English)

*This is my country
No body suppose harass me
Police and soldiers no go gree
For my country o
Zombie wan be oga
Zombie cannot be oga
How Zombie go be oga
Zombie na zombie o*

This is my country
Nobody should harass me
But police and Soldiers will not agree
In my country
Soldiers want to be leaders
Soldiers cannot be leaders
How can soldiers lead
Soldiers are nothing but soldiers

(Fela, Government of Crooks: 1990)

And in another song he sings

(Pidgin)

(English)

*Soldiers want to be president
Soldiers cannot be president
E be like armed robbery
Like Armed robbers take over your house...*

Soldiers want to be president
Soldiers cannot be president
It is like armed robbery
Like armed robbers take over your house.

(Fela, Movement Against Second Slavery: 1993)

Seventh, it is also a well-documented fact that in his attempt to make his protest more politically pragmatic, Fela in 1978 established a political association, the Movement of the People (MOP), with the intention of getting it registered and contesting the 1979 presidential elections. The MOP had a detailed manifesto that promised to, at least in letter, radically transform Nigeria from the regime of socio political and economic backwardness, to a socialist, egalitarian and African-nativist industrialized economy. What follows are some extracts from the sixteen article manifesto:

We must subscribe to agriculture for industrialization. However, our sense of industrialization should not be tailored along the

Western experience which has brought about a progressive loss of respect for life, for nature, for the environment they live in...(Article 10) The economy will be based on solely government owned industries...the system of international capital controlled by the IMF does not serve the interest of the African, much less the Nigerian...(Article 13) Having reflected on the present situation, we must stop collaborations with western powers who make Africans puppets and encourage them to carry out genocide against their people.

“Fela decries a state which has ceased to improve the lots of his citizens and has resigned itself to wallow into literally sucking of blood of his own people through murder, joblessness and starvation” (Tchouaffe, 2005:26), and in asserting the need for complete reformation of justice in the Nigerian political system, he lamented in the manifesto that

Between the months of April and May 1978, the combined forces of the Nigerian police and Army opened fire on demonstrating Nigerian students; killing more than nine of them...this is un-African. It is the work of colonial effect and until these neo colonial agents are defeated,...

Fela concludes the manifesto by writing:

Such is the battle of MOP
So is its ideology
And this is the beginning of the struggle
For our SECOND INDEPENDENCE
We must win
We dare not we must not
We cannot
Fail or filter
(Cited in Olorunyomi, 2003:34-42, emphasis original)

Fela’s Movement of the People was denied registration and eventually disbanded, thereby ending his ambition to rule Nigeria. The kind of nation he wanted to build and the

political situation he was protesting against are very clear in the manifesto of his political association, the MOP.

Eighth, Fela's political activities also challenged Eurocentric hegemony in Nigeria and other African countries. In a cultural environment where people blindly place "white people on top, Asians in the middle and Africans in the bottom" of everything they do (Tchouaffe, 2005:22), Fela constructively and incisively protested against Eurocentrism, what Mamdani(1986) referred to as legacy of new colonialism, and made Africans and Nigerians see reasons for patriotism and Nationalism. This is why Fela included in the Manifesto of MOP, that "Africa is the origin of civilization... (Article 1) The human person is enhanced in traditional African religions, unlike Christianity and Islam which find spiritual justification in keeping fellow humans in bondage..." (Article 11) Also in Colomentality (1977), Fela sings:

Colomentality /E be say you be colonial man/You don be slave born before/Dem don release you now/But you never release yourself/E be so /E be so dem dey overdo all the things dem dey do/The things of Africa no good Na overseas things dey good no be so...../Mr.Francis make you hear/Mr Ransom make you hear/Na Africa we dey o make u hear

Colomentality/ you were a colonial man/ once you were slave born/ you have now been released/ but you have refused to release yourself/ that is how they over do all the things they do/African things are bad but European things are good. Mr. Francis and Mr. Ransome please note...

Fela contributed immensely to the propagation of pan Africanism. This pan Africanist and Afrocentric perspective also appeared in the manifesto of his MOP: "Africa is the

center of the world and the African space straddles everywhere in which Africans and people of African descent live...” (article 16), and it soon penetrated the Nigerian youths even as the people in the political arena began to create more consciousness for African values in the system. The Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC) was organized in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977, the study of Nigerian languages became compulsory in Nigerian schools (Olanrewaju, 1996), and the Lagos State House of Assembly began to use Yoruba language for proceedings in the House in the year 1999. These developments are clearly, yet arguably parts of the awareness Fela created in the Nigerian people (Mabinuori, 2010). Most of these aspects of Fela are not popular in the society, and this is why Olorunyomi (2003) declares that “there are far too few critical works on Fela’s immense contribution to social change” (p. xxiii) while Olaniyan (2004) says that “it is rare that the work of a popular musician intervene so cogently in current dominant problematic in the social science and humanities”(p.4).

Ninth, Fela’s political protest exposed the repressive character of the Nigerian state. More so, Fela’s political protest established another dimension to non-violent political protest that has been associated with Ghandi and Martin Luther King Junior. In spite of the several attacks on him and his household, Fela did not at any time engage in violent anti- government demonstration. Rather, his protest took the forms of verbal rebuttal, songs and deviant activities.

Tenth, Fela’s political protest must have indirectly contributed to the repeal of law against cannabis in certain parts of Europe and America after realizing its medicinal and

therapeutic value that Fela had emphasized in the seventies. It should be recalled that the use of cannabis was the hallmark of Fela's protest by deviance as demonstrated earlier in this work, and Fela insisted that he would not stop the use of cannabis for so long as the dominant class, 'government people' who banned it did not extend the same enthusiasm towards condemning the corruption, nepotism and, to use Fela's terms, "all the bad bad things" that occur amongst them. Fela insisted that he would not respect the opinions and laws of those people because only criminals obey the laws made by criminals. He also explained in an interview, "I don't smoke marijuana because I am a criminal, but because I feel it. I see how I think well when I take.....it is Nigerian natural grass" (in Hoskyns, 1994).

The same can be said of the right of women to decide what they do with their body. Fela's deviance behaviour included patronizing and encouraging sexual intercourse without boundary on the ground that it was the natural thing to do. He protested against the harassment of Nigerian women on the ground eliminating prostitution as he sang in Country of Pains (1980's), Fela sings:

(Pidgin)

*You go fuck woman for Europe you go pay
One hundred pounds
You go fuck woman for America you go pay
One fifty dollars
You go fuck woman for Italy you go pay
One thousand lire
But for Africa na another thing,
Na to disgrace our women for road
street
Toto don cheap o, toto don cheap o*

(English)

To have sex in Europe, you pay
One hundred pounds
To have sex in America, you pay
One fifty dollars
To have sex in Italy you pay
One thousand lire
But in Africa it is another story
All we do is disgrace our women on the
Pussy is now cheap oooooo

Believing that such practice was copied from the doctrines of foreign religions, Fela then concludes the song by saying:

(Pidgin)

*I must see oo, I must see, where copy copy
E go carry us reach oooo
I must seeeeeeeeeee*

(English)

I must see, where copying and dogmatism
Will lead us in Africa
I must see

Eleventh, the Fela phenomenon is another dimension of non-violent political protest in Nigeria. Unlike the cases of the Niger Delta militants and the Boko Hara in recent history, Fela neither preached nor participated in violent protest even when the agents of the Nigerian state brutalized him on many occasions and burnt his Kalakuta Republic. Instead of violence, he used his songs to protest, continued with his verbal rebuttal (yabbis) and later reduced everything to fun and cynical commentaries.

Finally, Fela's politics and political protest had so much impact in Nigerian that while they lasted, the political system could not ignore them, especially given the background that Fela had growing influence amongst the Nigerian youths. This explains why in 1977, the Obasanjo-led Supreme Military Council that Fela vehemently criticized and protested against enlisted him on the committee of the FESTAC 77. Even the Lagos State Government appointed him to serve on the State Police Community Relations Committee (Mabinuori, 2003 18-19). Yet, Fela rejected these offers with malice aforethought, and

he continued to constitute himself to what his fans often referred to as ‘alatakoagbaye’ (the universal antagonist) towards the Nigerian state and its ruling elite.

One then understands why Michael Veal, in his book, could not resist the temptation of including the comment made by a Nigerian citizen in 1992, that:

If you know Fela in the seventies, the man turned Nigeria completely upside down. He had the whole country in his hand; it was like he owned Nigeria. To tell the truth, Fela at that time was law unto himself and he did whatever he pleased in Nigeria (Cited in Veal, 2000:121).

7.4 THE CONTROVERSIAL

Categorizing and highlighting some aspects of people’s political protest as positive or negative is often a scholarly predicament, especially in the social sciences where objectivity is the hallmark of analysis. This is because what is positive or negative is not only subjective and often colored by personal views, but is also difficult to put in context. The current study is an exploratory research which, according to Ahonsi (1996: 85) “is necessitated mainly by curiosity and the urge to find out more about an issue” without necessarily being judgmental, so it will be difficult to categorize anything as negative; hence the use of the word blizzard to qualify those aspects of Fela’s political protest that did not go down well with majority of the members of the society. .

At the same time the study recognizes the need to explore the ‘negative’ impacts of Fela’s political protest in Nigeria, especially given the fact that one of its important findings is that the deviant behaviour that Fela exhibited overshadowed the laudability of his

thoughts, and prevented his protest from enjoying popular association as well transforming to a social movement like those of Gandhi and Martin Luther King Junior.

First, Fela's deviance manifested in several forms, one of which is substance abuse, especially cannabis and cigarette. He often opened many of his live shows by holding a large and indeed colossal wrap of cannabis and saying:

(Pidgin)

*Everybody say yeh yeh
A beg,
Make una give me five minutes,
Make I shack my igbo
Make my head correct*

(English)

Everybody say yeh yeh
Please
Give me five minutes
To smoke my cannabis
So my brain can become functional

This activity often took place in the presence of young adults and teenage girls who were apparently influenced into taking the same thing especially because Fela told them that it was cannabis that made 'his head correct'. By the thesis of the social learning theory therefore, Fela must have directly or indirectly contributed to increase in the use and abuse of cannabis in Nigeria. He was in this case a bad role model

Second, psychologists and psychiatrists have established that there is a strong connection between the use of cannabis and the psychopathology of schizophrenia, as Buckely (2006) observes that "approximately, 50% of individuals with pathology would have developed substance use disorder at one point during their lives" (p.1). This of course

implies that a percentage of schizophrenia patients in Nigeria must have been those who at some points in their lives began to use cannabis through the influence of Fela.

Third, the use of cannabis is also associated with prostitution and sexual pervasion as scholars such as Silbert, Ayalla and Lynch (1982) argue that since most prostitutes and sexually perverted people have common trace of cannabis use, there is every tendency that the drug increases the tendency for sexual assault and perversion. Meyer and Nasralla (2009) also establish links between the use of cannabis and acts of criminality since, as they argue, cannabis is hallucigenic and has the tendencies of stimulating the central nervous system of people to the extent that they commit acts beyond and even against their will. Based on this too, it is not unlikely that Fela's activities in the shrine that time had contributed to the population of criminal and sexually perverted people in the society today.

Fourth, Fela's deviant behaviour did not only affect members of the society, it also inflicted many negative consequences on him. There are accounts that he (Fela) defiled many young ladies, introduced many into hemp smoking and contributed immensely to sexual immorality amongst the youth while his protest lasted in Nigeria (Moore, 1982). This is made worse by the popular, yet contestable belief that he died of cardiac arrest that resulted from HIV/AIDS complications because, while alive, Fela did not believe in HIV/AIDS. The social stigma hunted members of his family for a long time

Fifth, Fela's life was full of several contradictions. He was searching for freedom and egalitarianism in the society, yet, his Kalakuta Republic was run like an empire where he reigned as emperor. He never obeyed the laws of Nigeria, and this had serious consequences for the efficacy of government policies as most youths that patronized his Kalakuta Republic emulated the same behaviour. This is why John Howe (1997) laments that Fela "had no interest in perfect philosophical correctness," and that "contradictions of sometimes painful sorts were apparent in his own life and household" (cited in Olaniyan, 2004:158).

All the foregoing negatives are social issues that need to be further explored by sociologists and psychologists in order to develop new theories, after all, as Mabinuori, (1986:6) puts it, "in order to judge a man correctly, one must have a deep knowledge of the man". But the current study focuses on the political, not the social aspect of his life because, as (Olaniyan, 2004:40) posits, "it was the political Fela that subsequently became the Fela; the only one worthy of knowing and celebrating worldwide today".

No doubt, Fela made his marks in Nigerian politics. From 1970 when he returned from his United States tour where he gained all the necessary coconsciousness that transformed him from an "apolitical avant grade hustler" to "the Afrobeat Moralist" who later converted his music to "political Afrobeat" (Olaniyan, 2004), down to the year 1997 when he died in Lagos Nigeria. Fela was known all over the world as a political musician, human rights defender, a political analyst and philosopher. By the time he died

in 1997, “he had successfully cultivated and made hegemonic a global consciousness an image of himself as quintessentially ‘political musician’ by which “we mean somebody who devotes his or her musical resources to evoking, interrogating and pronouncing judgment on the partisan political arrangement and attendant social relations of its context (Olaniyan 2004). Fela’s protest is difficult to ignore in the history of Nigerian politics. In fact, as Olaniyan (2004:4) observes concerning him, “it is rare that the work of a popular musician intervene so cogently in current dominant problematiques in the social sciences and humanities“. The annual Felaberation in Nigeria, Fela on Broadway in United Kingdom and the United States remain some of the current proofs of continual spread of Felaism and Fela’s politics.

7.5. CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF FELA’S PROTEST

Fela Anikulapo Kuti’s political protest, in spite of its negative parts, remains very relevant in contemporary Nigeria. As demonstrated in this study, Fela raised fundamental constitutional, governmental and state issues in his songs and deviant behaviour, as well as in the manifesto of his political association, the Movement of the People, the MOP. As a recap, Fela’s Country of Pains focused on citizens- state relations while ITT and Army Arrangement focused on election rigging and prebendal politics in Nigeria, Beast of No Nations focused on the unequal power play in international politics. The socio political problems facing Nigeria and Africa today are directly traceable to issues that Fela had raised the issue, many years ago, that African political leaders should promote good governance in their respective nations.

7.6 Fela's Songs in the 2012 Anti -Fuel Subsidy Protest in Nigeria

Fela's philosophy of 'music is the weapon' of political protest continually renews itself. In today's capitalist world where people are too engrossed to attend formal political meetings or even listen to news, music remains one of the closest avenues of monitoring political events through handsets and other mobile devices. The implication of this is that messages of change and revolution can easily be disseminated through music as Fela preached and did. In fact recently, it was reported that

Fourteen years after his death, the spirit of late Afrobeat legend Fela Anikulapo-Kuti was resurrected during the nationwide protest rallies across five consecutive days in the second week of January in Lagos... Even in death, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti was larger than life. "I no be gentleman at all oh. I no be gentleman at all oh," sang an angry wave of protesters among tens of thousands at the Gani Fawehinmi Park, Ojota, Lagos; as they swung to the beats of a musical prophet...Fela's music provided an almost perfect soundtrack to express national outrage over the removal of fuel subsidy by the administration of President Goodluck Jonathan on January 1, 2012 (Arukaino, 2012 retrieved from [www.....](#))

As asserted earlier, most of the issues raised in Fela's protest songs are yet to be addressed in Nigeria and to demonstrate the contemporary relevance of his protest, most of the songs that were played during the aforementioned anti- fuel subsidy rally addressed corruption and government brutality in Nigeria. This is why again, Arukkaino 2012 writes

You be thief (I no be thief). You be rogue (I no be rogue). You dey steal (I no dey steal). You be robber (I no be robber) You be armed robber (I no be armed robber)....," the Afrobeat legend's classic

song titled 'Authority Stealing' blared from the loud speakers mounted on stage.....`

On government brutality the protesters were busy singing "Dem leave sorrows, tears and blood, dem regular trademark, dem regular trademark, dem regular trademark," The protesters agreed with Fela, having heard the news of the gruesome murder of Ademola Aderinde, by a trigger- happy policeman Ogba, in Lagos. According to Arukaino,

They (the protesters) screamed back excitedly as they joined the crowd to sing along the chorus. Throughout the duration of the rally, Fela's songs was the unofficial soundtrack of the protest as his timeless classics blared intermittently from the speakers, in between speeches by labour leaders, activists, celebrities, and performance by various artistes.

The Fela phenomenon also teaches protesters that their protest is best effective and best recognized if they avoid controversies and deviant activities.

Finally, Fela said in 1978 when addressing the press on the decision of the General Obasanjo led military government not to register his party, that he would still be president of Nigeria. Although the man is dead and the dead cannot be president, the rate his ideology continues to spread around the world increases curiosity on the possibility of his becoming president in some form. At present, research activities are increasing on his politics AS more musicians are laying claim to his mentorship. Public affairs analysts often quote his numerous songs and speeches to explore and explain the problems of Nigeria and Africa. More so, the yearly event of Felaberation in Nigeria, the Fela on Broadway in the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as the radios station,

(Radioshrine.com) that Mabinuori Idowu runs in Paris, are pointers to the fact that his ideology may be spreading much more than we realize.

7.6 CONCLUSION

The controversial parts of Fela's political protest are inevitable. This is the same way in which actions of street protest may cause traffic that may in turn result in human casualties, or that may deny someone a much needed job or multi million naira business contract. In the same manner, suicide bombers risk their lives and others' while protesting against certain issues. In fact, the case of Mohammed Benzoazi who sparked up revolution in Tunisia was self-immolation, a form of protest carried out by the protester burning himself to death. That single event might have indulged many youths in the use of violence. Suicide bombers also make some claims while protesting, but they never live to see the redress of the issues they protest.

Only recently one of the oldest democracies in the world, the United Kingdom, witnessed the worst political protest in her history, with attendant negative sides of looting, arson, killing and maiming. Indeed, nearly all forms of protest have their negative sides, and their effectiveness is difficult to measure as it may not even be achieved years after the protest. This is so because protesters often feel so passionate about the points they want to make that they throw all cautions to the winds and may even manifest certain contradictions that are antithetical to the very claims they make in their potties. This does not in any way change their actions from the political protest that it is.

So, although Fela's political protest took place between 1970 and 1997, some fifteen years ago to be specific, a host of socio political occurrences in Nigeria today: ethno religious crisis, unimaginable corruption and the cover up by the political class, military and police rascality and disobedience of the law, punitive policies against citizens and a whole lot of them. This gives contemporary relevance to Fela's political protest.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the research work. It contains sub aspects such as findings, summary and contributions to knowledge.

8.1 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

8.1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION 1: WHAT IS THE FORM, ROOT, AS WELL AS PATTERN OF EVOLUTION OF FELA’S POLITICAL PROTEST?

(i) FINDING

Fela’s is a case of one man political protest exhibited through songs and countercultural behaviors. It has its root in his socialization at both the family and larger social spaces. His political protest passed through three evolutionary stages of potentiality, behaviour and action.

(ii) DISCUSSION

It was revealed through the extant literature reviewed as well as the interviews had with the key informants that Fela’ s parents, both mother and father, exhibited a high level of protest and anti establishment behaviour against the colonial authorities at their time. His father was a trade unionist and a very radical school principal who never allowed white inspectors to visit his school as was the practice then. The only one who tried it was physically resisted by the principal, Fela’s father, who also doubled as Fela’s teacher and principal at the Abeokuta Grammar School. Fela’s mother was also an anti colonial activist who led an all women protest riot that dethroned an Egba sitting monarch. Coming from this kind of family which professor Wole Soyinka, Fela’s cousin described

as Ransome Kuti /Soyinka Family Tradition, Fela could not have grown up without high protest potentialities. However, his exposure to alternative political systems in Britain where he was schooled, as well as in the United States where he met Sandra Isidor, and read several radical books such as The Autobiography of Malcolm X, Walter Rodney's How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, as well as Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth, and his continuous association with several radicals back in Nigeria: Duro Ikujenyo, Idowu Mabinuori, Femi Osunla and others, all transformed Fela's protest potentialities to behaviour.

8.1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 2: WHAT POLITICAL REGIME IGNITED FELA'S POLITICAL PROTEST ACTIONS IN NIGERIA BETWEEN 1970 AND 1997?

(i) FINDING

The regime of military dictatorship, corruption and general mis governance in Nigeria between 1970 and 1997 was the immediate factor that triggered Fela's political protest actions that manifested in the use of music and counter cultural activities.

(ii) DISCUSSION

The Nigerian independence of 1960 had given Fela the hope of a new nation that would create the kind of opportunity for development and freedom that Fela witnessed where he had travelled to. In the place of Fela's expectation came corruption, military dictatorship and general mis governance, and, as he learnt from the United States where he just returned, as well as he was already socialized, protest was the only way out.

8.1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 3: HOW DID FELA EXHIBIT HIS POLITICAL PROTEST ACTIONS, AND FROM WHAT PERSPECTIVES?

(i) FINDING

Fela's political protest manifested in two major actions: music and deviant behaviour. Music was used to verbally criticize the status quo and protest against it, deviant behaviour was used to spite the government and the dominant class in protest against, or disregard for the laws they imposed on the society.

(ii) DISCUSSION

Fela used his songs to question the political establishment and to challenge several socio-political and economic policies and practices that pervaded Nigeria during the period under study. His counter cultural activities such as hemp smoking, civil disobedience and celebration of sexual orgies were also designed to serve same purpose because, as Fela himself claimed, they were opposing and challenging the dominant social values which are the dominant sentiments of the ruling elite. At the level of his frustration due to lack of response from the Nigerians he was trying to mobilize against the government, Fela also used political skepticism, cynicism and entertainment to advance the course of his protest.

8.1.4 RESEARCH QUESTION 4: ARE THERE SOME IMPACTS AND CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE TRACEABLE TO FELA'S ONE MAN POLITICAL PROTEST?

(i) FINDINGS

Fela's political protest served as watchdog for the Nigerian society while it lasted. Although the deviance that accompanied it weakened its possibility of transforming to a mass movement, it is still relevant as instrument of protest.

(ii) DISCUSSION

The political protest pressurized the military regimes to make and unmake some ambulant policies and practices, but it neither enjoyed the support of many conservative Nigerians nor was able to transform to a mass movement due to the deviant behaviors that accompanied it. However, since his death in 1997, his protest songs and ideology have kept spreading around the world, as well as attracting scholarly research interests in the academia. Fela's music is often used whenever and wherever most anti-establishment gatherings and activities take place in Nigeria. The anti-fuel subsidy demonstration of January 2011 is a good reference case. There are indications that Fela's songs have strong potentialities as tools for igniting popular revolt in Nigeria and other parts of Africa.

8.2 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing findings, the study concludes that certain individuals are predisposed to protest behaviour due to the peculiarities of their background and socialization, and such individual often eventually exhibit protest actions except where there are no social and political contradictions to provoke them. Actions of political protest may however take several dimensions, ranging from street march, strike, writing, law suite, song, self immolation, suicide bombing and so on, depending on the worldview, exposure and skills

of the protester, as well as the prevailing socio-political environment. Whatever the origin, evolution and form of political protest, as well as the environment where it takes place, the dominant class in such environment often gives their own interpretations to the actions of political protesters, and such interpretations are used to evaluate the quality of their protest. This judgment of the dominant class often determines whether the society will agree that protesters are indeed making some points, or they are merely exhibiting criminality and rascality.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

After a comprehensive exploration of the political protest of Fela Anikulapo Kuti and the conclusions derived from it, the current study hereby makes the following recommendations.

First, following the finding that it was the agents of the state that first inflicted violence of Fela before he counter-reacted through anti state activities, this research recommends that there should be a general re-orientation of the Nigerian police especially, to be more citizens- tolerant towards and during political protests. While it is noted that the colonial orientation of the police and the soldiers made them venal, mercenary and anti populace in the first place, the orientation ought to have started fading by the 1980s and 90s when Fela got to the peak of confrontation with the state. It had not faded then but needs to start fading now as this will assist in checking the spate of violence and bombings in Nigeria.

The Nigerian government should realize that there will always be inherent contradictions that provoke political protest in every political organization, but the form the protest takes largely depends on the nature of government and character of the state. Every country gets the kind of political protest it makes inevitable (see Olson 1965; Lipset 1971; O'Connor 1973; Useem and Useem 2001). If the political environment allows expression of dissatisfaction and ventilation of discontentment without undue harassment from the agents of the state, and the government takes serious actions on the issues of disenchantment, the citizens become more trusting of the government and their political protest actions are more likely to be civil. If the reverse is the case, suicide bombing, violence and riots are likely to be used as protest actions. This speaks volume to the current Boko Haram imbroglio.

Second, by policy implication, the Nigerian government should restructure the Public Complaints Commission to be more functional and representative of the Nigerian population. Specifically, there should be at least one public complaints office to one hundred thousand citizens based on the recommendation of the UNESCO, and each one of the centers should have units and sub-units serving local and interior areas of the country. Availability of such structure will channel citizens' protests and complaints through the political authorities and reduce the possibilities of rumors and misinformation that may incite the citizens against the government and lead to violent attacks on the nation. The restructured Public Complaints Commission should be headed by specialists in political behaviour.

Third, because many of the issues that Fela raised through his songs, speeches and even deviant activities still need to be fundamentally addressed in Nigeria today: issues such

as character of the state, citizens-government relations, corruption, nepotism, election rigging, executive rascality, and brutality on the part of the police, soldiers and other agents of the state, the Nigerian government needs to, as a matter of urgency, set up the Committee for National Arts and Music Heritage (CONAMH) to objectively analyze the contents of selected songs and arts of Nigerians, especially Fela, -then others such as Hubert Ogunde, Wasiu Ayinde, Ayinde Barrister, Idris Abdulkareem and other popular musicians who have raised certain political questions. This will help to capture wider and popular views of Nigeria's biting national problems. The committee should be made up of political scientists, sociologists, artists and psychologists.

Fourth, the National Censor Board should be re-organized in such a way that will enable it objectively distinguish between songs that offer genuine political protest and criticism from those that threaten national security. The board should run on committee system in which classified records are allowed to pass through various committees that will give it expanded view and analysis. Members of the restructured Public Complaints Commission as proposed above should also be on the committees. Citizens of Nigeria could have had better understanding of Fela's thoughts on Nigerian politics if many of Fela's songs had not been banned from the market and labeled NTBB (Not To Be Broadcast).

Fifth, it is high time the political class realized that building the Nigerian fledgling democracy requires that the government empowers the citizen with freedom of expressions in many forms: writing, music, and speeches. This is likely to produce more objective criticism of government's policies compared to those coming from opposition

political parties make most criticisms mostly because they want to wrestle political power at all cost from the ruling party. To this end, the recently passed Freedom of Information Bill should be gazetted without delay as it is capable of reducing misinterpretation of government actions by the citizens.

Sixth, corruption, nepotism and bad governance often generate tension in the polity, and such tension often results in avoidable violent protests. The Nigerian government should embark on genuine fight against hunger, unemployment and corruption; else, the saga of violent protest may not end soon.

Seventh, and finally, citizens who wish to make certain points through political protest should desist from such behaviour that their society consider deviant and questionable if they must avoid being mistaken for criminals, and if they must achieve the aims of their protest.

8.4 CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

The virginity of this research contributes to knowledge from the following substantive and critical perspectives.

- (i) Protest in individuals manifests in three interlinked stages: from potentiality to behaviour and then to action.

- (ii) Music, songs as well as countercultural behaviour are propelling factors and medium of political protest, just as Fela, as asserted by this study, utilized them to construct, deconstruct and re-construct the Nigerian political system.
- (iii) The study engenders our understanding of how different stages and agents of socialization influence and exert on perceptions and behaviors dovetailing into political protest actions.
- (iv) The dimensions of Fela's protest, both in negative and positive forms, and how they impact on Nigerian society have been well espoused in this study and they represent a major contribution to knowledge.
- (v) There is no limit to the form of action people use for political protest.
- (vi) Although several years now separate the time of Fela's political protest from ours, the protest still has contemporary relevance.

8.5 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

First, given that Fela Anikulapo Kuti and Ebenezer (Fabiya) Obey were both popular musicians, born around the same time, operated around the same time, and more so came from the same Egba Yoruba axis of Nigeria, social scientists need scholarly investigation on why, in spite of these glaring similarities, Fela utilized his music for political protest while Obey utilized his own for political endorsement. A research in this direction may help explain the political behaviour of some of our leaders and predict those of the intending ones.

Second, psychologists especially need to explain the kind of personality of Fela Anikulapo Kuti; such personality that was able to confront, not just protest against, a post-civil war military in a post-colonial state! The post colonial state is alone venal and repressive, the post civil war military is brutal and trigger hungry, yet, Fela was able to confront, and sustain confronting them for a period of twenty seven years! In investigating his personality it may also be necessary to explain the role played by cannabis, which is believed to contain more than four hundred hallucinogenic properties (Riedel, G & Davies, S.N, 2005), in most of Fela's political predictions. Many of the issues plaguing Nigerian politics today had been predicted by Fela Kuti in his protest songs since the seventies.

Finally, Fela's pan African view that insists on the need for African countries to return to African political system instead of the international political vogue of democracy, which he calls 'demonstration of craze', needs to be given research attention, especially given the fact that more than half of the war and crisis ravaging Africa today are inflicted through one form of democratic process or the other. Same attention should be given to culture, religion and spirituality. Fela declared that no African country would achieve development except they returned to African languages, culture and religions. The fact that some of the Asian countries that have challenged the global dominance of Europe and the United States today are those that have retained their language, culture and

religion-China as a good example- makes Fela's thoughts and declaration worth revisiting.

8.6 SUMMARY

As we noted earlier in this study, most of the studies available on the subject of political protest have focused mainly on group actions such as street march, sit-ins and strike. The current study adopts the behavioral approach to politics. It undertakes the behavioral analysis of political protest from the view point of the individual, with particular focus on Fela Anikulapo Kuti of Nigeria. Fela utilized his Afrobeat popular music and deviant behaviour as self-styled, one man protest against the political establishment between 1970 and 1997. The research is a qualitative study that uses concept mapping and evidence-claim strategy to analyze the contents of the research eponym's songs and speeches, as well as responses of the key informant interviewees.

Using four objectives and four research questions as guide, the study, after its exploration, arrived at four major findings: One, Fela's was a three stage political protest that evolved through protest potentiality, protest behaviour and protest action where his family background, socialization as well as interaction within the larger social space produced the protest potentiality and evolved the protest behaviour. Two, the regime of military corruption, repression and mis- governance during the period under study provoked Fela's political protest actions out of the potentiality and behaviour he had. Three, these protest actions came in forms of music and deviant activities. Four, Fela's

political protest, laudable as the ideas behind it might be, did not go without serious negative impacts on Nigeria and the society. These negative impacts which emerged mostly from his deviant activities such as hemp smoking and sexual vulgarity rendered Fela's political protest unappealing to many people who would have given it mass support.

The negative impacts also prevented his protest from developing into a social movement that would have effectively achieved the aims of his protest. However, as revealed especially through key informants' interviews, some of the issues raised through Fela's protest songs and deviant behaviour may still have to be addressed in contemporary Nigeria and Africa in order to achieve meaningful socio political development in the nearest future.

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APPENDIX I: THE KEY INFORMANTS GUIDE

This key informant guide is designed to address aspects in and around the problematique of, and questions raised in this study, especially those that could not be directly or fully explored from the literature. Only the basic questions are presented in what follows.

- (1). In many documented sources, Fela continuously claimed that his Afrobeat music, his Young African Pioneers and other activities were all tailored towards protesting and moving the people against perceived social vices in Nigeria and Africa. Do you agree with him?
- (1.b). But he was a highly controversial personality: 28 wives and uncountable concubines, cannabis, sexual vulgarity, disregard for law and order, contempt for established religions, anti-west radicalism that made him withdraw his children from school, exit from the regular society to the Kalakuta Republic and a host of other counter cultural, and, if you like, anti-social behaviour. In spite of the condemnations he received from all these, Fela maintained that he indulged in these activities to forcefully draw attention to himself and his protest. What is your view on this sir?
- (2). How, in your own view, did Fela acquire this contentious and indeed rebellious behaviour? More so, how was he able to sustain his protest and social movement for around twenty seven years, given that he was confronting an un-tempered post-civil war military that wasted no time meting repressions on him?
- (3). You lived around the time Fela exhibited all these protest activities against the political establishment. Can you describe the regime and the main issues in Nigerian and African polity that Fela was protesting against?
- (4) Did Fela's self- fashioned one man political protest and social movement change anything in the Nigerian polity past and present?
- (5). Fela exhibited protest against the system for about twenty five years; as a matter-of-fact, he never gave it up till he died in 1997. Today, about fifteen years after, what is the contemporary relevance of his protest and the issues he protested against?
- (6.) What other information would you want to share on Fela Anikulapo Kuti and his relationship with the political regime in Nigeria during the period under study?

Note: Some other questions and issues arose in the course of the interview. Though the researcher equally documented and referred to them in the course of data analysis due to their enormous importance to the study, he however does not include them here because they eclectically arose based on answers supplied by individual interviewees.

APPENDIX II

BIOGRAPHY OF FELA KUTI

Fela, Anikulapo Kuti, (initially Olufela Oladotun Ransome- Kuti) was born in Abeokuta, Western Nigeria in 1938. His father was a Reverend school principal in Abeokuta Grammar School, the same school Fela attended, while his mother was a world-recognized feminist leader who was not only very active in the anti-colonial Nigerian women's movement during the struggle for independence, but also led the protest that deposed a sitting monarch in 1946. Fela was educated in Nigeria amongst the indigenous elite. Ironically, many of his classmates in his Nigerian school later became the military leaders he protested against and vociferously opposed.

On 12th August 1958, Fela's parents sent him to London for a medical education. He was then twenty, but instead of studying the medicine he was sent to study, he decided, in protest to register at Trinity College's School of Music where he studied composition and chose the trumpet as his major instrument. After the training Fela formed his first band, Koola Lobitos in 1961, and the band became a fixture in London's club scenes.

In 1963, three years after Nigeria's independence, Fela returned to Nigeria, restarted the Koola Lobitos and added elements of traditional Yoruba music, high life and jazz to it. He took the Koola Lobitos on a musical tour in the United States in 1969, and, during his eight months there in, with Los Angeles as a home base, he befriended Sandra Isidore, who introduced him to the writings and politics of Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver and other proponents of Black nationalism, pan Africanism and Afrocentrism. Sandra later became one of Fela's wives.

With this new awareness, Fela became more critical in his worldview, compared to many youths of his generation. He renamed his Koola Lobitos band as 'Nigeria 70' and changed his music to Afrobeat when he returned to Lagos in 1970. He founded a commune/recording studio called the Kalakuta Republic, complete with his own private nightclub, The African Shrine, and later dropped his given middle name "Ransome," and replaced it with a Yoruba name "Anikulapo" which means "he who carries death in his pouch"), hence the name Fela Anikulapo Kuti. This was in 1975.

Throughout his lifetime, his music served as a rallying cry for the poor, oppressed and the downtrodden. University students and urban middle class youths were his main audience. Because he attacked the regime of military corruption and mis governance, and devoted his music to political commentaries and criticism, the military viciously harassed, jailed and almost killed him on several occasions.

The peak of his confrontation with the Nigerian state came in 1977 when a government-sanctioned attack was carried out on his Kalakuta Republic commune. Fela and other members of his commune were arrested and brutalized; he himself suffered a fractured skull as well as other broken bones; a number of women living at Kalakuta were beaten and raped; and his 82-year old mother was thrown from an upstairs window, inflicting injuries that would later killed her. The soldiers set fire to the compound and prevented fire fighters from reaching the area. Fela's recording studio, all his master tapes and musical instruments and the only known copy of his self-financed film Black President were destroyed.

After the Kalakuta tragedy, Fela briefly lived in exile in Ghana but returned to Nigeria in 1978 when he formed a political association, the Movement of the People (MOP) for the purpose of contesting for Nigerian presidency. The association was however denied registration by the government, and then Fela continued blistering attacks against Nigeria's corrupt military government.

Fela Anikulapo Kuti was arrested more than two hundred times in his life, and charged with almost every conceivable crime, although only serving one eighteen month sentence in jail for a currency violation. He died on 3rd August 1997.

www.thetalkingdrum.com/fela.html. Retrieved on 20 February, 2012

APPENDIX III: PHOTOGRAPHS OF FELA KUTI

(i) DURING A YABBIS SESSION IN 1983



(ii) FELA AND HIS WOMEN IN A PRE PERFORMANCE REHEARSAL



- (iii) FELA'S HELICOPTER: A BEETLE CAR THAT WAS DAMAGED DURING ONE OF
THE MANY MILITARY ATTACKS ON FELA'S KALAKUTA



- (iv) FELA IN BLACK AFRICA SALUTE



- (v) FELA AND SOME OF HIS WOMEN IN THE KALAKUTA REPUBLIC



- (vi) FELA IN A PUBLIC LECTURE / LIVE MUSICAL PERFORMANCE AT THE
SHRINE

