

IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGICAL REPRESENTATION IN SELECTED FELA ANIKULAPO-KUTI'S SONGS

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Abstract

Identity and ideology are two inseparable concepts that have attracted the attention of language scholars, particularly those in sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis. To such scholars, every linguistic construction is a product of a particular ideology that defines the identity of the language user. Drawing inspiration from this proposition, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, FAK, a musician-cum activist in Nigeria, could be described as a music legend whose songs are replete with certain radical and linguistic identity-cum-ideological construction phenomena. Previous studies on Fela have focused on his philosophy, lifestyle and music style with little attention to how he deployed linguistic tools to create and map out identities and ideologies in his songs. This study, therefore, is an analysis of the identity creation ideologies in seven purposively selected FAK's songs. The study draws input from Staszak's concept of *Other(ness)* for data analysis. Two ideological identities, the *self- I, me we, and us* and the *other- they, they, you*, dominate FAK's songs. These are projected through his individualism, collectivism, political, colonial, and religious ideologies, which are a means of protesting against the political, religious, and social realities that define the African socio-cultural and political system in general, and the Nigerian space in particular.

Keywords: Identity, ideology, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Staszak's *Other(ness)*

1. Introduction

Identity and ideology are two separate but interdependent entities that have gained the attention of language scholars, especially sociolinguists and discourse analysts in recent times. These scholars have argued vehemently about the fact that none of the two concepts can exist without the other. In particular, Ajayi (2015: 1) submits that 'identity and ideology are two inseparable phenomena that characterise the existence of mankind'. Human beings project certain identities and ideologies in their linguistic behaviour. In fact, it is Aboh's (2008 and 2009) opinion that no linguistic construction is devoid of ideologies (and identity, sic). In other words, no linguistic construction can be described as being neutral, as it must be embedded in one ideological orientation or the other. Following from this position, one can then argue further that every walk of life, including the entertainment and music industry where the use of language is inevitable, is influenced by one form of ideological disposition or the other. In the Nigerian music industry in particular, musicians and singers often create different ideological identities. Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (1938-1997) was a foremost Nigerian artiste. He was the founder and originator of Afrobeat in Nigeria. He was a human rights activist, who used his songs to criticise and lampoon the Nigerian political and social space. Fela, as he was popularly called, with the deployment of linguistic tools, strongly projected his unique identity in his songs, as well as displayed the ideologies upon which his songs are based. This study attempts a critical analysis of selected songs of Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, with particular reference to his identity and ideological underpinnings.

2. Scholarly Works on Fela

Several scholars, in Nigeria and abroad, have given their opinions about Fela's personality and his songs. Ayu (1985, 1986) examines Fela's Afrobeat music from a Marxist perspective. He classifies Fela and his ideological lifestyle as oppositional within a dehumanizing class conscious society. In Ogunde's (1998) opinion, Fela is a voice against capitalism and the 'powers that be' in society. According to him, Fela was 'adept at popularising the most abstract topics of transnational processes and relations into bits that were digestible by the bulk proletariat and lumpen-proletariat audience' (Kassim, 2016). In the submission of Olaniyan (2004), Fela's music, ideas and lifestyle have strongly injected in the youths impatient and rebellious ideas that

are completely against the Nigerian state. He had, through his songs of condemnation, taught young people to see the country as fundamentally illegitimate, selfish, dictatorial and ultimately un-African. Olorunyomi's (2003) *Afrobeat: Fela and the Imagined Continent*, explores the postcolonial ideology of subversion that defines the African world in general and Nigeria, as projected by Fela in his songs. In this study, Olorunyomi projects how Fela laments the economic, security and cultural deplorable state of the African continent as a whole as engendered by her leaders. Olorunyomi (2005) points out the underlying philosophy and ideology that influenced Fela's music. He called this 'Felasophy'. In doing this, he describes Fela as a man who must have drawn his inspiration from the activism and works of a Martinique born revolutionist, Frantz Fanon, whose society was replete with the many social maladies found in Fela's Nigeria. Olorunyomi further argues that Fela's songs and lifestyle are such that depict him as one who lived within the limitations of the humanism and communism ideologies, which were not found in the parlance of the Nigerian system of government. Esuola (2011) cited in Ogidan (2011) shares Olaniyan's (2004) view on Fela being an iconic enigma who was at the forefront of real and loud political activism in Nigeria.

Oikelome (2009) investigates the stylistic elements employed by Fela during the highlife jazz era. In the study, Oikolome classifies Fela's music into four artistic periods, and analyses the structural elements of the music in the period under study (the 1960s). He concludes the stylistic components of the music emerged mainly from highlife with the fusion of Western idioms like jazz, blues, soul, funk and Afro Latin music. Dosunmu (2011) can mainly be described as a stylo-ideological description of Fela's Afrobeat music genre. In this study, the author notes Fela is driven by the ideological dictum 'Music is the Weapon of the Future, hence his deployment of his songs to lampoon and berate the many vices that characterise the Nigerian polity'.

This study, although borrows a leaf from Dosunmu (2011) in particular, is significantly different in that it investigates how Fela employed linguistic tools in creating individual and collective identities as well as ideologies in his lampooning songs, particularly within the conceptual framework of Staszak's concept of *Other(ness)*.

3. Identity and Ideology

There are different scholarly positions about ideology and identity, particularly the relationship between the two. Mullins (1974: 235) submits that ideology is a 'logically coherent system of symbols which, within a more or less sophisticated conception of history, links the cognitive and evaluative perception of one's social condition, especially its prospects for the future- to a programme of collective action for the maintenance, alteration, or transformation of society. To this scholar, ideology emerges from the cognitive assessment of one's past experiences in combination with one's present realities which ultimately defines one's future expectations. In the words of Seliger (1976: 11), ideology refers to 'sets of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organised social action, and specifically political action, irrespective of whether such action aims to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order'. To Seliger, ideology is the justification for every human action. As conceived by Hogg and Abrams (1988: 2), identity refers to people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others. In the words of Deng (1995:1), identity denotes the way and manner individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others based on ethnicity, language, religion and culture. In the opinion of Jenkins (1996: 4), identity could be described as the ways in which individuals and collectivities are mapped out in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities. From the positions of these scholars, we conceive of identity as individual's or people's perception about themselves in relation to others; a distinctive mark that gives them the consciousness of their distinct singularity as opposed to common plurality.

In his description of the relationship between these two concepts, Nwagbo (2014) opines that ideology is a crucial social phenomenon in the construction of identities. In the words of Fairclough (1995) and Bloor and Bloor (2007), ideologies are established belief systems, values, attitudes, and assumptions shared by members of a particular social group, as opposed to members of another group. In other words, what distinguishes a people of a given social group from another is what they do differently from the members of the other group. This difference in their approach to things ultimately serves as a mark of beliefs that differentiate them from other group(s) in the society, hence their identity. As individuals grow up in a larger society and social groups, they consciously become aware of the social group to which they belong and the group they do not belong to, and sometimes, this social group identity reflects in language, dressing, food, faith, etc. Generally, people become conscious of the *Self* and the *Other* and then begin to associate more with their in-group members than without-group members (Nwagbo, 2014).

Further commenting on the relationship between the two phenomena, Bloor and Bloor (2007) argue that one of the outcomes of a belief system is prejudices, which are powerful assumptions, with respect to the identity of the *Self*, in contrast with the *Other*. Thus, the *Self* is cheered and the *Other* is jeered. Ajayi (2015: 70) sees ideology as a tie that binds individuals sharing a common perception on a phenomenon, what marks their identity as members of a people sharing a similar worldview. Thus, ideology can be a means of creating personal or group identity. Fela's songs serve such a function.

4. Other(ness) as an Identity and Ideological Creation Phenomenon

The origin of the concept of Other(ness) is traced to the works of social scientists, among whom Other(ness) is generally conceived as a phenomenon that defines and differentiates one from another (Ajayi, 2015). To these scholars, Other(ness) is an in-group and out-group creation phenomenon that spells out the similarities and differences between and among individuals and groups in society. In Simmel's (1971: 144) view, the *Other* is conceived as 'the stranger who is beyond being far and near. The stranger is seen as an element of the group itself, not unlike the poor and sundry 'inner enemy'- an element whose membership within the group involves both being outside and confronting the group'. In the opinion of Lamont and Fournier (1992), defining the *other* requires drawing a demarcation between real and symbolic boundaries. These boundaries are such that lead to internal differentiation that creates social, cultural, and moral categories. The boundaries are also capable of creating hierarchies among cultures. In the words of Baudrillard and Guillaume (1994:50), Other(ness) is crossing a boundary, and a boundary can be imaginary or visible. These scholars all agreed Otherness can be used in marking territorial, cultural and political boundaries among human beings (Ajayi, 2015: 70). Territorial boundaries define the political unity of nations; for instance, the boundaries of an 'US' versus 'THEM', which are nourished and promoted by a national rhetoric and historical ideologies.

In Kastoryano's (2010: 78) submission, the passage from cultural boundaries to political boundaries is realised through the institutionalisation of sameness and difference, a process through which identities, whether religious, linguistic, racial, or ideological (sic) are elaborately reinforced. Sarukkai (1997) claims otherness is a phenomenon that reinforces how an individual is different from another. He sees the concept as one that explains how majority and minority identities are constructed in societies across the world. As a follow-up to Sakurrai's position, Murdick *et al.* (2004) see Otherness as possession of unfamiliar and/or inexplicable features. It may include features that are familiar but which are rejected as a result of the responsibilities placed on society in which the 'Other' appears (Smart, 2001, cf.

Ajayi, 2015: 71). According to Staszak (2008), Otherness is a product of a process by which a dominant in-group (US, the Self) constructs one or many dominated groups.

In Staszak's (2008) opinion, Otherness implies the application of a principle that allows individuals or groups to be categorised into two: *us* and *them*. Staszak expressly goes further to link Otherness and identity. To him, Otherness and identity are two conceptual elements which are inseparable. This is captured in his statement thus: The *Other* exists relative to the self and vice versa (Staszak, 2008: 2). Nwagbo (2014) shares the opinion of Staszak (2008) and adds that ideology is a crucial social phenomenon in the construction of identities; thus, ideology defines group identities. Ajayi (2015) draws a conclusion from the positions of the scholars cited above and asserts every human society has its concept of Otherness. He describes society in this context as any group of individuals bound by a certain identity- village, city, nation, religious sect, etc (Ajayi, 2015: 71). He also agrees with Staszak's (2008) conception of Otherness as being a reflection of identity and ideology. This is the position that is adopted in the current study. Fela makes a clear distinction between the *self* and the *other* identities in his songs, and thus successfully projects his ideologies through this distinction.

5. Methodology

Fela Anikulapo-Kuti's songs are replete with diverse ideological phenomena. However, in order to do justice to the topic of this study, I have selected seven of his songs. The songs have been purposively selected for their common thematic issues which are considered relevant to this study. In particular, the songs typify the ways in which Fela lampoons the social realities that define the Nigerian and the global spaces. The songs are as captured in the following albums: *Authority Stealing*, *Beast of no Nation*, *Colomentality*, *International Thief Thief*, *Original Suffer Head*, *Suffering and Smiling*, and *Zombie*. Some of the excerpts rendered in Nigerian Pidgin and Yoruba are appropriately transcribed in English. Relevant parts of the songs are extracted and subjected to critical analysis in this study.

6. Identity and Ideologies in Fela's Songs

6.1 The *Self* Identity and Individualism Ideology

Following Staszak's (2008) conception of the *self*, Fela can be said to project the *self* identity (his personality) and individualism ideology by means of the use of personal pronouns as illustrated in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 1

...Well well, na true I wan talk again o
Na true I wan talk again o
If I dey lie o
Make Orisa punish me
Make Ifa punish me
Make Edumare punish me
Make the land dey punish me
I read am for book ee-oo
I see so myself ee-oo...
I read about one of them inside book like that

Dem call him name na ITT

Well, I want to say the truth again
I want to say the truth again
If I am lying
Orisa should punish me
*Ifa*¹ should punish me
Edumare should punish me
The land should punish me
I read it in books
I observed it myself
I read about one of them in a
book
He is by the name ITT

(International Thief Thief)

¹ A Yoruba traditional divination system

Leech (2006:95) defines pronouns as “a class of words which fills the position of nouns or noun phrases, and which substitutes for, or cross-refers to, other expressions”. Pronouns are words used in place of nouns and sometimes serve to create particular identities. Fela’s use of first person personal pronouns ‘I’ and ‘me’ and the emphatic pronoun ‘myself’ in the excerpt above is a case in point. He projects himself as a particular individual whose identity is different from that of the *other*, one who is not a thief like the individuals, *them* and *him*, condemned in the song. In this song, Fela projects his personal identity and his ideological belief in the sense of individualism. Through this *self* and the *other* distinction, Fela draws a demarcation between himself and those individuals who plunder the resources of the land. This phenomenon runs through virtually all FAK’s songs as observed in excerpts 2, 7, 8, 11.

6.2 Collective Identity and Collectivism Ideology

There are numerous instances of the use of collective pronouns by Fela to create a collective identity and collectivism ideology in his songs. Some of these instances are presented in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 2

We Africans must do something about this nonsense

I repeat, We Africans must do something about this nonsense

(Authority Stealing)

Excerpt 3

And they wan dash *us* human rights

And they want to give us human rights

This uprising will bring out the beast in *us*

Animals wan dash *us* human rights

Animals want to give us human rights

Animal can’t dash *us* human rights

(Beast of No Nation)

Excerpt 4

We go Obalende

We went to Obalende

We go Dodan barracks

We went to Dodan Barracks

We put the coffin down

We put a coffin down

We dey live like servants

We are living like servants

Dem go call us underdeveloped nation

They call us underdeveloped nation

Dem go call us third world country

They will call us a third world country

We must dey craze for head

We must be crazy

Dem turn us to suffer head

They subject us to suffering

We must be ready to fight for am now

We must be ready to fight for it now

(Original Sufferhead)

In excerpts 2, 3, and 4 above, Fela employs the use of collective personal pronouns *We* and *Us* to project a collective identity, identifying himself with the poor masses that are being oppressed and repressed; whose rights to decent living as human beings – are being violated by the ruling class on the one hand, and the Western world on the other. By trying to create a common identity with the oppressed masses of the Nigerian nation, Fela hopes to appeal to the consciousness of the masses to rise up and take up the challenge of liberating themselves from the claws of

their tyrannical political leaders. He believes the battle of delivering the masses from the hands of the oppressive ruling class is a collective one, hence his repeated use of collective pronouns *We* and *Us* to project his collectivism ideology. Following Staszak's (2008) conception of the *self* and the *other*, *We* and *Us* here represent Fela and the Nigerian masses, as against the political class, the *other*, in the country.

6.3 The *Other* Identity and *Otherness* Ideology

In Fela's songs, the *other* identity is given to a people, a class and a group that do not represent his interests. In this category, we have the political class in the country and non-traditionalists, particularly Christians and Muslims. Going by this identity creation phenomenon, two forms of ideology are established: political and religious ideologies.

6.3.1 Political ideology: The Political Class is Inhuman

The concept of political ideology, as conceived by Fela, and as employed in this paper, has to do with the popular view of Nigerians in general, and Fela in particular, about the Nigerian political class. Fela, following Staszak's (2008) opinion about otherness as a principle that allows individuals to be categorised into two: *us* and *them*, employs the use of the third person plural pronouns 'they' and 'them', the second person personal pronoun 'You' and name-calling, 'Animal', for instance, among other linguistic strategies, to draw a distinction between the oppressed masses and the political class in Nigeria. This is evident in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 5

***Animal* talk don start again**

Animals' discussion has started again

Dash *them* human rights...

Give them human rights

And *they* wan dash us human rights

And they want to give us human rights

***Animal* must talk to human beings...**

Animals must talk to human beings

So therefore *you* can't dash me my property

Therefore, you cannot give what is rightfully mine

Human rights na my property

Human rights is rightfully mine

They want dash us human rights...

They want to give us human rights

And together *dem* wan dash us human rights

And together they want to give us human rights

***Animal* wan dash us human rights**

Animals want to give us human rights

***Animal* can't dash me human rights**

Animals cannot give me human rights

***Animal* can't dash us human rights**

Animals cannot give us human rights

(Beast of no Nation)

In the excerpt above, Fela expresses his displeasure and protest against the military government of the day. He sees the military regime as being anti-people, and the major participants: the police, the army, the court, the magistrate, and the judge in the military rule, all of whom constitute the *other* he is lampooning, are nothing but animals. He considers them as individuals, who do not respect the fundamental human rights of the citizens of the country. Hence, they are animals, who do not know what it is to be human. As pointed out earlier, Fela deliberately and consciously projects the political class in the country, whom he identifies as *they*, *them*, *you* and *animals*, as

the *other* who does not have value and respect for humanity in general, and Nigerians in particular.

6.3.1.1 Nigerian Soldiers are Senseless

Perhaps one should argue that what informs this ideological submission of Fela is the perceived regimented system of operation of the Nigerian army. As a disciplined institution, the Nigerian Army has strict and stringent rules and orders that guide the *modus operandi* of her men (the soldiers). It is such a system where a junior officer does not have to apply his discretion in carrying out the order of a superior officer. To Fela, this is not acceptable. He believes any sane system should be made up of individuals, who can apply their discretion in their institutional operation and, since this is not possible in the Nigerian Army, the men of the institution are *zombies*, fools, idiots, numskulls and senseless beings. Consider the excerpt below:

Excerpt 6

Zombie oo, zombie (2ce)

Zombie no go go unless you tell am to go

Zombie

Zombie no go stop unless you tell am to stop

Zombie...

Go and kill

Jorojarajoro

Go and die

Jorojarajoro

Go and quench...

Attention

Quick march

Left turn

Right turn

About turn

Double turn

Double up

Salute...

Fool (2ce)

A fool will not move unless asked to

Fool

A fool will not stop (moving/walking)

unless asked to

Fool

Go and kill

(mocking the military parade movement)

Go and die

(mocking the military parade movement)

Go and destroy

Attention...

Quick march

Left turn

Right turn

About turn

Double turn

Double up

Salute...

(Zombie)

Once again, as evident in the excerpt above, Fela lampoons the apparatus of the political class, the Nigerian Army and her men, configuring them as the *other* whose *modus operandi* is not acceptable to the Nigerian masses with whom Fela identifies.

6.3.1.2 The Nigerian Political Class is Corrupt

In fact, it can be argued that a common theme of Fela's songs is that the political class in Nigeria is corrupt. The political class in Nigeria comprises political office holders in the country, either military or civilians, and government mercenaries and institutions, like the Nigerian Army and Nigerian Police. Fela carves a denigrating *other* identity for the Nigerian political class in his songs. He sees the political actors in the Nigerian political space as being synonymous to corruption. This could be read in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 7

...I read about one of them inside book like that	I read about one of them in a book
Dem call in name na ITT (International Thief Thief)	They call him ITT
Dem go dey cause confusion	They will cause confusion
Cause corruption	Cause corruption
Cause oppression	Cause oppression
Cause inflation	Cause inflation
Oppression, oppression, inflation	Oppression, oppression, inflation
Corruption, oppression, inflation...	Corruption, oppression, inflation...

(International Thief Thief)

As captured in the excerpt above, Fela opines the corrupt political class, referred to as thief, is the *other* responsible for the different manifestations of corruption in the country. He identifies the principal actors in the Nigerian political space as thieves that embezzle the nation's funds, cause inflation and ultimately cause the masses to suffer unabatedly. Here again, Fela employs linguistic strategies such as the use of the pronoun 'they' and name-calling to create this ignoble identity for the Nigerian political class. The kind of distinction made by Fela between the *self* and the *other* identities with the use of personal pronouns in this excerpt is in line with Staszak's (2008) distinction between the *us* and *them* identities discussed in his concept of Otherness.

6.3.2 Religious Identity and Ideology: The African and the *other* Religion(s)

Religion is one of the tools Fela employs to create identities and ideologies in his songs. Through his many radical and thought-provoking songs, Fela creates the *self* versus the *other* identities from a religious perspective. He projects himself as a core traditionalist, who believes in the sovereignty and potency of African gods and deities. The mention of *Orisa, Ifa, land and Edumare* in the excerpt below is a way by which Fela identifies with the Yoruba socio-religious belief system².

Excerpt 8

...na true I wan talk again o	I want to say the truth again
If I dey lie o	If I tell lies
Make Orisa punish me	Let Orisa (gods) punish me
Make Ifa dey punish me o	Let Ifa punish me
Make the land dey punish me o	Let the land punish me
Make Edumare punish o...	Let Edumare punish me

(International Thief Thief)

Fela presents himself as a voice clamouring for the African traditional religion and practices as against the Western and non-African instituted religions and orientations. How Fela achieves this will be our focus in the next section of this study.

6.3.2.1 Christianity and Islam are Tools for Exploiting Africans (and Nigerians)

In Nigeria, the two most popular religions recognised by the State, are Christianity and Islam (Lamidi, 2016). However, there is the traditional religion, which is socially but not officially recognised. The traditional religion allows people to worship God and gods in their traditional way. A critical appraisal of Fela's songs

² See Ajayi (2015)

reveals he projects himself as a traditionalist to the core. As someone who identifies with the Yoruba traditional religion in particular, he abhors any *other* form of religion, whose origin cannot be traced to the African belief system; hence his vehement criticism of the Christian and the Islamic religions. He lampoons the leaders of these religions, describing them as people who enrich themselves with the hard-earned resources of their followers. To Fela, these religious leaders are capitalists and exploiters who blindfold their followers with the tenets of their religions. This proposition is evident in this excerpt:

Excerpt 9

...And put your minds into any goddamn church	Cast your mind back to any kind of church
Any goddamn mosque	Any kind of mosque
Any goddamn Celestial	Any Celestial
Including Seraphoom and Cheruboom...	Including Seraphim and Cherubim...
Suffer suffer for world	Suffer in the world
Enjoy for heaven	Enjoy in paradise
Christians go dey yab	Christians would say
In Spiritum Heavinus	In Spiritum Heavinus
Muslims go dey call	Muslims would shout
Allahu Akbar	Allahu Akbar
Open your eyes everywhere	Be sensitive
Archbishop na miliki	Being Archbishop is a form of enjoyment
Pope na enjoyment	Being a pope is a form of enjoyment
Imam na gbaladun	Being an Imam is living in luxury
Pope sef dey enjoy	Pope is enjoying
Imam sef dey enjoy	Imam is enjoying

(Suffering and Smiling)

In this excerpt, Fela calls on Christians and Muslims to come out of the ‘dark’ they have been kept in by their leaders, who deceive them with their religious injunction(s) that even when/if they suffer in the world, they will enjoy in heaven. To Fela, these religious leaders, Imams, the Pope, Archbishops - better their lots with the resources (offerings and tithes) contributed by their followers, who believe the rewards of their giving is in heaven. Fela even deliberately “bastardises” the names of some Christian denominations to further show how much disregard he has for Christianity, the *other* religion: Celestial, Seraphoom and Cheruboom instead of Celestial, Seraphim and Cherubim, respectively. Following the position of Staszak’s (2008), we submit the crux of Fela’s argument here lies in his conception of Christianity and Islam as the *other* religions which do not represent the interests of *us*, Africa and Africans, and particularly Nigeria and Nigerians.

6.4.1 Colonial Ideology: European Culture Displaces African World-View

Fela projects Europeans, especially those that colonised African countries, as intruders who had come and superimposed their ‘barbaric’ culture on the highly cherished African way of life, hence the cultural imperialism witnessed among the African nations. The African man now prefers to dress in Western attire at the expense of his indigenous dresses; prefers to speak the White man’s language while his own language is relegated to the background. The African man now wants to live in houses whose architectural design is patterned after the Western structure. All this,

ultimately, has affected the thinking system of the African man, a development that is counter-productive as far as the development of the African continent is concerned. This Fela's ideological proposition is captured in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 10

...Long, long, long time ago	Long before now
African man we no dey carry shit	The African man would not carry faeces
We dey shit inside big big hole	We used to defecate in pit toilet
For Yoruba na salanga	It is called <i>salanga</i> in Yoruba
For Igbo na onunu-insi	It is called <i>onunu-insi</i> in Igbo
For Hausa na salga	It is called <i>salga</i> in Hausa
For Gaa land na tiafi	It is called <i>tiafi</i> in Gaa
For Ashanti land na yarni...	It is called <i>yarni</i> in Ashanti
Before den come force away as slaves	Before we were forced as slaves
During the time dem come force us away as slaves	During the time they came and forced us as slaves
Na European man, na him dey carry shit	It was the European man that was known for carrying faeces
Na for dem culture to carry shit	It is part of their culture to carry faeces
During the time dem come colonise us	During the time they came to colonise us
Dem come teach us to carry shit...	They taught us how to carry faeces

(ITT)

In this excerpt, Fela makes specific reference to the way Africans used to defecate before the advent of colonisation. In doing this, Fela mentions the specific names specific African peoples called their way(s) of defecation, and their system of disposing of faeces. Fela is particular about the pit toiletry system in operation in Africa, before the advent of colonisation that brought the use of water closet type of toiletry. With this comparison, Fela creates a particular identity for the African people as a people who had their systematic and organised ways of running their affairs before the European 'intrusion' into the continent. As a matter of fact, in Fela's opinion, the coming of the whites has done more harm than good to African culture in general and the African man in particular. This ideological proposition further paints Fela as anti-European. He projects the 'we' ideological identity representing Africa versus the 'they' ideological identity, which represents Europe and all its interests.

6.4.2 Europe is a Corrupt Continent that Exploits Africa

Fela identifies Europe as a continent that is only interested in exploiting the African continent. To perpetrate and perpetuate their corrupt tendencies in Africa, European countries have established companies on the continent under the guise of contributing to the economic growth of the continent. As a way of further keeping the African people in the dark, they employ the use of English, which is not accessible to the vast majority of Africans, in their dealing with them. Here again, Fela, through his song, creates the 'we' and the 'they' ideological identities. Fela's position is evident in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 11

...say am, say am	Say it (2ce)
Many foreign companies dey Africa to carry our	Many foreign

money go

Dem go write big English for newspaper

Dabaru we Africans

I read about one of them inside book like that...

companies are in Africa
to cart away our resources
(including money)
They are fond of writing
esoteric English in
newspapers
to confuse us Africans
I once read in a book...

(International Thief Thief)

7. Discussion and Conclusion

This study has attempted identity and ideological representation in selected Fela Anikulapo-Kuti's songs, drawing inputs from Staszak's (2008) concept of Other(ness). Two ideological identities, the *self* and the *other*, dominate Fela Anikulapo-Kuti's songs. These identities are projected through his individualism, collectivism, political, colonial, and religious ideologies, which are a means of protesting against the political, religious, and social realities that define the African system in general and the Nigerian space in particular. With the *self* identity and individualism ideology, Fela projects his personality as an individual who is uniquely different from another individual (the *other*), one that always speaks the truth, and one that is conscious of the suffering of the Nigerian masses. He projects the collective identity and collectivism ideology in order to identify with the suffering Nigerian masses, being a Nigerian himself. He sees himself as one that is not exempted from the terrible economic, political and social experience that define the Nigerian space, as caused by the political class. The *other* identity is consciously created by Fela to project any ideas or philosophies that do not define him as a person, the Nigerian ideals, and the African ideological predisposition. With this ideological identity, Fela projects the African socio-cultural and religious world-view as the catalyst for self and national development. In other words, Western orientation has nothing good to offer the African continent and its people. It then suffices to conclude that Fela was a musical legendary whose songs are influenced by certain ideologies that define his identity as a unique human being, a Nigerian and an African.

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