

Negotiating Classical Music: Local Agency in Violin Pedagogy and Performance Practices in Lagos, Nigeria

Babatunde D. Awonuga

Department of Music

University of Ibadan

davidviolin2005@yahoo.com

Abstract

The historical development of violin pedagogy and performance in Nigeria has received limited scholarly attention despite its significance to the evolution of Western classical music in the country. This study examines how local actors negotiated and shaped violin pedagogy and performance practices in Lagos, Nigeria, between 1980 and 2010. Adopting a qualitative historical-ethnographic approach, data were generated through in-depth interviews, participant observation, autoethnographic reflections, and documentary sources. From the results, one can see that the expansion of violin practice is the result of the collective agency of churches, schools, music businesses, cultural groups, and individuals who set up the structure of a pedagogic network, performance, and institution to make sure the practice was passed from generation to generation. In contrast to a passive continuation of the practices of Europe's classical traditions, the violin practice in Lagos was a product of local adaptation, teaching, and collaboration. The article shows that the localisation of Western classical music in Lagos is the product of indigenous agency, where the local musicians turned the foreign tradition into a sustainable part of the local musical culture.

Keywords: Local agency; violin pedagogy; performance practices; Nigerian art music; Lagos; Western classical music.

Introduction

Development of Nigerian art music involves a lengthy period of interactions between different cultures, adaptations, and innovative reconstructions of native and Western musical styles. After the import of Western music via missionary work, the colonial education system, and Christianity, Nigerian artists used different forms of music in order to create new music traditions corresponding to a particular cultural environment (Omojola, 1995; Sadoh, 2010). Contrary to the popular belief that Nigerian artists were only passive agents of foreign musical styles, they actively interacted with the meaning, teaching methods, and performance of classical music, which contributed to the development of classical music tradition in Nigeria (Adeogun, 2021; Ofuani, 2022).

Current studies have continuously criticised the colonial narrative which sees the role of Western art music in Africa simply as an importation of culture. Studies on music education, conducting, composition, and intercultural creativity show how Nigerian musicians have continuously appropriated the musical system of the West to their education, religious and performing contexts (Adeogun, 2024; Ossaiga, 2024; Osinigwe, 2025). Likewise, current studies on indigenous musical knowledge continue to highlight how musical practice in Nigeria is shaped through processes of creativity and cultural negotiations rather than imitation of other cultures (Lo-Bamijoko, 1984; Oludare, 2021, 2024).

In this wider context, Western classical music instrumental training has also been growing steadily via churches, universities, private music schools, and cultural organisations as well as professional music associations. The choral and orchestral performance has been gaining ground immensely over the last few decades, providing new chances for the training of musicians, performing in ensembles, and professional practice (Nnamani, 2018; Odusanya, 2025). Educational activities like school orchestra programs have also made contributions towards exposing the younger generation to orchestral instruments and ensemble performance, illustrating the gradual institutionalisation of classical music education in Nigeria (Temitope, 2021). On the other hand, organisations like the Musical Society of Nigeria (MUSON), university music departments, churches, and private music institutions have played a key role in the development of musicians, conductors, and instrumentalists of various genres of art music (Adeogun, 2024; Ossaiga, 2024).

This notwithstanding, there is inadequate documentation on the history of violin pedagogy and performance in Lagos. Past literature in the area has tended to focus mainly on either the composition of Nigerian art music, music education, conducting, operas, chorals, or the wider history of Western music in Nigeria (Omojola, 1995; Sadoh, 2010; Abe & Falusi, 2025; Odusanya, 2025). There has not been enough research devoted to the people and institutions that facilitated the growth of violin culture and kept its tradition alive through the years. This has resulted in the lack of documentation on the roles played by churches, foreign communities, music businesses, universities, private teachers and violinists in Lagos.

However, Lagos stands out as particularly important in this history. The first cosmopolitan city in Nigeria, Lagos has throughout history provided a unique convergence of indigenous music cultures, missionary music culture, the colonial administration, diplomatic circles, and modern music organisations that enabled the flourishing of Western classical music together with indigenous music and popular music (Adejube, 2025; Edewor & Ogwezi, 2026). However, whereas there has been a proliferation of musicians and music institutions in Lagos, the scholarship on how violin education and performance culture took root in the city is rather sparse. Beyond its role as Nigeria's commercial capital, Lagos has historically served as a meeting point for missionary Christianity, colonial educational institutions, expatriate communities, diplomatic missions, churches, private music enterprises and indigenous musical traditions. These overlapping social worlds created an unusual environment in which Western classical music could flourish alongside popular and indigenous genres. Rather than remaining an elite colonial practice, violin performance gradually entered churches, schools, community ensembles and private music studios where local musicians appropriated, transformed and transmitted the tradition across generations.

The article tries to fill this void by focusing on the local agency involved in the creation of violin pedagogic and performance traditions in Lagos during the period 1980-2010. According to this article, the rise of violin tradition in Lagos was not simply a natural extension of classical traditions in Europe but rather a process that took place through the joint efforts of a variety of local agencies, including musicians, churches, teachers, entrepreneurs, cultural organisations, and performance communities in negotiating classical traditions within the context of Nigerian society.

Using oral histories, participant observation, autoethnographic insights, and documentary sources, the paper makes a contribution to research in Nigerian art music by bringing into focus the experiences of those whose involvement in this field has not been adequately examined before. In this way, it shows how important it is to understand the process of emergence of classical music in Nigeria through the lens of local agents and structures involved in it.

Literature Review

Nigerian Art Music, Western Classical Music and Instrumental Practice

The development of Nigerian art music is characterised by the ongoing interaction of indigenous musical culture and Western classical music brought to Nigeria through missionary work, colonial education, and institutions of music. Instead of the suppression of indigenous music traditions, Western art music was incorporated into the music environment of Nigeria by means of adaptation, reinterpretation, and innovative creation. As Omojola (1995) argues, Nigerian art music represents the result of the creative activities of indigenous composers combining the aesthetic principles of African music with Western composition. Likewise, according to Sadoh (2010), the development of Nigerian art music is influenced by composers, performers, educators, and institutions whose achievements expand scholarship and performance repertoires.

Prior to the expansion of violin pedagogy during the 1980s, violin performance in Lagos was largely confined to expatriate communities and a small class of Western educated Nigerian elites. Early evidence suggests that violin study was associated with missionary education, overseas training and elite cultural identity. Historical figures such as Herbert Macaulay received violin instruction while studying in Britain, while early Nigerian church musicians including T. K. E. Phillips also studied the instrument as part of broader Western musical training. Despite these isolated examples, violin practice remained inaccessible to most Nigerians due to limited access to instruments, teachers and performance opportunities. It was only from the late twentieth century that churches, music schools and local institutions democratised access to violin learning.

This research has taken this dialogue one step further to investigate the localisation of classical music from the West within the modern-day Nigerian context. Adeogun (2021) has noted that there is need for music education within Nigerian universities to be decolonised by considering the local forms of indigenous knowledge in addition to the Western traditions. The history of the education

of music within the University of Nigeria goes on to show how developments within the institution have impacted the training of professional musicians in Nigeria (Adeogun, 2024). Similarly, Ofuani (2022) has shown how intercultural creativity has been the hallmark of Nigerian art music.

Studies on conducting, choral music, opera, and orchestras equally reveal the institutionalisation of Western classical music in Nigeria. Nnamani (2018) discusses the importance of ensemble conducting in audience involvement while Odusanya (2025) calls for a performance-oriented and interdisciplinary approach to choral conducting in Nigerian universities. Ossaiga (2024) and Ayokunmi and Owoaje (2025) equally study the development of Western art music conducting in Southern Nigeria and the importance of conductors and performance practices in keeping alive orchestral culture. On another level, Temitope (2021) reveals that through school orchestras, young students have opportunities to learn musical instruments and participate in ensembles, therefore building up the pipeline for classical music education. Finally, the evolution of the genre of opera in Nigeria demonstrates how Western performing traditions have been adopted into the local cultural context (Abe & Falusi, 2025).

Together, these works have greatly added to our knowledge of Nigerian art music, music education, conducting, composition, and orchestration. Nonetheless, they pay relatively little attention to the history of violin teaching and performance as separate fields of research. In more concrete terms, the role of people, churches, schools, and informal groups in promoting the development and spread of violin practice in Lagos has not been extensively researched. Hence, there is a lack of adequate documentation of the history underlying the current state of violin practice.

Local Agency, Indigenous Knowledge and Musical Transmission

The importance of the idea of local agency has emerged recently in the study of the way that musical traditions are shaped by changing social and cultural contexts. Instead of thinking about the musical tradition as something that was inherited without change, modern scholars highlight the agency of local musicians and local communities in maintaining and transforming the musical tradition through generational succession. This approach is particularly evident in the case of the musical traditions of indigenous Nigeria.

According to Oludare (2021), traditional Yoruba instrumental groups serve as representations of indigenous knowledge systems through which the knowledge of music is passed down to

succeeding generations. Furthermore, Oludare (2024) illustrates how performance practices linked to the àgídìgbò have developed through innovation but continue to retain their indigenous philosophies. Moreover, Akere (2023) shows how technological innovations have brought about a transformation of the àgídìgbò but without threatening its cultural integrity.

Previous research by Lo-Bamijoko (1984) also portrays the performance practice in Nigeria as an activity that is socially influenced by the performer, the audience, and the cultural context rather than just the musical texts. This view coincides with the issue of cultural sustainability in contemporary Nigerian music. According to Adejube (2025), the sustainability of the musical practices in Nigeria is determined by the ability of the practitioners and institutions to adapt to the changes in the economic, technological, and cultural environment while still remaining relevant. On a similar note, Edewor and Ogwezi (2026) assert that there has been the influence of Western culture in the Nigerian music industry; but the indigenous musicians have always exercised their agency by adapting these outside influences.

Despite all the findings on the role of local agencies in indigenous musical practice and Nigerian music studies in general, very little has been written about how the same applies to Western classical instrumentals. Very few studies have sought to explore the way Nigerian violinists, churches, educational establishments, music entrepreneurship and cultural agencies interacted with each other in the process of teaching and performing violins in local settings. The way in which violin pedagogy and performance got institutionalised in Lagos is yet to be examined. It is for this reason that this research seeks to highlight the role of practitioners in making this happen.

Conceptualising Local Agency

Agency is generally defined as the ability of an individual or a group of people to make decisions and be able to affect the social and cultural contexts within which they work. In music studies, the concept of agency is not only associated with individual creativity but involves a range of collective activities by which communities, institutions and practitioners negotiate the musical tradition. The idea of agency does not assume that musical traditions remain static cultural legacies but that they are continually negotiated.

In Nigeria, it has been proved by scholars that musical traditions are created actively involving local people, not by preserving and imitating passively. Research on native musical tradition

proves that the people who perform music, play musical instruments, teach music, and so on actively reinterpret musical traditions, adapting them to new social conditions (Lo-Bamijoko, 1984; Oludare, 2021, 2024; Akere, 2023). Likewise, recent research on music education and culture sustainability in Nigeria prove the significance of local people's initiative in maintaining music traditions (Adeogun, 2021; Adejube, 2025).

In this research, local agency is defined as the power of Nigerian musicians, churches, schools, music entrepreneurs, cultural bodies, and performing groups to influence the development of violin pedagogy and performance styles in Lagos. As opposed to viewing violin practice as an extension of European classical music traditions, the idea emphasises the manner through which the locals have used the violin within their social and cultural settings. It entails the manner through which the locals have established education systems, mentoring practices, performing platforms, ensembles, institutions, and learning paths.

In this way, conceptualising local agency does not focus on the genesis of the violin as an instrument of the West but rather on the day-to-day activities that allow the instrument to acquire local meanings in Nigeria. It is on this basis that the paper considers how these agents navigated within the inherited tradition of classicism while dealing with the realities of the local setting to produce the practice of the violin in Lagos from 1980 to 2010.

Methodology

The research used the qualitative historical-ethnographic design for analysing the evolution of violin pedagogy and performance in Lagos, Nigeria, in the period 1980 to 2010. This method was deemed suitable since it would facilitate analysis of the participants' experiences and history and the processes involved in the development of violin practices in the local community settings.

Data was collected using techniques of in-depth interviews, participant observation, autoethnography and document analysis. Six participants were selected purposely due to their prolonged participation in the practice and development of violin performance and pedagogy, music entrepreneurship and institutional development in Lagos. The participants included practicing violinists, music educators, a music entrepreneur and relatives of the late practitioners who had made notable contributions towards the development of the violin tradition in the city. The experiences of these participants spanned about thirty to forty years.

Participant observation was informed by the active involvement of the researcher within the classical music environment in Lagos, while autoethnographic reflections offered further insights gained through personal experiences of being a practitioner in the violin culture. Documentary sources such as archival documents, program notes, and magazines were utilised to supplement the oral sources and offer historical background. Data analysis followed a thematic approach. These themes provided the basis for understanding how local actors negotiated and sustained violin practice in Lagos.

Findings and Discussion

Churches, Institutions and the Localisation of Violin Practice in Lagos

The study reveals that the development of violin practice in Lagos has been mainly facilitated by the joint actions of churches, schools, music societies, individual ventures and foreign nationals. Violin practice and performance did not come about via the simple transfer of Western musical practices, but rather from local organisations that provided a platform for violin instruction and musical performance.

Of all these organisations, the Apostolic Faith Church (AFM) was one of the first and foremost among centers for the training of the violin. The participants repeatedly mentioned that at the church, they were offered an organised place where the youth were taught how to play orchestra instruments and perform. As Tony Ademuyiwa says, Europeans living in Lagos would come to the church sometimes in the 1960s to offer their assistance in violin training. But when the indigenous population became skilled in playing, the duty of teaching passed on to them and they educated future generations of players.

In addition to being part of the learning process, AFM developed the tradition of violin performances using the choir, orchestra, concerts, and sectionals among other measures. It is clear from the responses that this was done not only to develop music skills but also to instill discipline, dedication, and a sense of identity. While the church originally made gender considerations in the distribution of roles such that mostly females played the violin, the succeeding generations have seen greater involvement of both male and female performers.

In addition, the results have also shown that the reach of AFM was not limited to just its congregation. As the violinist members created connections with other churches and music groups, teaching methods and performance styles were diffused throughout Lagos. Christ Apostolic Church (CAC) of Ebute-Metta turned out to be another important violin training centre in Lagos during the 1980s. The CAC music school was mentioned as one of the important places for training, which included music reading alongside performance in ensembles, leading to violinists becoming performers and teachers in Lagos classical music circle.

Outside ecclesiastical institutions, another form of institutional support was found within the University of Lagos environment, expatriate cultural groups, Orpheus Music Consult and the Musical Society of Nigeria (MUSON). It was remembered that expatriate musicians facilitated performance collaboration and introduction to Western orchestral literature, while local business persons like David Nwamara played a significant role in creating channels of access to musical instruments and training materials. In the same way, MUSON greatly enhanced violin playing through its diploma course, master classes, orchestras and collaborations between Nigerian and foreign musicians. Another important private initiative was Ajibola Meshida's Terra Cotta Music Group, which provided opportunities for young musicians to receive informal violin instruction and participate in ensemble rehearsals outside church settings. Beyond teaching, Meshida became known for repairing string instruments and attempting local instrument construction, thereby contributing to the technical infrastructure required for sustaining violin practice in Lagos.

These discoveries show that the development of violin playing in Lagos was due to the relationship among many organisations and not any one organisation in particular. The churches created a basic pedagogical setting for learning, universities and foreign groups brought artistic influence, while MUSON and personal efforts enhanced professional education and performance. All these institutions contributed to local agency through modification of the Western classical tradition. The spread of violin culture also reflected changing institutional models across successive generations of Pentecostal and indigenous churches. Whereas AFM pioneered organised orchestral worship during the 1980s, CAC expanded music literacy and ensemble practice during the 1990s, while newer Pentecostal churches such as MFM contributed to wider diffusion during the 2000s through rapid congregational expansion and investment in orchestral worship.

Unlike AFM, which emphasised orchestral participation within church worship, CAC contributed significantly to music literacy and chamber music practice. Violinists trained through the Ebute Metta music school frequently formed string quartets, quintets and sextets that performed both sacred works, including Handel's *Messiah*, and secular repertoire such as Mozart's *Eine kleine Nachtmusik*. These ensembles extended violin performance beyond church worship into broader public musical life across Lagos. The results of this study corroborate existing studies on the nature of Nigerian classical music being a result of consistent localisation rather than mere cultural diffusion. According to Omojola (1995), Nigerian art music has been an outcome of indigenisation of Western musical styles, and Adeogun (2024) shows the importance of education in the establishment of professional music in Nigeria. Likewise, Ossaiga (2024) highlights the importance of orchestral institutions and conductors for the development of Western art music in Southern Nigeria. In turn, the current research adds to the above views as it shows that churches, private music institutions, and community institutions have been equally important institutions in the evolution of the violin teaching and playing tradition in Lagos.

Moreover, this finding adds more evidence to the broader debate that Western musical practices in Nigeria have been consistently restructured by way of local involvement and negotiations, rather than mere mimicry (Edewor & Ogwezi, 2026). The development of the art of playing the violin in Lagos thus shows how the local institution adopted the foreign musical practice and made it a part of the local classical music culture.

Pedagogical Networks and the Transmission of Violin Practice

It is evident from the findings that the sustainability of the practice of playing the violin in Lagos was not only achieved through formal institutions, but also through local pedagogical networks which enabled knowledge transfer over generations. All the participants mentioned the practice of playing the violin as a phenomenon that takes place within the context of mentorship, apprenticeship, peer learning, church music ministries, and community learning.

The practice of teaching the violin in the Apostolic Faith Mission (AFM) involved an institutionalised process in which the experienced musicians took charge of teaching young learners after the intervention of the foreign teachers in the early days. Interviewees noted that the local violinists like Esther Ogunfowomu and Ghanaian violinist, Joanne Aina were central in

guiding the new musicians. There was much more than just teaching how to play; there were regular practice sessions, ensemble practices, sectional practices, and annual concerts. Likewise, the music school of the Christ Apostolic Church (CAC), Ebute-Metta, was noted by interviewees as another place where learners were taught music literacy and instrumental skills.

The study also demonstrates the role played by individuals and private efforts in promoting violin lessons in Lagos. The experience Geoffrey Amoah has gained through his involvement in orchestras and violin teaching has led to the creation of avenues for specialised training as well as the availability of materials used in teaching. The Musical Society of Nigeria (MUSON) was also cited as having played an important part. The diploma training program of MUSON, its resident teachers, youth orchestra, and master classes were all avenues for advanced professional training of violinists who have learnt their basic skills in churches and other places of learning.

The establishment of MUSON's diploma programme represented an important shift from community-based instruction toward professional conservatoire-style training. Under the leadership of violinists such as Paul Konye and later Geoffrey Amoah, students were introduced to more advanced technical studies, orchestral repertoire, and international pedagogical standards, thereby complementing the church-based foundations established during earlier decades. Beyond MUSON, Ghanaian violinists including Joanne Aina, Theophilus Okang, and Geoffrey Amoah made significant contributions to the development of violin practice in Lagos. Drawing on Ghana's more established violin tradition, which had developed since the late 1950s, they formed mentorship networks for younger Nigerian violinists, introduced higher technical standards, and refined local performance practices. Their contributions illustrate that the evolution of violin pedagogy in Lagos was shaped not only by local institutions but also by intra-African exchanges of musical knowledge and expertise. This indicates that there was no competition among the various means of education but rather complementarity in the development of violin pedagogy in Lagos. Churches provided the foundation for basic musical skills, while professional teachers, music entrepreneurs, and institutions expanded access to instruments, advanced instruction, and formal orchestral training.

The results confirm existing studies about the process of musical knowledge that considers it a socially constructed process passed through engagement and performance as opposed to formal

schooling. According to Lo-Bamijoko (1984), the process of Nigerian performance is based on social interaction and experience with music, whereas, according to Oludare (2021), the indigenous knowledge system relies on generational transmission in practice-based communities. Adeogun (2021) proposes a similar approach to music education that combines local pedagogical traditions with Western ones. The examples described in this study show how teaching the violin in Lagos followed a similar process of transformation.

Moreover, the results have also elaborated the work of Temitope (2021) on the role of orchestral teaching because the research has shown that the successful learning of playing the instrument in Nigeria depended upon the networking of churches, schools, musical associations, and personal effort in the past. Instead of working as independent sources for teaching the students, all these sources created an environment in which violinists were able to learn and develop their skills as players.

Negotiating Performance Practices and Professional Violin Culture

From the results, it is clear that performance was a vital arena in which the playing of the violin was negotiated, legitimised, and maintained in Lagos. Aside from being a stage on which art was expressed, concerts, church programs, orchestras, and intercultural performances allowed the violinists to sharpen their skill, build their networks, and develop public recognition of classical Western music. Performance was viewed by all participants as a final step in a process of pedagogy.

Churches offered the first and most reliable platform for many violinists. Within the Apostolic Faith Movement (AFM), Easter, Camp Meeting, and Christmas concerts offered significant chances for orchestral performances, familiarising the audience with both sacred and secular classics, as well as fostering new performers. Just like Ayokunmi and Oluwadare (2023) discussed, both sacred and non-sacred music exist in the church, but the latter must not be a distraction in the moment of worship. Such concerts formed a musical community where participation was judged based on commitment and ability rather than social class. As the members noted, the orchestra itself became a mark of musicianship and spirituality, thus motivating the young members to perform on instruments.

There was a great deal of exposure gained by the participants in terms of performance through contact with expatriates and cultural organisations in Lagos. The participants mentioned

collaboration with musical societies of Germans, British, and French, where they played together with other musicians from different countries in orchestral and choral performances. This kind of interaction helped them get access to a variety of musical repertoire, ensemble practices, and performance standards that were not available locally otherwise. However, these musicians in Nigeria made use of these experiences in their own contexts.

The introduction of the Musical Society of Nigeria (MUSON) also marked another step in the evolution of the performance culture of the city. According to the respondents, MUSON played an important role in organising orchestral concerts, chamber music concerts, guest artists and professional development programs that helped in raising the level of violin performance in Lagos. In addition to advanced training, MUSON also provided a performance system that linked budding violinists to both Nigerian and international musicians.

This suggests that performance was not only the endpoint of music education but also an active process by which violin playing gained legitimacy and continuity in Lagos. Churches promoted performance practices in religious contexts, collaboration among expatriates increased the scope of performance experience, while institutions like MUSON gave organisational form to professional practices. These combined performance spaces facilitated the negotiation of traditional Western classical practices against the background of a Nigerian cosmopolitan musical world.

The above findings correspond with research on the dynamics of performance as a point of intersection between culture and music. According to Lo-Bamijoko (1984), performance is determined by the social and cultural milieu of the music, whereas Ossaiga (2024) highlights the role played by orchestras and conducting techniques in preserving Western art music in Southern Nigeria. Likewise, Adejube, Samuel, and Adeleke (2024) state that the entertainment culture of Nigerian cities has always been characterised by constant evolution through varying social milieus, institutional growth, and audience engagement. The case of violinists in Lagos exemplifies such evolution inasmuch as classical music progressively shifted from religious to more secular performance contexts, including concerts, educational institutions, and urban festivals.

Furthermore, the findings support the notion that the western musical tradition in Nigeria has not remained stagnant but has continually been reinterpreted through cultural traditions of the local

context (Edewor & Ogwezi, 2026). Instead of serving as the custodians of an externally borrowed musical tradition, the Lagosian violinists demonstrated local agency by establishing performance traditions that not only took into account international classical performance norms but also the socio-cultural context of the society they were operating within.

Conclusion

The current research has investigated the issue of the influence of local agency on the development of violin pedagogy and performances in Lagos, Nigeria, in the period from 1980 to 2010. Using such methods of data collection as interviews, participant observation, autoethnography, and archival materials, it has shown that the emergence of violin practices has not been related to the mere adoption of Western classical traditions but to the joint actions of churches, schools, musical entrepreneurs, cultural institutions, and practitioners. Through pedagogical systems, mentoring relationships, institutional cooperation, and performances organised locally, these stakeholders have created sustainable structures contributing to the education of new generations of violinists in Lagos classical music scene.

In its emphasis on the practitioners' experience, the study broadens the scope of literature on Nigerian art music by including not only issues of composition but also institutional and community relationships necessary for the development of instrument performance. The findings also show that the localisation of Western classical music in Nigeria involved the negotiations during which the inherited musical traditions were adjusted to fit the local realities of education, religion, and culture. In this respect, violin performance in Lagos is a good illustration of how musical traditions of the world take on new meanings locally.

This paper makes contributions to current discourses about Nigerian art music, music education, and cultural sustainability by showing how the concept of local agency is still significant in sustaining the tradition of classical music in Africa today. As such, it reveals the importance of documenting more history and archive information about the development of instrumental music in Nigeria through practitioners, institutions, and communities. Further studies can build on this line of inquiry by investigating the same process in other Nigerian cities and among practitioners of other classical Western instruments.

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Personal Interviews

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3. Kehinde Sofuye Davies (interview, May, 2025)
4. Tony Ademuyiwa (interview, April, 2026)
5. Emeka Nwokedi (interview, June 2025)
6. Theophilus Okang (interview, June 2025)