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Editorial Note

The Volume 21, 2020 of *Liwuram: Journal of the Humanities* received over 90 essays. They all went through thorough editorial mill and 64 essays and creative works in the genres of poetry, drama and prose (short stories) were found publishable. This number of essays is considered too much for one volume, hence the board's decision to have two numbers for the volume: Volume 21, No. 1, 2020 and Volume 21, No. 2, 2020. Perhaps this is the first time in the history of the journal that this high level of subscription is received. Interestingly the spread of the subscriptions in terms of institutional affiliations of the contributors and subject areas is quite impressive. They cut across over forty different institutions, home and abroad, and core subject areas in the humanities. This is a positive and welcome reflection of the popularity *Liwuram* now enjoys among scholars and researchers in Nigeria and offshore. It is our desire to sustain this tempo and improve upon the present achievement.

We wish to genuinely acknowledge the support of the Dean of Arts, Professor Mohammed Aminu Muazu, the Editorial Board, individually and collectively, the last two editors of the journal – Professors Sheriff Bosoma and Abubakar Abanga, and our very critically thorough reviewers/assessors, which accounted for the birth of this current volume in two numbers. We are indeed very grateful. *Liwuram* can only get better.

Welcome to a delicious meal of scholarship. Enjoy it and get enriched.

Professor Sunday Enessi Ododo, *fsonta*, FNAL
Editor-in-Chief

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HUMOUR IN SELECTED HAUSA PROVERBS

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Abstract

The frequent use of oral tradition by the Hausa people has proven that it is an inevitable aspect of Hausa culture. One very important genre of Hausa oral tradition is the proverb which the Hausa people call *Karin Magana*. It is a brief familiar maxim of folk wisdom-full of hidden meanings, accepted and used as an expression of truth and wisdom. Like other Africans, laughter is a great feature of the people. They enjoy laughter which is borne out of the jovial nature: the nature that appreciates humour. Nothing is perhaps so revealing of a culture than its jokes. In Hausa society, there are proverbs that are humorous which are used by the people to release pent up emotions. The intention of this paper therefore, is to give an annotation/analysis of selected Hausa proverbs that use humour as theme.

Keywords: Humour, Hausa Proverbs, Value System

Introduction

“Of the various verbal folklore genres, proverbs are the most concise” (Mieder Wolfgang 1). The definition of the proverb genre has been of great concern to scholars of paraemiology for a long time. One of the most renowned scholars in the field, Archer Taylor, who is also referred to as 'Father of paraemiology', preferred to identify and describe the proverb by use of its characteristic features than by definition. He believes an attempt at a definition was a futile exercise. Another anthropologist, Ruth Finnegan (1970), who carried out an in-depth research on African oral literature, also admitted the difficulty and the impracticality of arriving at a precise definition of the proverb. Na’Allah also defines proverbs as “wise sayings or compositions intended to give credence and intelligent support to our assertions and discussions; they are often used to check the cultural excesses of a group; they also aim to advice, rebuke or suggest” (104). Bichi further defines proverbs as “wisdom talk...” For the purpose of this paper, we wish to use Mieder Wolfgang's definition which states, that “a Proverb can be defined as a short, generally known sentence of the folk, which contains wisdom, truths, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation” (3).

The Hausa term for proverb is *Karin Magana* which Gidley describes as: “the use of words to illustrate a certain action but completely unrelated to the literal

meaning” (96). Skinner on the other hand defines it as, “sentences which a group of Hausa people agree is a *Karin Magana*” (2-3). The *Karin Magana* is not different from the English proverb though it is more inclusive than the English proverb. In Hausa society like in other oral African societies, “proverbs touch on every aspect of the life of the people so much that there are proverbs for every imaginable context” (Healey and Sybertz 35). Proverbs are a significant rhetoric force in various modes of communication and they are universal occurrences, so much that there is no speech or language in which they are not found. Thus, proverbs are believed to communicate reliable or trustworthy qualities, which give life and meaning to the socio-cultural activities within any given human community (Kolawole 8-9). Proverbs relate to the day-to-day lives of the people who use them, their aspirations, morality, religions, history, thinking, expectation; in short, everything about the worldviews of the people. The use of proverbs is seen in the total life pattern of the Hausa people who are the largest ethnic group found in the northern Nigerian from entertainment to games and to very serious discussions.

In justifying the roles of proverbs in society, Bascom recognises the following four as the most obvious functions of folklore of which the proverb is a genre; it first and foremost, “plays a significant role in traditional education; it enforces conformity to social norms; it validates social institutions and religious rituals; and provides a psychological release from the restrictions imposed by society” (469). Thus, proverbs serve as a basic teaching tool and a fundamental means for approaching life for the oral culture. A fundamental characteristic of proverbs is that they are almost never applied in their literal sense (Leach 23).

Literature and Humour

Humour in literature is an element and not a genre. Humour could be said to be that trait of action, verbal or written communication which provokes entertainment, pleasure, wittiness and amusement. It is usually an act or idea that brings about laughter. “To be able to see humour in a situation is to add a dimension to experience; to be able to laugh is to find a way of moving away from pain” (Braude 94).

Humour can be a way of relieving pent-up emotions and escaping from very serious reality. It conveys emotional affection and thoughtfulness. Humour is an essential component in personal communication. It is widely seen as a means of amusement, as well as a positive way of relieving tensed-up situations with a view of affecting an individual’s mental faculty positively. In fact, humour succeeds where wisdom fails. “Humour may also be defined as the kindly contemplation of the incongruities of life and the artistic expression thereof. I think this is the best I know, because I wrote it myself” (Leacock 11). Most often, it is believed that humour has social and cultural contexts and it is not always simple to identify which element makes one laugh.

Laughter as a sign of humour is a universal human behaviour found in all cultures and virtually all individuals the world over (Apte 1985; Lefcourt 2000; Provine 2000). Humour by way of laughter can relieve tension, stress and aggression. It in a way

has liberating effect on individuals. It allows the individual to cope with human frailties of self and others (Gordon 205). Humour can be found in almost all literary genres.

The use of humour in literature can be divided into two main categories; humour at the individual level (why individuals use humour) and humour at the societal level (the functions humour plays in a given society). There are also three theories of humour and these are the; superiority theory, relief theory and incongruity theory (Berger, 1993; Meyer, 2000; Raskin 1985).

Proverbs and Humour

Humorous proverbs are proverbs that use different devices to elicit laughter from listeners or the audience. These proverbs that use these devices to glean laugh according to Mieder (2002) rely on their recognisability. They are well known sayings and use this familiarity within society as a springboard from which to contort original sentiments.

Proverbs that can be taken literally as good advice or counsel can sometimes shroud their message in humour. There are several factors that make a proverb funny: There are two main categories of humour within the body of proverbs and a few sub categories. The first group items are divided into the Content group (interior features). These rely on devices within the proverb to make them funny. The second group relies on external situations or factors (exterior features) to make the proverb humorous. The second category while more common place requires a degree of spontaneity and it is the quick wittedness of the speaker that makes the proverb funny in a given circumstance (Callaghan 45).

The first and most obvious feature of a funny proverb is the pragmatic mechanism which underlies it; plain and simple, it is the language used that creates the humour. The strange or unusual images portrayed by its words are usually outside the framework or perception of human experience. In humour studies, this is known as Incongruity theory (Callaghan 46). For example, the English proverb "death has many ways of taking a turn out of person" is a humorous proverb because it gives "death" human capabilities. It personifies death and gives it the ability to wittingly shock or do something unexpected. It is true there are so many ways to die and one is literally left speechless when death occurs. But the "take a turn out of a person" usually implies a witness to the reaction when something surprising has occurred.

It is though important to note that, in spite of all elements employed by the speaker of a proverb to elicit a laugh, at the end of the day if the intended audience laughs then the proverb is humorous and if they do not? Therefore, the proverbs selected for this paper are chosen because of our personal view of what is funny; another researcher may have a different viewpoint.

Methodology

The first step in the analysis of data was transcribing the Hausa proverbs. This was then followed by the translations of the proverbs into English. In translating the proverbs, we adopted the literal translations as against an interlinear word-for-word translation into another language; or a free translation. The literal translation usually retains most of the

original features of the original proverb and at the same time, accepts the “use of words in their usual sense or commonly accepted meaning”(Emeaba 110); this way, the translator retains most of the original features of the original proverb while at the same time make sense to the reader. This is then followed by the meaning/interpretation of the proverb and finally, the social context in which the proverb can be applied is mentioned because; one needs to ask not only for proverbs what counts as a proverb, but also for information as to other components of the situations in which proverbs are used. What are the rules governing who can use proverbs or particular proverbs, and to whom? What exactly are the contributing contextual factors, which make the use of proverbs or a particular proverb, possible or not possible, appropriate or inappropriate (Arewa and Dundes, 70-85)?

Analysis of Selected Proverbs

Proverb: *Samun wuri amarya da aron 'yan kunnen uwar miji.*

Translation: Amazing guts! A bride borrowing her mother-in-law's earrings.

Analysis;

In Hausa society, the mother in-law is expected to be viewed as a mother; therefore, a mother/daughter relationship should exist between them. To a certain extent, the mother-in-law should be highly respected by the daughter-in-law. The level of their intimacy and personal relationship however has limits. The mother-in-law's belongings are in certain respect, off limit to the daughter-in-law, much less her personal belongings such as the one referred to in the proverb: earring. Borrowing a mother-in-law's earring is seen as the height of irresponsibility. A daughter-in-law will be tagged disrespectful and irresponsible if she decides to overstep her bounds because the mother-in-law is simple. This proverb could be used to caution a person who is to have exceeded his or her clout; it could also be in a situation where a person goes overboard to do something thinking he/she has the influence or backing to do that while clearly he/she has not got such.

Proverb: *Yau na ji takaicin tausayi: matar maye ta mutu mushe.*

Translation: What waste; allowing a sorcerer's wife to die as carrion.

Analysis;

Implicit in the proverb is an ironical stance, saying something akin to: “I thought you are immune to a mishap or a misfortune, but how come one has just befallen you?” A sorcerer (or “*maye*” literally) in Hausa land is one who is attributed with the mythical power, capable of “eating the soul” of whoever he desires. As such, it is supposed that his wife is immune to death for the same reason that the sorcerer allegedly exercises power of life and death over other people. This proverb is used in a context of extreme surprise, where one encounters what was initially thought to be difficult if not outrightly impossible.

Proverb: *Muna ga rasulu, diyar boka ta rasa miji.*

Translation: We rely on the Messenger of Allah says the native doctor whose daughter is yet to get a husband.

Analysis;

The native doctor in Hausa societies is an enigmatic figure, one who has always been there, arguably even before the advent of Islam. Hausa being predominantly Muslims are very religious if not fatalistic. They are enjoined to avoid believing in pronouncements and rituals done by native doctors, yet people still patronise their services, and do believe in their powers to affect their lives positively or otherwise. Given the above, people who believe in the powers of the native doctors ascribe all sort of imaginary power and influences to them; they are seen as some kind of demi gods. So the native doctors and their families are seen as above board. But where the native doctor is unable to affect the lot of even his daughter in getting a husband, a realisation is made that he is in no way to affect anything. So this proverb is used almost in the same way as proverb 1 above, where he who is seen as powerful enough is now seen to be helpless and such a person now realises his powerlessness and seeks help and succour where it is supposed to be sought.

Proverb: *Yau murna a wuri na kamar uwata ta ka da kishiyarta.*

Translation: I am extremely happy today as if my mother conquered her co-wife.

Analysis;

This proverb mirrors the conjugal politics in Hausa society. Being Muslims, Hausa men are enjoined by Islam to marry up to four wives. Among co-wives, there is always competition and rivalry on how best to get the attention of the husband. This always brings about estrangement and sometime even physical confrontation between co-wives over the love of their husband. The animosity sometime even extends to the children of co-wives and engenders competition just as is the case with their mothers. In such a situation, nothing is more pleasing than seeing one's mother triumph over her co-wives. Therefore, this proverb is used where one is happy over an outcome that comes as a pleasant surprise; where one never imagines the outcome to be what it turned out to be.

Proverb: *Muna da ta cewa? Diyar mai tsegumi ta yi cikin shege.*

Translation: I am short of comments, what more does one have to say, if a gossip's daughter was impregnated out of wedlock.

Analysis;

This proverb is used where a person is all too pleased to peddle gossip about others, where a person revels in the misfortune of others, and is all too happy to let the world know about such misfortunes. And where the gossip himself is befallen by a misfortune he/she would not want the world to know about it, and would as such do anything to keep it in the lid. Conversely, if other people's daughters are pregnant out of wedlock, a gossip will broadcast that but would do anything to suppress the same news against his/her daughter. So the proverb is apt where what is being hidden finally comes out.

Proverb: *Ba zafi barkonon taro a idon Kishiya.*

Translation: It does not hurt, 3 pence pepper in the co-wife's eye.

Analysis;

No matter how tiny pepper is, it hurts the eye. But since it is in the eye of the co-wife, it is of no significance, since what one co-wife wishes for the other is bad luck. A co-wife can use this proverb to provoke another co-wife to a quarrel.

Proverb: *Karya kasa! Boka ya ga ranar mutuwar sa.*

Translation: Sand you lie! The fortune teller whose death date was revealed exclaims.

Analysis;

Some people in Hausa societies as in others believe in fortune telling, and some are ready to accept whatever fortune tellers tell them, but when it comes to fortune tellers themselves believing in their own trade, it becomes a different matter/story all together. Therefore, where a person is not willing or ready to believe in what he or she has been practising this proverb is apt in such a case. This proverb is used where there is a propensity in people to deny the obvious or accept what they are all too willing to tell others to accept.

Proverb: *Yayi Kai Karuwa ta je ice.*

Translation: It makes sense, the prostitute has gone firewood gathering.

Analysis;

Prostitutes are considered sophisticated and arrogant by nature; and not fit for certain task like household chores which other women do but this one has degenerated to gathering firewood for other women. This proverb could be used to comment on a woman who has fallen from grace to grass.

Proverb: *Mukami, karuwa cikin Amalanke.*

Translation: Honour, a prostitute in a handcart.

Analysis;

As in most societies, prostitutes and prostitution are looked down upon by the Hausa people and those who partake in or patronise prostitutes are also denigrated. Likewise, pushcart truck (*amalanke*) is the lowest ranked means of transportation, usually associated with the poor: i.e. those who patronise the truck or operate it are usually the poor. Like the proverb before this, the sophisticated prostitute who is supposed to ride in cars is riding in a handcart. What an irony. Describing a prostitute in a handcart as honour is really derogatory and sarcastic. That means she has degenerated to the level of an animal or good. This proverb could also be applied as the one before it.

Proverb: *Cikon ajali! Gyan-gyadin bakin rijiya.*

Translation: Toying with death; drowsing by an open well

Analysis;

Where a person is considered to be taking an unnecessary risk knowing full well the consequences of such, this proverb is most appropriate and is used in such a scenario. Literally, there is no greater risk than for a person to fall asleep near an open well. Metaphorically, where an unnecessary risk is taken consciously is like one is willingly wanting to end his life, hence the reference in the proverb to life span.

Proverb: *Allah ubana inji shegiya*

Translation: God is my father says the bastard/illegitimate girl.

Analysis;

Children out of wedlock are often stigmatised and discriminated upon. And such children are disowned sometime even by their own parents for the shame of what they (the parents) did in the first place. As such they are ‘orphans’ not because they do not have their biological (or adoptive) parents alive but for whom they are, and therefore orphaned. This proverb is used where one finds himself in situation in which there are no support or succour; where one is left with no ‘parents’, nowhere to turn to.

Proverb: *Wake fada uwar sarki ta yi sata.*

Translation: Who will spread the news that the king’s mother has stolen Merchandise?

Analysis;

This proverb is used when something unpleasant happens and no one has the gut and the courage to say or denounce it. Traditional rulers are respected and revered in Hausa society, so it is difficult as the proverb says to come out publically with a condemnation of a king, much less report an aberration committed by a king’s mother.

Proverb: *Mai wuya, ta kare uwar diya ta sayi cokali.*

Translation: The difficult task is over or the difficult task is over for the bride’s mother has purchased a spoon.

Analysis;

In the Hausa society, it is the sole responsibility of the bride’s father to provide his daughter with all the requirements that will enable her stay comfortably in her husband’s house. These include cooking utensils, house furniture, bedding etc. Being a woman herself, the mother knows what is best for the bride therefore; the father gives her money to buy these things. Buying the spoon signifies that all other things of importance have been bought. However, this proverb is sort of ironical in context. The proverb can be used in any situation, which calls for a comment on carelessness, neglect of an important responsibility or lack of priority.

Proverb: *Wani kakale wai gai da Uwar saurayi a kasuwa.*

Translation: A new style saluting one's boyfriend's mother in the market.

Analysis;

In the Hausa society virtue is one of the values young girls are taught from an early age. A girl is not expected to have close contact with her fiancé's family until she is legally married to him. Therefore making oneself known to a boyfriend's mother is not normal, not to talk of saluting her in public. The proverb can be applied whenever anyone does something, which does not conform to the norms and values of the society.

Proverb: *Issa da mallaka biyan bashi da dan kishiya*

Translation: Arrogance and possessiveness paying back a debt with a co-wife's son.

Analysis;

A co-wife is considered insignificant and so whatever she owns is also considered insignificant. Therefore her co-wife can use her child in paying back a debt. This proverb is provocative and it is meant just for that purpose.

Proverb: *Da Alheri, Kishiya ta tabi kishiya da bakin wuta.*

Translation: Blessings, the co-wife has touched her co-wife with a burning stick.

Analysis;

Whatever evil is done to a co-wife is considered a blessing in the eyes of another co-wife. This could be used by a friend of one co-wife to shut down her friend's co-wife from complaining about an injustice done her in the home front.

Proverb: *Wuce ni karuwa ta ga maras Kwabo.*

Translation: Pass on, the prostitute says to the penniless man

Analysis;

The penniless man is of no use to the prostitute, since he can't give her the money she needs. This proverb could be used on anyone who is considered insignificant to the society.

Proverb: *Sai yadda Allah ya yi damu, wai dan daudu a kabari*

Translation: Only God can decide our fate says the *dandaudu* who finds himself inside the grave.

Analysis;

In Hausa society, the *dan daudu* is a character that is categorised as neither male nor female but as an ambiguous middle category. The *dan daudu* though a man, dresses, talks, walks and acts like women. Salamone believes these "men who talk like women form a link between the old non-Muslim Hausa and the Muslim Hausa, indicating where stress lines still exist between the old and new Hausa identities, for the coming of Islam

to West African societies necessitated a rethinking of numerous cultural and social arrangements, not least of which were the relationship between men and women and the organisation of family life” (49).

Since the Islamic religion clearly frowns at such characters and views them as sinners; and since the grave is the final abode of all human being and there you shall lie till the day of judgement the dead *dan daudu* no doubt rests his fate with God which He alone can decide.

Proverb: *Wai zaman jiran tsamani, warrabu ka; wai mallam ya ki noma don zakka*

Translation: Waiting for uncertainty; just as the case of the mallam who refused to cultivate his farmland in anticipation of free gifts.

Analysis:

Zakka is gift in cash or kind which the Islamic religion enjoins every adult practicing Muslim to give out to the needy from his/her wealth yearly. Most times *zakka* is enjoyed by/ is given to *Mallams* (religion scholars) who spend most of their time teaching religious tenets to the young ones. This duty is believed to stop them from doing anything to put body and soul together. Though many *Mallams* have other means of livelihood, they deliberately refuse to utilise such in anticipation of the free gifts they would receive from the wealthy. Such is the case of this Mallam who refuses to cultivate his farm land hoping to be given *zakka*. But receiving *zakka* is also uncertain because the community. Thus, if the Mallam stays without doing anything to sustain him, the end result will no doubt be disappointment.

Proverb: *Daga baya kenan; sadaka da bazawara.*

Translation: An after thought no doubt; giving a divorcee out as gift

Analysis:

In traditional Hausa society, a young girl has no decision in the choice of a life partner. Both the society and the Islamic religion of which the majority of the Hausa people practice believe it is the duty of a good father to choose a husband for his daughter. Sometimes, young girls are given out as gifts to royalties or respected individuals in society as a sign of honour. On the other hand, a divorcee has the sole privilege of whom she wants to spend the rest of her life with. Subsequently, this proverb suggests that giving out a divorcee as gift is not an honour one should cherish or appreciate because it might no doubt have been an after thought. The proverb can be used to tell a person that it is indeed too late to cry over spilled milk.

Conclusion

What may be perceived as humour to one individual may not be to another. Humour is therefore perceived and accepted within an individual’s literary background and personal system of values. Humour brings people together in spite of differences. The philosophy behind humour is not unrelated with one’s mental capabilities and

responsibilities. It has often been observed and said that when people laugh, they communicate peace, happiness and unity, and it is no doubt a way of providing harmony in human communication. Thus, when people laugh, it is assumed that a favourable privilege has happened and those who laugh are in a good mood.

Many people love proverbs for the wisdom embedded in them; others treasure proverbs for the vividness or earthiness of their imagery. Proverbs are rarely wordy, because the usual proverb is spare and austere in expression, and some are marvels of compactness but most importantly, it is the humour embedded in some of the proverbs that have impressed many. This paper confirms that humorous proverbs abound in Hausa society. Many of the characters and situations depicted in the proverbs are adorned with wordings which give the listeners a good laugh despite the deep and hidden messages that come with them. Humour lies in all the proverbs which make them representations of the customs, traditions, beliefs and norms of the Hausa society. In fact, each humorous proverb is perceived as a single entity and according to the views of the listeners. One can no doubt conclude that the humour found in the selected Hausa proverbs are ready-made witticism that sum up many situations effectively, drive home points, and above all appeal to the reader's or hearer's sense of humour.

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HATE SPEECH AND NATIONAL INTEREST ISSUES IN SELECTED HAUSA MUSICALS

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Abstract

In the 21st century, Hausa musicals have gone viral courtesy of Information and Communication Technology. However, one of the disturbing issues is how the content of such musicals have become awash with provocative and discriminatory epithets at the expense of national interest. Preserving national interest is a collective responsibility and needs to be demonstrated in all facets of life. Therefore, this paper textually assessed perceived hate speech in three (3) purposively selected Hausa musicals namely: Maza Bayanka, Inyamuri and Hasbunallahu Wani'im al Wakeelu. The study used discourse analysis to examine hate speech and national interest issues in the selected musicals; find out their themes and tones as well as identify chorus that promote national interest or otherwise. Recent occurrences have shown that Hausa music is in doldrums and this is due to how the once 'viable tool/industry'—Kannywood turned itself into a political tool for destroying the image and reputation of the 'highest bidder'. Findings of the research revealed that the musicians, though some were anonymous, capitalised on the existing political and regional divides to release the songs. The study discovered consistent use of foul languages that caused chaos and over hit the polity while pleasing their sponsors against national interest. The study concludes that Hausa music is a contributory factor for the perpetration of hate speech and hatred among the people.

Keywords: Music, Hate speech, National interest, Censorship and governance

Background to the Study

Character assassination and the growing trend of hate speeches in Nigeria have become a source of concern. In fact, the pronouncement by the federal government that henceforth, hate speech will be categorised as an act of terrorism was greeted with sigh of relief. Hate speech has become pervasive that it is doubtful, and of course, very difficult if there is a Nigerian free from making 'unguarded' utterance deliberately or otherwise, which at a point has caused chaos in the society. Observably, hate speech has eaten deep into the bone marrow and has continued unabated.

There is interplay between hate speech and the music industry in Nigeria, taking into cognisance how Hausa music vis-à-vis the Kannywood industry has been deduced to instruments of blackmails. Hate speech as noted by Adibe (2016) employs discriminatory epithets to insult and stigmatise others on the basis of their race, gender,

orientation or form of group membership. It can be any speech, gesture, conduct, writing which could incite people to violence or prejudicial action. Auwal (2018) in an attempt to define hate speech noted that:

...such speeches rob others of their dignity, including: (a) all dissemination of ideas based on racial or ethnic superiority or hatred, by whatever means; (b) incitement to hatred, contempt or discrimination against members of a group on grounds of their race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin; (c) threats or incitement to violence against persons or groups; (d) expression of insults, ridicule, or slander of persons or justification of hatred...

According to Wilson & Jibrin (2017), Nigerian people are known to be highly expressive on any issue. They criticise, they praise, they attack, and they analyse issues irrespective of parties involved. They went further to corroborate by saying: music stands out as a means of ‘saying it bluntly’ and saying it whether pleasing to hear or not. Through music, musicians and their sponsors have been able to dare their counterparts using what the Hausa man refers to as ‘*habaici*’ that is indirect language and perhaps proverbs to incite their followers, insult or criticise them which may not necessarily be broadcast on television or radio due to ethical concerns. Of concern, is how politicians are now in the habit of sponsoring directly or indirectly musicians to use their ‘melodic-voice’ to perpetrate criticisms and promote propaganda. Promoting hatred and at times, unproductive criticism among the political elites using the elements (musicians) has become fashionable and a lucrative adventure. With or without the consent of the politicians, die-hard followers of groups, political parties and claimants of a certain region, inflame passions to bring down their opponents using the viable communication tool- music.

In Nigeria, several issues of national concern have been bluntly expressed and represented by music in different chorus and lyrical styles. Children and youths have to some extent mastered key lyrics of the songs. Music is an important media content purposely created to entertain audience (listeners and viewers). Musicals like other media content have an essence; an essence that explains bit by bit, lyrics by lyrics, chorus to chorus, their sentiments and propositions; which is likely to have direct impact on the audience. In view of the issues raised earlier, this study therefore takes a look at hate speech and national interest issues in selected Hausa musicals. The study is hinged on the fact that Hausa musicals play an important role of communicating salient issues that perhaps cannot be passed through the mainstream media. The motive is that since Hausa musicians are being patronised by individuals and other very important personalities, it will be pertinent to find out whether the musicals are promoting national interest or otherwise.

Statement of Problem

No doubt, Nigeria is witnessing a period marred by the proliferation of provocative songs emanating from ‘known’ and ‘ghost’ artists in Northern Nigeria. Latest of such is the incendiary song against the Igbo extraction in Nigeria, following their agitation for a

sovereign country-Biafra. Additionally, another music *Maza Bayanaka* by Sadiq Zazzabi, was in circulation and at a point landed the artist in jail. It is worthy of note to state that the public space (music inclusive) has been hijacked by ideas, concerns and grievance, inimical to peace, political stability and wellbeing of majority citizens of the country.

Hate speech is one problem that constitutes or rather has serious consequences on our peaceful co-existence as a nation and subsequently leading to delay in development. Curbing the spread of hate speech in whatever form requires a robust approach by all--both government and individuals. As noted in the background, hate speech in Nigeria is no longer treated with laxity. In fact, it is no longer tolerated as the government of Muhammadu Buhari has drawn a line by considering it an act of terrorism. In spite of this government pronouncement, musicians as critical stakeholders are in the front, and have been consistently used in promoting hate speech in their daily pursuit. To ascertain the level of promoting hate speech, using the viable communication tool like music requires an empirical study. Anchored on the above need, this study sets to review 3 popular Hausa music that went viral in the 21st century. They are; *Maza Bayanka*, *Inyamuri* and *Hasbunallahu Wani'im al Wakeelu*. The essence of the review is to among other things, identify and ascertain the use of foul language and the tones and themes in the music that promote national interest or otherwise.

Objectives of the Study

The general aim of the study is to assess the use of hate speech in Hausa musicals. The specific objectives are:

- to identify Hausa music that promote Hate speech.
- examine the use of foul languages in *Maza Bayanka*, *Inyamuri* and *Hasbunallahu Wani'im al Wakeelu* and;
- identify the themes and tones that promote national interest or other wise

Research Questions

The following questions were formed from the research objectives:

1. Are there Hausa music that promote hate speech?
2. What is the nature of use of languages in *Maza Bayanka*, *Inyamuri* and *Hasbunallahu Wani'im al Wakeelu* Hausa music?
3. What are the themes and tones that promote national interest?

Literature Review

Historical Antecedents of Hausa Music

Dorell (2005) in an attempt to define music said 'A simple answer is that music is enjoyable—it makes us "feel good". We could expand on this a bit and say that music creates emotions, or interacts with the emotions we already feel and sometimes, it makes

us want to dance. According to Mcleish (2011), music, like speech, comes in sentences and paragraphs. In broadcasting, music is a universal characteristic of radio stations.

Hausa music has a long history. It dates back to the period of Bayajidda, who historians consider as the father of Hausa. Like every other tribe, the Hausa has its own music, peculiar to the culture of the people. The early Hausa music is aesthetic in nature. In Hausa, music is called *waka*. Of all the genre of Hausa music, praise-singing is the oldest.

According to Adamu (2009), mainstream popular Hausa music is divided into distinct categories-the instrumental accompaniment and the vocals. One distinctive quality of mainstream Hausa musicians is their client focused nature. Here, the subject or client could either be a politician, a courtier, an emir, a wealthy person or simply an iconic interpretation of mutability of life.

In music generally, the impression lasts forever. The expression is distinctive and ubiquitous. Because of the free will to express themselves, artistes capitalise on this to promote themselves, sponsors or godfathers and consistently re-iterate their stands on issues. By making such expressions, they hold sway of all the wordings (good or bad).

The vocal qualities of Hausa music being used by musicians has over the years made it excel. Most of the music hitherto produced by the Hausa musicians like late Mamman Shata, Dan Kwairo, DanMaraya Jos and of course Yahaya Imam, all of blessed memory, are songs of utter philosophical and poetic pedigree. They are reflective of the Hausa proverbs or a story of a particular past scenario.

Nexus between Hate Speech, Hausa Music and National Interest

The configuration of Nigeria indicates that there is huge variation between regions of the country. The variation is not just political but also linguistic. There are three major languages in Nigeria and each of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba dominate the affairs and communication pattern in North, East and Western Nigeria respectively. The domination of the three mentioned languages has shaped media conduct which music is inclusive. This paper concentrates on the northern part of the country where Hausa language dominates as explained. In this sense, the paper looks at the pattern of music and its nexus with the rising phenomenon of hate speech. The reason for highlighting the above configuration of Nigeria is to establish the fact that the rising phenomenon of hate speech is very visible between people of the regions of the country through the media. The social media has also been unanimously agreed upon as the major carrier of hate speech. This study's intent is to explore other media apparatus in terms of carrying content that can be determined as hate speech. According to a report by Center for Information Technology and Development (CITAD), there is an increase in hate speeches among Nigerians on various social media platforms. Alkassim (2017) in a report on Daily Trust noted that 35.2% of the hate speeches surveyed, insult people for their religion, abuse people for their ethnic or linguistic affiliations, or express contempt against people because of their original places of abode.

Adamu (2009) identified that Hausa Music is classified according to the tone and instruments used in making the music. There are music makers who use flute, drums, piano, guitar and much more. There are music makers who use soft or hard tone

while others use rogue tone. The rogue category has since been classified into the category of those that promote hate speech. On the other side of the coin, here comes the modern Hausa Music which adopts most if not all the updated music tone and instruments; not just the modern music but also the most viral among them which is the political music. Political music refers to the type of music sung to promote one political candidate or the other. In this direction, there is observed use of foul languages against people of certain pedigree; either abused their language, way of life or the entire region. Sometimes the songs raise eyebrows considering the intensity of rogue language they contained. Hate speech has been identified as the most spread information in this decade which has attracted the attentions of various stakeholders.

The above arguments suggest that there are grey areas as to the relationship between Hausa music and the rising concept of hate speech and national interest. It is also pertinent to note that there is no exact, single and globally accepted definition of hate speech. This also opened door of excess for people to coin their intentions and deliver hate speech in a way that seems deep for understanding. In this respect, Hausa is one of the languages blessed with proverbs and idiomatic expressions which can be used for hate speech in a concealed manner which requires serious linguistic analysis to ascertain its verity. However, considering the age of the concept of hate speech, there is little literature on the issue; thus, this study is explorative.

Role of National Film, Video and Censor Board and National Broadcasting Commission

Despite the clamour for media freedom, there has been unanimous agreement that censorship is inevitable. This is for the benefit of making media operate in the best interest of the public as well as promote peace and harmony. In Nigeria, several instruments of control have been mounted to censor the media operation. The National Film, Video and Censor Board is the authority charged with responsibility of checking the performance and conduct in the film and video industry. It is responsible to ensure that videos and film contents do not transgress or tamper with people's rights and images. As aforementioned, the content in question is also broadcast through video format. This directly involves National Film, Video and Censor Board in regulating what is being circulated for public consumption.

The effectiveness of the board can be said to have been weakened by the advent of internet and social media tools. This is because the social media platforms provide producers with freedom to produce and broadcast content without undergoing rigorous perusal. This has led to abuse of the law and promotion of hate speech and hateful conduct without having a recourse to national interest.

The NBC on the other hand is responsible for regulating both radio and television. As part of their regulatory mandate, they ensure content such as music and videos are not beyond the code of conduct or individual defamation. Notably, NBC is performing very well in many aspects of sanction, revocation and issuance of licenses but is also weak in regulating content of music. However, there are a certain number of English musicals classified as 'Not To Broadcast (NTTB)'. This is because the NBC Code did not categorically state that they are purely mandated to regulate content of

music. They only enjoy the power to control the type of music being aired on radio or television.

Theoretical Framework

The study is anchored on entertainment theory and hypodermic needle theory. Entertainment theory according to Baran & Davis (2012) espoused that the theory seeks to understand what entertaining media content does to us-often without our awareness. Entertainment theorists assume that most of us don't think enough about this content to have very useful insights about it. We are just doing what feels good-after all, it is only entertainment.

Hypodermic Needle theory: the major tenet of this theory relevant to this study suggests that the mass media could influence a very large group of people directly or uniformly by 'shooting' or 'injecting' them with messages, designed to trigger a response. The selection of these theories is in tandem with the fact that they both highlight issues relating to communicating through entertainment.

Methodology

This study adopted critical discourse analysis. The relevance of this method and nature of the topic informed the decision for the selection. Critical discourse analysis is a qualitative approach and is seen as text above level of sentence. The focus of this research method is usually how a particular phenomenon is represented. Discourse analysis deals with a text or conversation. Taylor (2013) observed that discourse analysts work with language data, including talk, documents and broadcast materials.

Three (3) music produced in 2010, 2015 and 2017 by different artistes, were purposely selected for this study. They were selected due to the controversies and maladies highlighted in the lyrics, which have led the artiste(s) to go to jail while others went into hiding identities. The selected music produced and released for public consumption were carefully transcribed, independently and translated into English with the aid of an expert in translation. The musical performances were placed into the following the categories:

1. Name calling: ascribing names to the subjects that are inimical.
2. Political ridicule: lyrics that ridicule the subjects/politicians in the opposition.
3. Hateful: lyrics insulting ethnic, religious and regional groups.
4. Offensive: Attacking subjects or personalities.
5. Destructive criticism/ disrespect to authority.
6. Obscenity: use of vulgar language to describe subjects or personalities.

Therefore, the study used critical discourse analysis to observe and identify the hate speech based on the framework of categories and definitions provided above. The study is however not intended to make assertions on effect and perception of audience of the selected musicals, but to analyse the use of foul language, tones of the musicals within the confines of hate speech.

Findings of the Study

The Songs Excerpts

Igbos (*Inyamiri*) are ungrateful people and fools

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

Let's drag and drag and see who will sleep in the sun,

Igbo land, in the beginning, has no name, they were helped to get name and identity. And that's the beginning of their trouble.

Chorus:

Igbos (*Inyamiri*) are ungrateful people and fools

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

Please let's ask, who is an Igbo, it's Igbo that suffered and said he needs water and that's how we started calling them Inyamuri.

Chorus:

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

Igbos who are doing rubbish work, they tried us in the past but couldn't succeed. Your leader who led the rebellion told you to repent and don't venture into fruitless war.

Chorus:

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

A child doesn't know fire until he marches on it and realises, you will not be able to quench this fire you ignited. Stupid and shameless boy if you fit we are waiting. Let the country be divided and let's see who will cry.

Chorus:

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

We knew they have nothing since their origin, it was with the money of the north, that oil was explored and found. We are farming and grazing with our cattle and knew they have nothing.

Chorus:

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

We northerners farm beans and they have nothing, we farm rice and they have nothing, they neither farm potatoes nor cocoa yam. They don't have wheat, pepper, no grains and nothing. No onions and groundnuts, we eat surplus and gave southerners food. Let the

country be divided, let the country be divided, we northerners are saying let the country split.

You said you don't want us, we too we don't want you anymore. This is our land and not someone father's land, brothers and sisters. We have all it takes.

Igbos are the ones that ruined this country, we all know that they are the ones disguising as Fulani killing people and committing armed robbery, they are the ones blocking roads and also disguising as *Boko Haram* killing people without shame.

They are the one destroying our youths and children with drugs, let the country be divided because Igbos have no any day.

They did not support our President but rigged him out. Only Yorubas supported and collaborated with us. Hausa and Fulani too collaborated but Igbos refused and we don't want them anymore.

They inherited nothing but useless things from their origin, they did so many atrocities in the past. They killed Sardauna, Sir Ahmadu Bello our hero, they did same with Sir Abubakar Tafawa-Balewa.

Chorus:

Igbos are a curse to Nigeria, whose existence and birth as a people in Nigeria is useless, that abortion is greater than the birth of the bastards.

Source: Sahara Reporters

2. Allah you see enemies want to destroy us

Oh Allah! Send disease upon all of them

Hold them, destroy them Alkareem!

Allah make them deaf and dumb

Ask Angel Jibrillu to curse them

Whenever our enemy plans evil to destroy us,

Make them have some serious ailments

If they repent, oh Lord! Guide them to the right path

If they refuse to show remorse, oh Allah destroy them, finish them and destroy whatever evil plan they have against us Alwakilu

Whoever detest our profession, destroy him,

If he is a straight forward person, Oh Allah! Nail him on the head,

If he sees and hear, turn him to deaf and afflict him every disease.

Finish him for the sake of Ibrahim Khalilu.

If he is a wealthy person, afflict him with poverty,

If he is very intelligent, turn him to a fool.

If he has integrity, disgrace him. Make him nothing, because he betrayed us.

Ask Angel Jibrillu to curse him...

Oh Allah! Destroy any fool that hates us,
If he intends to harm us, turn us to invisible creatures,
Destroy our enemies to the extent that they cannot harm us,
Oh Al-Mugni! Oh Shafi! Assist us for the sake of Prophet Muhammad Peace be upon him.

Translated into English by an expert

3. Men in your back, nobody in your front, Rabi'u Musa Kwankwaso you are their superior. Allah is your strength, nobody can stand you.

Oh Allah! You gave me, You are the Giver, When you do as you wish, nobody questions why. You are one that begets not.

Chorus:

Oh Allah! Send your blessings to the prophet, the first and the last, father to Fatima-Batul. Bless us and be our guide, put blessings in anything we do. Oh Allah! You are our sustainer.

Chorus:

When you accommodate children of cats, they turn against you. Even their boss has surrounded because he has been rendered powerless. We know all of you. Therefore, when we succeed, get ready for revenge.

Chorus:

Look at the children of cats, with ugly looking faces. When you accommodate them, they turn against you. Even their boss has been rendered powerless. We know all you, when we succeed, get ready for revenge.

Chorus:

I am getting set to fight with my pen. There is a cursed son who annoyed me. He is power-drunk. He has committed a lot of atrocities and this should be his last tenure in the seat of power. On Election Day, you will know your true fate.

Chorus:

Only a legitimate son will arrange and co-ordinate marriages. Kwankwasiyya kick started the marriage ceremony of widows and those separated. Any antagonist to this system, call him Sauna (). During previous regime, our people have benefitted immensely from it. In the up-coming election, grieve of the poor masses awaits him. Even if Hajiya instructed him, we know the right place you belong

Chorus:

Kwankwasiyya kick started the marriage ceremony of widows and those separated. After he (kwankwasiyya) left, you deliberately refused to continue from where he stopped. He wanted to continue, but you declined. What do you mean? Explain to us, we need answers.

Chorus:

He (Ganduje) was part of the construction of Amana city and other buildings, but you later demolished. Tell the sleeping man to kindly wake up, the roads are blocked. Your sleeping, is subjecting us to series of hardship.

Chorus:

Get ready to remove the love of Kwankwaso from the heart of the masses. The Almajiri has a long way to go to take over the stool of Alaramma. You are going after developmental projects and changing names and designs. Husband of Hajiya, don't worry, you will regret in the end. A similar scenario had happened in the past. Take lessons from it.

Chorus:

If you remove the symbol of Kwankwasiyya in the towns and on projects, it is still there on your cap. Remove the cap and replace it with others that will be better. If you remove Bandirawo, what is your origin?

Chorus:

Kwankwaso was a governor and his wife didn't interfere in the polity. This is for him to protect and preserve his religion. If there is a messiah in politics, Kwankwaso is one. We have seen someone who has no iota of jealousy for his wife. The work of a governor is not for lazy people.

Chorus:

They have suspended sponsoring children of the poor to foreign universities. Construction of primary schools is now a history. No light in hospitals. No more prompt payment of salaries. Indeed, your sleep is subjecting us to series of untold hardship.

Chorus:

Today, feeding of primary pupils has been stopped. Students have no access to uniforms. No more free education. Youths are no longer benefitting from entrepreneurship skills. Poor masses are complaining of the imposition of high tax.

Chorus:

People are now aware of the mass wedding. You are shying away from your responsibilities as a governor. Pensioners have no access to their retirement benefits. So, I can't stop camel from doing as he wish.

Chorus:

They hate him, but he (kwankwaso) is steadily making progress. The donkey can't compete with a horse. In all ramifications, only a legitimate child will succeed. Nemesis will soon catch them.

Chorus:

Allow middle men of women to continue with his adventure. If you want to be in the opposition, do it openly. Cordial relationship can go soar. I have a thousand and one examples on your bad leadership styles. So, I can't stop camel from doing as he wish.

Chorus:

Sleep, Sleep, sleep is his identity. They said, even in office, there is a mattress. At event, he sleeps. While sitting, he sleeps. If we allow him, he will continue with his unseriousness, while sycophants in his midst are busily clapping.

Chorus:

Oh! The cage, is not a place for the elephant. Where are hunters? Get up, the lion is out. You would see him pass without making any attempt to hunt him. You want to eat owl, while the brain is functioning. We are with him, even if it is against your wish.

Chorus:

You are the boss, nobody dares you. As soon as the Imam is out, it signifies the commencement of prayers. Since they don't have substantial evidences, it becomes an avenue for them to start fighting themselves. If you want to be in the opposition, do it in a bigger way. By now, virtually all politicians have taken enough lessons.

Chorus:

Kwankwaso, the crowd puller. They are envious of your achievements and antecedents... You are the knee, the person that will fight with you must come prepared. We are witnesses that your enemies are coming on courtesy call. While they are sleeping, the poor masses are clamouring for you. Today in politics, you have no superior or match. You are their boss. Kwankwaso is now their teacher in politics. Kwankwaso is now a hero in politics....

Chorus:

There are many people supporting you. There are many disciples of religious scholars consistently praying for you. I will mention few of your ardent supporters. There is doctor, son of Gwani, your sincere supporter. He loves Kwankwaso. Kwankwaso is very dear to his heart. There is namesake to the boss, Rabi'u Bichi. You are one of the strong pillars of Kwankwasiyya. Where is Yusuf Bello Danbatta? I hail you. I won't forget you. He asked me to sing this song of Kwankwaso....

S/ N O	TITLE OF MUSIC	ARTIST	SPONSOR	DURATION	TONES	ISSUES/SUB JECT MATTER
1.	<i>Maza Bayanka</i>	Sadiq Zazzabi	Yusuf Bello Danbatta	16:33 Seconds	Abusive/ rude	❖ Support for <i>Kwankwasiyya</i> movement ❖ Oppo sition to Ganduje government and policies in Kano State

2.	<i>Hasbun allahu Wa ni'imal Wakeelu</i>	Aminu Ala	Self	09:04 seconds	Abusive/religious	❖ The ban of Hausa films in Kano ❖ Censorship
3.	<i>Inyamuri</i>	Unknown	Unknown	05:39 seconds	Provocative/incitively	❖ Anti-Igbo/Biafra ❖ Agitation for the separation of Nigeria

Translated into English with the aid of a translator

Figure 1 showing the title, name of artist, sponsor, tones and key issues from the selected Hausa musicals.

Source: Field work, 2019

Discussion of Findings

In the music, some lyrics portray the musicians as quick in ethicising, politicising and ascribing names to ‘perceived enemies’ of their subject. Nigerians have been polarised along ethnic and religious lines in their expressions. They use not only negative but injurious statements that may result in war of words by the parties concerned.

Analysis of the lyrics from the music which falls under the category of name calling indicates that the artists give names (indirectly) so as to keep those they are referring to secretly. Few of the examples of the names sarcastically mentioned in the music include:

- Daqiqi (Doll or fool)
- Jemagu(bat)
- Makiri (hypocrite)
- Arne (unbeliever)
- Inyamuri(a widely name given to Igbos by Northerners)
- ‘Ya’yan mage (Children of cats)
- Sauna (Stupid)
- Mai bacci (Sleeping man)
- Mijin Hajiya (Husband of Hajiya) Hajiya here, refers to iron lady.

In the Anti-Igbo song, the music has been categorised as hate speech. Content of the music is embarrassing, even though the musician was against the secession of South from Nigeria. There is skepticism on whether the outright rejection of the musician on Biafra could be seen as promoting national or regional interest? The music has justified some of the variables that invariably incited people to hatred, ridiculed people of the

South, and contains insult to a specific group agitating the political independence of their region.

Overtime, music has been identified and used by both elites, politicians and their followers for entertainment and message delivery. It is a component of entertainment that is capable of taking attention of its listener in longer time. It is one of the hypodermic needle media that penetrates the psychology of its audience. Era by era, music has grown to become a media of mass communication for communicating ideas, recruiting followers of a particular sentiment and promotion of political interest. In Nigeria's situation, apart from using music for entertainment, it is also frequently and zealously used for political promotion and advertisement, portrayal of national unity and preservation of cultural heritage. As found by this study, some of the songs were produced to promote certain sentiments and portrayal of superiority over other groups. One of the major concern in Nigeria as a nation with over 300 ethnic groups is national unity. The unity of the country has been detrimental because of hostility developed through perpetration of some element between major ethnic groups, regions and locales.

The amalgamation of Nigeria through bringing together the Northern and Southern protectorates has led to negative perceptions about each other. The North felt that the Southern part was nursed with its rich agricultural produce while the South felt that the North depends on its mineral resources. As a result, these matters are always raised when the discourse of national unity arises. The study found that this matter was also portrayed in the musicals. The three musicals were produced by Northern artistes in which the portrayal of the south especially the Igbo was negative. Interestingly, looking at the time of the release of the songs' and the current proliferation of discourse on hate speech, the music is a contributing factor. The music industry in Nigeria has unfastened regulation which makes it easy for songwriters, producers and artists to produce the content they like without hesitation of response from authorities or public. The study also found that the song produced by Aminu Ala was a hot response to the ban of the production Hausa films in Kano by censorship authorities. As a result, the tone of the song came abusive using religious inclination and negative supplication towards the authorities concerned.

While on the path of using music for political promotion and rivalry, the music produced by Sadiq Zazzabi was a clear declaration of loyalty and support to a particular political frontline, at the same time demeaning its opposition. The study found that there is visibility of abusive language in the political music. Even though there was no mention of the person being referred to, the praised personality was mentioned as Rabiu Kwankwaso who is former Governor of Kano State. Being the arrow head of the opposition party in the state, the song is clearly aiming at the party in governance and its leader Governor Abdullahi Ganduje. The study found that there are abusive and rude statements toward the target person. The overriding positions of the songs are negativities towards their targets (Political actors, Igbos, censorship authorities). This entails that music is being used for hate speech, political promotion and protest which sometimes takes negative form.

Conclusion and Recommendation

It is the conclusion of this study that music content has changed simultaneously with current affairs and trend. It has gone beyond entertainment and fun to a strong tool for portraying ideologies and recruiting followers of a particular sentiment. It is also a contributing factor in the perpetration of hate speech and hatred among people which makes the unity of Nigeria as a nation more tasking. It is also the conclusion of the study that political actors are using music for character assassination as promotion of their interest. It has reached an extent of name calling, political ridicule, hateful referrals, offensive and destructive utterances to authorities, vulgarity and obscenity. The study, therefore, recommends the need for a policy that will moderate musicians and ensure that national interest is promoted in the musicals. This can be done through consistent monitoring and the provision of stiffer penalties for perpetrators of hate speeches.

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THE ISLAMISATION AND *BAMUMNISATION* OF THE NDOP CHIEFDOMS OF THE BAMENDA GRASSFIELDS OF CAMEROON SINCE 1916

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Abstract

The 1916 Anglo-French partition of Cameroon separated the Bamum sultanate in the Bamileke Grassfields from the ethnically related Tikar chiefdoms of the Ndop Plain in the Bamenda Grassfields and like Africans, the indigenes resisted this artificial boundary by continuing with cross border trade and inter-ethnic social and cultural intercourse. This study examines the influence of the Bamum Kingdom on the Tikar chiefdoms of Bamessing, Bafanji, Bambalang, Bangolan, Babungo, Bamali, and Babessi in the Ndop Plain since the partition of Cameroon. Using both primary and secondary sources, the study reveals that the various rulers of the Bamum Kingdom and their subjects attempted the Islamisation and *Bamumnisation* of these Tikar chiefdoms and today, there exist visible traces of Bamum culture in these communities. These chiefdoms are therefore experiencing peaceful cohabitation and *le vivre ensemble* between the indigenes and Bamum settlers which is highly recommended in an era of inter-ethnic violence in Cameroon.

Keywords: Bamum, Bamenda, *Bamumnisation*, Grassfields, Islamisation, Tikar

Introduction

Among the first communities to settle on the Bamenda Highlands of the Western Grassfields of Cameroon, were the Tikar who according to oral traditions are said to have originated from places called Ndobu Tibati, Banyo and Kimi, the ancient country of the Tikar situated around the Upper Mbam and in the north of Bamum country (Fanso, 1989:34). This group settled to the south of Bamenda station in the Ndop plain to which they gave the name of their country of origin. Here, small politically-autonomous villages were founded. Although the sequence of their migration to the Ndop plain is obscure, it would appear that they arrived the area in two successive waves. They first founded the dynasties of Bafanji, Bamessing, Babessi and Bamali. The latter dynasty gave birth to those of Bambalang, Bamunka and Bamumkumbit (Goghomu, 2009:7). The second wave of immigrants founded Baba, Babungo and Bangolan. None of these villages could dominate the others, and their relations were characterised by conflicts over land and slave raids. Their oral traditions relate that even the Fulani and Chamba raids of the 19th century failed to unite them politically. The only force that threatened

the independence of these villages was a band of the Chamba, which after breaking off from the main group somewhere near the right bank of the River Noun, defeated a group of earlier settlers and founded the village of Bali-Kumbat. From this conquest, Bali-Kumbat commenced a systematic attack of the Ndop Tikar chiefdoms until the end of the 19th century.

However, the greatest external influence on the Ndop plain chiefdoms especially in the 20th century came from the Bamum group; another Tikar family that migrated from Bankim after a dynastic feud and settled on the other side of the River Noun. They were led by Nchare Yen who founded Fumban as the capital of the Bamum country after conquering the original settlers and dismissing the Bamileke (Fanso,1989:156). Like the Tikar chiefdoms mentioned earlier, the main factor that influenced the settlement of the Bamum was the fertile alluvial soils along the River Noun valley that was favourable for farming.

The Bamum were a large Tikar group that successfully established an empire as it integrated others communities during the period of migration and the building of the Bamum State. The Bamum invaded the Tikar chiefdoms in the 18th and 19th centuries in search of slaves, guns and iron tools that were produced by the many iron smelting factories in Babungo, Baba and the other village chiefdoms such as Bambalang. King Mbwebwe, the tenth successor of Nchare was responsible for these invasions while Kings Ngono and Nsangu, the twelfth and the thirteenth successors of Nchare defended the Kingdom against Fulani raids (Seino:193).

In the 1860s, Chief Nsangu hosted Chief Shomitang of Bambalang who escaped from his village after a conflict with his subjects. While in Bamum, Chief Shomitang and his followers were fully integrated in the Bamum society (Goghomu,2009:41). He eventually returned to Bambalang in the 1880s with a Bamum princess as wife and with the Bamum language and culture. In essence the Shomintang-Nsangu alliance resulted in the free movements of the peoples between the chiefdoms and an increase in the rate of social and cultural intercourse between the two communities.

When the Germans annexed Cameroon in July 1884 and took total control of the Western Grassland after the defeat of the Nso resistance in 1906, Bamum relations with the Tikar chiefdoms in the Ndop Plain became peaceful following the establishment of Pax Germanica. Trade and socio-cultural intercourse between the two communities intensified leading to mixed population settlement and inter-ethnic marriages. King Njoya was largely responsible for the new relationship. He was very open and a reformist and was the first Bamum king to embrace a foreign religion. He accepted Christianity when the Germans entered his kingdom and by 1916 he became a Muslim (Fomine, 1993:69). He was at the forefront of the *Bamumnisation* and Islamisation of the Ndop Chiefdoms

In 1916 and at the peak of Njoya's administration in Bamum, Anglo-French forces that defeated and expelled Germany from Cameroon during the First World War, partitioned Cameroon into French and British spheres influences. The once united ethnic groups of Cameroon under German rule from 1884-1916 were divided by an artificial and new boundary. The Anglo-French Cameroon boundary divided ethnic groups, chiefdoms, communities and separated many from their farmlands, hunting grounds, forest reserves, ancestral sites, traditional markets and ethnically related peoples (Fanso,

1982). This was the case with the Bamum and the Tikar Chiefdoms of the Ndop plain in the Bamenda Grassland. Existing commercial, cultural, political and social intercourse between the Bamum Kingdom and the Ndop Chiefdoms were severed by the Anglo-French boundary. Frontier Police, Custom Officers and the Anglo-French legislations against cross border migrations and trade prevented the economic ties and socio-cultural intercourse that existed between these brotherly Tikar-originated communities. It was essentially for these reasons that Sultan Njoya petitioned the Anglo-French partition of Cameroon (Ngoh, 1987:82). He did not want his people to be separated from the Nso and the Tikar chiefdoms of the Ndop Plain especially Babungo, Baba 1, Babessi, Bamessing and Bambalang. He also preferred British rule because according to him, the British liberated his people from the harsh German rule. Njoya did not want his Kingdom separated from what he already perceived as his "sphere of influence".

However, the Africans resisted the Anglo-French colonial boundary restrictions and many Bamum people were able to escape from *Corvée*, high taxes, *Indigénat*, *Prestation*, political and religious persecutions, the imposition of chiefs, etc. in French Cameroon to settle in the neighbouring Tikar Chiefdoms of the Ndop Plain in the Bamenda Grasslands of British Southern Cameroon (Nfi, 2020:33). The outcome was attempts at the Islamisation and *Bamumnisation* of these Tikar chiefdoms as they came with Islam and other aspects of their culture. Bamum influences in these chiefdoms could therefore be viewed under the broad themes of Islamisation and *Bamumnisation*

Islamisation

The first Muslims in the Bamenda Grassland were some Hausa cattle traders led by Sarkin Belarabe who arrived the region in about 1909. They migrated from Kano in Northern Nigeria and passed through Takum, Banyo and Fumban, the headquarters of the Bamum Empire before reaching the Bamenda region. By 1916, there were fifty of these Hausa traders in the Bamenda Station. The second wave of Muslims were Fulani who under the leadership of Ardo Sabga arrived the Bamenda Grasslands in 1916 and settled in Babanki-Tungo, one of the Tikar village chiefdoms in the Ndop Plain (Che-Mfombong, 1980:20). According to their oral tradition, they migrated from the North of Bamum land in French Cameroon. Unlike the Hausa Muslims who were traders in cattle and other goods, the Fulani were cattle farmers who found the Ndop Plain very rich in pasture and suitable for their activities. Their presence in Ndop therefore marked the beginning of Islamisation.

The presence of Muslims created a major problem for the British whose administrative policy of Indirect Rule required the use of local institutions and local laws and customs in the administration of homogenous communities. It was for this reason that in 1945, the British created an Alkali Court in Bamunka Ndop to serve the more than 11,000 Muslims in the Bamenda Division of the Southern Cameroons. The first chief judge or Alkali Ahmadu was a graduate of the Kano Muslim Law School from Yola but his scribes who could speak Fulani language (Fulfulde), read Arabic, were Bamum immigrants who were already familiar with the Koran (Che-Mfombong, 1980:198). These were the Bamum agents of Islamisation in the Ndop Plain. Although these Bamum Muslims were in the Southern Cameroons administered from Nigeria,

they felt more at home than the Hausa traders from Northern Nigeria. Consequently they integrated the host communities without hesitation.

The Alkali Court in Bamunka-Ndop had out stations in Abakpwa-Bamenda and Jakiri in Nso before the creation of permanent courts in these towns. Bamum Muslims therefore flogged into the Bamenda Division to serve in the Courts and other Islamic institutions like the Koranic Schools. They served as teachers, scribes, interpreters and advisers to the chiefs who were ready to accept Islam.

The Bamum Muslims persuaded many members of the royal families especially the crowned princes to accept Islam. They convinced them that Islam unlike Christianity facilitated their tasks as chiefs because Christianity limited them to one wife and did not allow them in church with their traditional caps. The most attractive quality of Islam was the fact that it tolerated polygamy and the worship of ancestors unlike Christianity. Islam was also seen as the religion of the conquering ethnic groups and as a cornerstone of a superior culture (Schilder, 1993:43) . This political consideration resulted in the rush for Islam by chiefs given that in the Ndop Plain, the various village chiefdoms were struggling for supremacy or paramountcy.

The most dramatic conversion was that of the chief of Babessi on February 22, 1974. The ceremony was presided over by six representatives of the Bamum Sultan, four of the chief of Nso and the Modibo from Wainama in Jakiri. There were also the chiefs of Baba and Babungo and eight el-Hadj and the Divisional Officer for Ndop himself, a prince of the Bamum Sultanate. The ceremony was opened by the special envoy of the Sultan of Fumban El-Hadj Abdou prélat who said "Islam is a religion that respects the rites and customs of the people" and that the Babessi people were likely to follow their chief (RAB, 1974:2). Seventy-four people, mostly wives and children of the chiefs were immediately converted. The first deputy to the Imam of Fumban took his turn to indicate that Islam respected the traditional chiefdom and the state. With all these declarations, the chief of Babessi dropped his catholic name Michael for Mohamadou and El-Hadj Sainou from Fumban concluded the ceremony with a prayer (RAB, 1974:4). This ceremony and others in Babungo and Baba exhibited the influence the Bamum King and Muslims authorities had in the Islamisation of the Ndop Plain.

Apart from royal conversions, many notables and subject of the chiefs of the area accepted Islam because it appeared more attractive than Christianity and also because it tolerated some indigenous practices outrightly condemned by Christianity. The most attractive characteristic of Islam as indicated above, was the fact that converts could marry more than one wife. This was in line with the traditions of the chiefdoms. More wives and consequently more children were seen as a source of labour, a source of wealth, since agriculture the main source of wealth depended largely on human labour for any increase in production or productivity (Fanso,1989:162). Even in village chiefdoms known for their developed craft sector like Babungo and Bamessing, more wives and more children were also needed for the various stages of pottery and smelting production.

Besides the acceptance of polygamy, the Islamisation of the Ndop Chiefdoms was also facilitated by Islam's acceptance of magico-spiritual practices (Kees Schildre, 1993:47). The people were made to understand that unlike Christianity, Islam was not against ancestral worship by the nominal Muslims. In fact the Mallams who arrived

Ndop from Bamum country were seen as a superior set of people because it was believed that they were fortune tellers with extraordinary or supernatural powers due to Islam. Young men rushed for Islam believing that the religion could offer them protection against supernatural forces.

Furthermore, Islam in the Ndop Chiefdoms did not initially face any keen competition from Christianity as was the case in Nso, Kom, Bafut, Bali Nyonga or Mankon in the Bamenda Grassfields. The Basel Missionaries had settled in Bali-Mankon since 1902. The Catholics Pallotine Fathers had established in Nso and Kom from 1912. All of the Ndop Chiefdoms did not receive settled Christian Missionary groups until the 1940s (Goghomu, 2009:110). The Basel who arrived Bamum in 1906 could not extend their evangelisation to the Ndop Chiefdoms because of the outbreak of the First World War and the partition of Cameroon. Islam therefore gradually penetrated Ndop through Fulani graziers and Bamum dignitaries who escaped to Ndop due to French persecutions. Others came in search of fertile lands. This was the case of the Bamum who migrated and founded the Mambi quarter in Babessi¹. Their arrival in the area favoured *Bamumnisation*.

Bamumnisation

Bamumnisation consisted of the organised and unconscious occupation of the Ndop Plain by immigrants from the Bamum Kingdom after the 1916 partition of Cameroon. It should be recalled that the partition line dividing Bamum from the Ndop Plain chiefdoms was the subject of many petitions, complaints and adjustments which remained blurred in the minds of the borderland people. This was so because the partition line followed natural geographical features rather than the ethnic or socio-cultural realities of the borderland people. As early as 1916, Bamum immigrants started arriving in the Ndop Plain chiefdoms

The first set of Bamum people to cross the borders was a group of Christians who were persecuted because they did not want to abandon Christianity and follow Sultan Njoya who had become a Muslim. Njoya's conversion to Islam was expected to be followed by the conversion of his subjects but many rejected Islam and remained Christians under the protection of their pastors. Sultan Njoya requested for the arrest of those opposing him because of his new religion. Many of them escaped to Papiah-kum (Baba1), a Ndop Plain village or chiefdom founded by the end of the 19th century by immigrants from Papiah in Bamum (Seino, 1993:21). The new comers introduced the Bamum language and culture and maintained the link with their ancestors in the Bamum Sultanate. This explains why the people of Papiah-Kum or Baba 1 are very familiar with the Bamum language, Bamum regalia and Bamum names²

The next set of Bamum people to arrive the Ndop Chiefdoms, were those who immediately crossed the borders following the demarcation of the Anglo-French boundary in the area. This was effected between 1919 and 1923. These were traders who were against customs barriers and frontier controls imposed by the French and British

¹ This settlement is known locally as the "Bamum Forest"

² Bamum names common in Ndop include; Sidiki, Salifou, Njoya, Ramatou, Rabiadou, Njigum, Seidou etc

officials and the farmers who found their farm lands in the British sphere. They were also Muslims who believed that the British were superior to the French and that the British liberation of Bamum land during the First World War was due the presence of Muslims with war charms within the British Nigerian army (Abwa, 1997:32). In fact, the 1916 partition line was opposed by Sultan Njoya who immediately petitioned indicating his desire to join the Ndop Chiefdoms in the British Cameroons.

The third set of immigrants were the victims of French policies in Bamum land and the Franco-Bamum conflict during the interwar years (Mounmbagna, 1986). For example, in 1924, the French attempted to reduce the authority of Sultan Njoya, King of the Bamum by breaking his Kingdom into sub chiefdoms under appointed sub chiefs who were responsible directly to the French administration rather than to Njoya. This led to a rebellion organised by Njoya. When the French finally deposed and exiled him to Yaounde in 1931 where he died in 1933, about 2000 of his supporters migrated in protest to the nearby Ndop Plain in the Southern Cameroons (Takougang, 2003:383). These supporters were led by Prince Musa Njoya and 25 elderly notables who were very influential members of the Bamum traditional government (Fanso, 1982:23). The coming of Musa Njoya to Ndop area was very significant because he was heir to the Bamum throne and his migration attracted many Bamum to Ndop.

Apart from the royal family, Bamum dissident groups continued to protest the humiliation of their king by migrating under their village or group heads to the British zone. The colonial report of 1926 stated that Chief Njinchara of Bangourain complained that more than 150 Bamum nobles left his village for the Southern Cameroons chiefdoms of Bagam and Bambalang (Fanso, 1982:276). These notables were followed by their families and admirers and the Bambalang chiefdom had more than 30 percent of its population claiming Bamum origins.

In about 1944, some Bamum people crossed the River Noun and settled in Mbissa in Bambalang. They moved or migrated because of tribal wars and were led by Chief Mufo Foukwo who was immediately made notable of the chief of Bambalang. Mbissa is 12km from Bangorain in Fouban and was therefore the safest refuge for victims of aggression in the Bamum Kingdom in French Cameroon. Since then Mbissa in Bambalang witnessed the continued arrival of Bamum people, this resulted in mixed marriages and the adoption of many Bamum values especially under chief Shomintang who lived in Bamum for some years.

Apart from civil wars and inter- ethnic conflicts in French Cameroon, the interwar years 1919 to 1939 witnessed the arrival of many people from the Bamum Kingdom because of the harsh French colonial policies. Some of the policies that resulted in mass exodus in Bamum land included *corvee*, *indigénat*, *laissez-passer*, heavy direct taxation, de-Germanisation, police harassment and conscription into the army. These policies were rejected by many Africans who found refuge in the British Cameroon where such policies were less pronounced. After the Second World War and with the rise of radical nationalism in French Cameroun, Bamum militants of the radical party, *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC), also escaped French persecution and settled in the Ndop Plain. Many of them moved into Ndop after 1955 when the UPC rebellion resulted in the ban of the party and an organised hunt for its radical leaders. In Bambalang, they settled in quarters like Nkeshie, Mbefeghe and Mbissa (Goghomu,

2009;110). Felix Roland Moumie one of the UPC leaders who escaped arrest to the Southern Cameroons was of Bamum origins.

These Bamum refugees or nationalists settled in the Ndop Plain chiefdoms and worked for the reunification of the British and French Cameroons at independence. It should be recalled that the British Cameroonians were to decide through a plebiscite in February 1961, whether to gain independence with French Cameroon (reunification) or gain independence as part of Nigeria (integration). Reunification could give them status of citizens in the Southern Cameroons with voting rights. Reunification could also end frontier controls, police/customs harassments and Igbo domination of trade and commerce in the Ndop chiefdoms. It was for these reasons that Bamum notables at the request of Sultan Seidou Njimoluh Njoya, visited their brothers in the Ndop Plain encouraging them to promote reunification. In March 1960, the people of Balikumbat informed Prime Minister John Ngu Foncha of Bamum secret meetings in a welcome address claiming that such meetings were becoming more frequent with the approaching plebiscite (NAB, 1960:690).

Apart from pro-reunification meetings, Bamum settlers in these chiefdoms supported the Kamerun National Democratic Party (KNDP) hooligans to disturb and prevent the supporters of independence with Nigeria (militants of the Cameroon Peoples National Convention) from lecturing in the Ndop chiefdoms during the plebiscite campaigns in 1961 (Nfi,2014:263). In an attempt to secure a victory for reunification during the plebiscite, many of them registered and participated in the plebiscite of the February 11, 1961 with the complicity of the KNDP elections officials. This was also possible because there were no registers of births or birth certificates in the Southern Cameroons to identify genuine nationals and also because many of the Bamum were long time settlers with typical Tikar names (Nfi,2014:278). Fortunately for them, the majority of the Southern Cameroonians voted for reunification in 1961 thereby ending the boundary between Bamum and their host communities and Ndop Chiefdoms

With reunification achieved in 1961, the Bamum in Ndop felt at home. The influential role played by the Sultan of Fumban, Seidou Njimoluh Njoya in the Fumban Constitutional Conference³ of July 1961 also confirmed the indivisibility of the Bamum and Ndop peoples. He hosted the conference and paid particular attention to the welfare of the delegation of chiefs from the Bamenda Grassland⁴. The outcome was the influx of Bamum people into Ndop in the 1960s. They came as traders, teachers in the few Islamic Schools, farmers and fishermen. Interethnic marriages between the Bamum and the Babungo, Bamessing, Bangolang, Babessi and Baba increased. There was the exchange of royal visits between the chiefs.

The 1970s witness another significant arrival of Bamum settlers. This was provoked by two major events; the construction of the Bamemjim Dam and the appointment of a Bamum prince Sule Seidou Njoya as District Officer of the Ndop Sub Division. With the dam, many Bamum people came as fishermen and settled in villages

³ The Constitutional Conference that debated the form of state for the reunited Cameroon held in Fouban, head quarters of the Bamum Kingdom.

⁴ Sultan Seidou decorated John Ngu Foncha, leader of the Southern Cameroons with a royal title.

around the new water body to carryout fishing. More than 1500 Bamum fishermen came for this activity (RAB, 1974:7).

Prince Seidou Njoya's arrival also favoured the intensification of collaboration between the Fouban royal family and the Ndop chiefdoms. His greatest achievement in this domain was probably the conversion of the Chief of Babessi to Islam on February 22, 1974. President Amadou Ahidjo, a close friend of Sultan Seidou Njimoluh of Bamum appointed a Bamum prince in Ndop because he wanted to reinforce national unity and national integration in an area where the people were ready to collaborate. It was also probably because of his Bamum connection that the Chief of Bambalang, Fon Fosi Yakum-Ntaw whose mother was a princess of the Bamum palace was appointed governor of the South West Province in 1974⁵.

The 1960s and 1970s were therefore decades of the Islamisation and *Bamumnisation* of the Ndop Chiefdoms and the Bamum settlers or their descendants cannot today be easily identified because they successfully and completely integrated their host communities. Some of their descendants are today prominent elite and representatives of the Ndop peoples in the local councils and in the National Assembly.

Conclusion

The beheading of Chief Nsangu in the Bamum-Nso war of 1880-1885 certainly caused his successor the young Njoya to reconsider Bamum relationship with her neighbours. Rather than preach and practice only military expansion, he used Islam to extend his influence over the fraternal Ndop Chiefdoms that were threatened by the rapidly expanding Kom and Nso Chiefdoms. Fortunately for the Bamum chiefs, Islam was seen as a superior religion, tolerant to indigenous practices when compared with Christianity. Again, many Bamum victims of the harsh French colonial policies found refuge in the Ndop Chiefdoms between 1922 and 1960. The result was the Islamisation and *Bamumnisation* of the Ndop chiefdoms with the assistance of the central government of Cameroon headed by Amadou Ahidjo himself a Muslim. Ahidjo was struggling to consolidate national unity, national integration and to promote *le vivre ensemble* after the 1961 reunification. The Ndop Chiefdoms today therefore, harbour many people of Bamum origin with visible traces of Bamum culture especially Islam. This is an excellent example of peaceful co-existence highly recommended for the many heterogonous communities in Cameroon if we have to successful combat tribalism, regionalism and ethnic politics that are threatening the nation Cameroon.

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⁵Fon Fosi Yakum-Ntaw was a British trained Superintendent of Police who serviced the police force in Bamenda and Buea before his appointment as Governor in 1974. He served in Buea from 1974 to 1983 when President Paul Biya moved him to Garoua as Governor for the North Province where he retired in 1991.

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PROBLEM OF DECEPTIVE COGNATE IN FRENCH CLASSES IN NIGERIA AND THE COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE OF THE LEARNERS

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Abstract

French language is not only a second foreign language but also the second official language of Nigeria. In Nigeria, most learners of the language in a formal educational set up, come across the language in most cases in a secondary school cum higher institution as against mother tongues acquired from homes and English language taught and learnt from the primary school. One of the problems facing the teaching and learning of French language as a foreign language is the issue of deceptive cognate. The study went ahead in examining the problem among some selected French students who are in the Nigeria-French language Village for their Immersion Programme. And through data gathered, the study discovered in-appropriate use of French words due to the problem of deceptive cognate and to find solution to the problem, the study offers some didactic approaches.

Keywords: Language, FFL, Mother tongue, Competence, Deceptive cognate, Pragmatics, Didactics

Introduction

The term pragmatics covers the study of language uses and in particular the study of linguistic communication in relationship to language structure and context of utterances. Pragmatics from Yule's (2010:128) point of view is "the study of what speaker mean" and from Akmajian et al (2008:360) is a broad linguistics field "that [...] includes all studies of language users, from neurolinguistics to sociolinguistics". In the field of linguistics, much of pragmatics works were originally done by philosophers of language such as Yule (1996), Austin (2008), Searle (1969) cited by Akmajian et al (op.cit) and Cruce (1975).

In any linguistic context, pragmatics try to identify central uses of language, specify the condition for linguistic expressions (words, phrases, sentences, discourse) to be used and also uncover general principles of language use.

Communicative competence on the other hand is the general ability to make use of language accurately and also appropriately. From Yule's (2010:194) point of view, communicative competence is made up of three components namely:

- i. Grammatical competence which includes the accurate use of words and structures.
- ii. Socio-linguistics competence which makes the speaker to know when to put across a message based on social background of the speaker's environment that is the social context of the environment.
- iii. Strategic competence, this is the ability to organise a message effectively via strategies against any communication difficulty.

In Nigeria, French teaching and learning is facing a lot of difficulties ranging from accurate pronunciation of French words to the grammatical aspect of French language. This includes deceptive cognate and other difficulties like confusion in meaning (Alo 1995:1).

From Kwofie's (1995:6) point of view, another major problem facing teaching and learning of French in Nigeria is the issue related to appropriate methodology of teaching French while from Ajani (2011:24) one major problem facing teaching and learning of French language in Nigeria is the issue of linguistic interference and from Alo's (1995:1) submission, all these problems must not only be looked into but solved so as to move teaching and learning of French forward.

In French classes in Nigeria, one of the major problems facing its teaching and learning is the problem of deceptive cognate which are "words that look-alike for one reason or another but which are not really so" Ajiboye (2003: 166). In a French class in Nigeria, there are several reasons that lead French learners to thinking and believing that two words are alike and reasons may be:

1. Phonetic: that is words sounding nearly alike but having different meaning like *vers* /vɛR/ and *verre* /vɛR/, *allai* /alɛ/ and *allait* /alɛ/.
2. The graphic: that is a situation where words may be spelt nearly alike but have different meanings *mer* /mɛR/ and *merre* /mɛR/.
3. Syntactic: here, two words may sound alike, written alike or nearly but may have different domains of grammatical usage e.g. *quel* /kɛL/ and *quelle* /kɛL/.

The deceptive cognate which we shall be considering in this study based on data gathered from the learners in the class in the course of our findings are a striking combination of two factors namely: the phonetic factor – that is words sounding nearly alike but different in meaning and usage like *ou* /u/ and *ou* /u/ and orthographic – that is a situation where words may be alike but different in meaning like *Poisson* /pwasoʃ/ and *Poison* /pwazoʃ/.

Objective

The focus of this study is to take a critical look at the problem of deceptive cognate among French learners in Nigerian schools and offer some didactic approaches in solving the problem so as to move forward the teaching and learning of French in Nigeria.

Theoretical Framework

The model which this study is anchored on is John lock pragmatic model of linguistic communication cited by Akmajian et al (2009:364) which is based on the assumption that; the speaker has a message in mind to pass across to a listener or listeners. The speaker then produces some expressions that encode the message he intends to pass through. Upon hearing the expression or the expressions, the listener begins to hear the incoming sounds, syntax, word and meaning; then using his knowledge of language, the speaker composes the meaning of message received in the form of a successfully decoded message.

Methodology

This study is concerned with the examination of the use of French language in a natural discourse among selected Nigerian French language learners who were in the Nigeria French language for their language Immersion Programme. Our major means of collecting data therefore is through direct participation of students. Data gathered were elicited in two ways; formal and informal. In the first instance, informants were engaged in some discussions based on topics of general happening in the society and recordings were done through a tape recording and later analysed. In the second instance, the researcher took a notice of inappropriate use of confusing words through what the respondents jotted down.

Presentation of Data

In this section, we highlight some of the data collected for the study as presented below:

- Expression II: Ma mer est partie.
 - Intended Expression: Ma mère est partie.
 - Translation: My mother has gone.
- Expression III: Je n'aime pas votre approach.
 - Intended expression: Je n'aime pas votre approche.
 - Translation: I don't like your approach
- Expression IV: C'est ou le magazine ?
 - Intended Expression: C'est où le magasin?

- Translation: Where is the magazine located?
- Expression V: Soit lui ou moi.
 - Intended Expression: Soit lui ou moi.
 - Translation: Either him or I
- Expression VII: Nous allons tous a Lagos.
 - Intended Expression: Nous allons tous à Lagos.
 - Translation: We are all going to Lagos.
- Expression VIII: Je vais chez la dame pour acheter du poisson.
 - Intended Expression: Je vais chez la dame pour acheter du poisson.
 - Translation: I am going to the woman to buy fish.
- Expression IX: Mon ami prononce bien les mots français.
 - Intended Expression: Mon ami prononce bien les mots français.
 - Translation: My friend pronounce very well French words.
- Expression X: Quel femme qui arrive?
 - Intended Expression: Quelle femme qui arrive?
 - Translation: Which woman is coming?
- expression XI: Nous allons tous a la librarie pour lire.
 - Intended Expression: Nous allons tous à la bibliothèque pour lire.
 - Translation: We are all going to the Library to read.
- Expression XII: Elle va à l'hospital demain.
 - Intended Expression: Elle va à l'hôpital demain.
 - Translation: She is going to the hospital tomorrow.
- Expression XIII: La date de nôtre indépendante, c'est quand?
 - Intended Expression : La date de notre indépendance, c'est quand?
 - Translation: What is our independence date?

Analysis and Discussions

From our analysis of the data, the type of deceptive cognate discovered has to do with orthography, grammar and phonetics. Phonetically for example, items like 'ou' and 'ou' sound [u], 'mer' and 'mere' sound [mɛR], 'à' and 'a' sound [ɑ] and "quel" and "quelle" sound [kɛl]. Also, in French phonetics, while double "s" in a word sounds [s], single "s" sounds [z] and this accounts for why the respondents find it difficult to differentiate between "poison [pwazɔ̃] which is 'poison' in French and "poisson" [pwasɔ̃] which is 'fish' in French.

On the error related to orthography, in French language, 'librairie' is not a bookshop, though the spelling looks similar to a library in English. In French language, the word- librairie is a noun that refers to bookshop. Similarly, while the word 'pronounce' carries 'u' in it spelling in English, it is written as 'prononce' in French. In

addition, while the word ‘approach’ carries ‘a’ in English and written as ‘approach’, in French, ‘a’ is missing and written as ‘approche’. At the level of grammar, while ‘à’ and ‘a’ sound the same thing /a/, ‘a’ with “accent grave” ‘à’ is a preposition, ‘a’ without accent grave ‘a’ is a verb t used for a third person singular. Example, “il a un stylo”, - he has a biro. Furthermore, while ‘où’ and ‘ou’ sound the same thing phonetically /u/, the /où/ with accent is a preposition and the /ou/ without accent means ‘or’. Similarly, while ‘quel and quelle’ sound the same way [kɛl], the two words are interrogative adjectives in French. However, while ‘quel’ [kɛl] is used for masculine object, ‘quelle’ [kɛl] is used for feminine object in French at the level of singular. And at the plural level, both ‘quel and quelle’ become ‘quels and quelles’ and all sound alike [kɛl].

Implication of Study

This study has a lot of implications not only to learners and teachers of French language but to all users of French language as a foreign language because from Bloor and Bloor’s point of views (1997:226) as cited by Bello (2007:24):

The question of how to speak or write more effectively is one that has been of interest to educators and critics for hundreds of years. Most teachers and critics have something to say on the subject and immovable books and leaflets have been written sorting out advice ...

The above observation brings out to ask a question, what is language and its importance and also what is French language as a foreign language?

Language, according to Hall (1968: 58) in Ajani (2011:64) Is “an institution whereby humans communicate and interact with each other by means of habitually used oral, auditory arbitrary symbols” and language according to Sapir (1921:8) cited by Lyons (2009:3) “Is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols”. And on the importance of language, from Ajani’s (2017:2) point of view, “language is one of the most important ways of expressing one’s love or hatred for people. It is a vital way to achieving many of our goals and our careers”. While Aiyeleru (2015) cited by Akoso (2016:136) opines that language “plays a key role in the development of man and his/her society”. Still on the importance of language in any human set up, Yule (2010:142) observes that since J. L. Austin and John Searle speech acts theory down to Jacques Dernda (language play) and Michel Foucault (discourse and power), language has been shown to be more than just a mere tool for representation, because it does not just tell, not just show, it acts and in its inclination to act, it throws up a number of issues concerning its relation with reality and one of those issues is what this study is concerned about– deceptive cognate in French.

The question now is what is a foreign language? From Ajiboye’s (2002:10) point of view, a foreign language is

...a language which is geographically and politically exogenous to the mother tongue(s) identifiable in the geopolitical community under reference and which is introduced into the community by choice as result of a felt need for supra-national cooperation or integration.

And based on Jimoh's (2010:104) observation on French languages, French language was introduced to Nigeria by "choice" for cooperation and integration, this qualifies French language to be a foreign language in Nigeria hence, being a foreign language that is being taught in our schools; most especially in secondary school where it is taught as a compulsory subject from J.S.S I to J.S.S III and optional from S.S.I. It is also taught in Colleges of Education as a double major subject or combined with another discipline or in the universities where it is studied as a B.A (Ed) course or a B.A course. For its effective teaching and learning and so as to take care of all problems facing its teaching and learning like the issue of deceptive cognate as raised up in this study, pertinent didactic approach or approaches must be looked into.

Some Didactic Approaches to Solve the Problem of Deceptive Cognate in French Classes in Nigeria

To start with, unlike the mother tongue acquired from home and English language taught and learnt from the primary school as earlier stated in this study, foreign language is also taught in schools as equally earlier stated in this study. Hence for it to be well taught and learnt so as to overcome all kinds of difficulty facing it, attention must be highly focused on how to handle its teaching. First and foremost, we need to understand that for foreign language teaching like French language for instance, learners should be adequately taught when words are used in discourse so as to retain the structure and meaning of such words.

Furthermore, in learning a foreign language like the case of a French language by Nigerian learners of French and going by Ajani (op.cit), native speakers sometimes make mistakes in their speech. The implication of this submission is that there is no way a case of deceptive cognate could be totally avoided among the Nigerian French learners in taking French as a foreign language class and that is why the issue of errors in second language study has been a topic of debate and quite surprisingly has defied specific resolution right from linguists and scholars like S. P. Corder (1967), Emmanuel Kwofie (1995), Alo (1995), Soyoye (1995), Jimoh (2010), Asady (2007), Tijani (2007), Ajani (2015) and Ajani (2017) among many scholars across the globe. Hence, the topic of difficulties facing learners of foreign language like French, calls for more didactic approach/approaches. From Adejare and Adejare (1994:13), structure in linguistics makes reference to the order in which the constituent elements of a unit must occur to generate a meaningful unit in any language and this applies to French language. In most cases, many Nigerian learners of French language, when they see or hear words in French, in most cases do not sit down and find out if the word or words in question mean what they have in mind to express, hence, French language teaching on the part of those who teach it in Nigeria should not be limited solely to teaching grammatical rules when it comes to the teaching of grammar, it should be extended to teaching of grammatical appropriateness that is using a right word in a right place following a laid down grammatical rule.

And finally, we recommend the silent way teaching of foreign language as recommended by Crystal (2002: 898) which aims to provide an environment which

keeps the amount of teaching of a foreign language to a maximum and encourage learners to develop their ways of using the language elsewhere. According to (Crystal, Op.cit), the aim is to help language learners most especially foreign language to become self-oriented and being able to select their own words and their own sentences and be in control of them, hence for this method to be effective, we must also guide the chosen words of our learners and their utterances; that is what they write and what they say.

Conclusion

Language, being a useful means of communication could be faced with a lot of difficulties especially when it is being taught and learnt as a foreign language like the case of French language in Nigeria. And from this paper, one could see that one of the difficulties among numerous other difficulties facing French teaching and learning in Nigerian schools is the issue of a deceptive cognate. The study looked into some of these deceptive cognate from the data generated and put forward some approaches in solving the problem. However, this does not disturb further research to be carried out on areas of deceptive cognate in French classes in Nigeria because there are still so many other aspects to explore.

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THE PROBLEMS OF LEARNING FRENCH BY JJU NATIVE SPEAKERS

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Abstract

Learners of French who are native speakers of Language Family trees other than the Indo-European languages introduced in Africa in the 13th Century face a number of challenges in the process of acquiring languages in the above mentioned linguistic Family tree. The problems learners face differ from mother-tongue interference, thinking first in the mother-tongue, translating into English and finally retranslating the meaning into French. Added to these, the Jju native speaker learning French, has to also cope with the problem of articles preceding all nouns, gender formation, formation of the adjective and its placement and many more. The aforementioned are a problem because they are totally different from Jju which has a compacted morphology in which articles, nouns and plural markers could be one word and adjectives are all prefixed by *ah*. The objective of this paper is to use the personal experiences of the author, a Jju native speaker that has successfully learnt French, to show that the problems here mentioned are part of the learning process and that they keep reducing with the passage of time and are finally surmounted with focus, commitment and discipline.

Keywords: Jju, French, FL2 Communication, Formation of articles, Formation of adjective

Introduction

While French belongs to the Indo-European Family Language Tree characterised by defined parts of speech like its sister European Languages– English, Italian, German etc., Jju belongs to the Platoid branch of the Benue Congo stream of the Niger Congo linguistic family spoken mostly in central Nigeria according to *Hammarström et al* (2017). According to *Blench R.H. & D.H. Crozier* (1998), Jju is one of the 20 residual Central Plateau languages spoken in Nigeria; ...the twenty Central Plateau languages are a residual branch of the Plateau family spoken in central Nigeria. Tyap (or Katab) has 130,000 speakers, and the closely related Jju (or Kaje) has well over 300,000. Hyam (or Jabba) has another 100,000. Cori is famous for being one of very few languages with six tone levels, though only three are needed for writing, (www.rogerblench.info/Language/Niger-Congo/NCOP.htm). Roger Blench further states that this category of languages is widely known only by noun classes without other

defined elements of the parts of speech. We wish to add to this assertion the fact that added to this peculiarity, Jju has a heavy morphology which makes learning French by *its* speakers face some difficulties ranging from formation of the plural noun in general, formation of the plural noun preceded by the definite article, gender formation and many more. This paper intends to look at articles in relationship with nouns, gender formation and finally the formation of the adjective and its placement. The population of the BaJju is put at 360,000 approximately according to the projected National Census of 2006. According to Bivan A.D and Yashim H.Y (2016), the BaJju are highly literate with about 60% literacy level attained (NILAS: p.139). Some attempts have been made at writing in Jju by linguists, clergymen as well as laymen in linguistic studies but good as these attempts at a Jju autograph may be, none has yet attained the internationally accepted standard. According to Adigwe and Anukwu (2015), although second-language acquisition literally refers to learning a language after having acquired a first language, the term is frequently used to refer to the acquisition of a second language after a person has reached puberty. They posit that people experience little difficulty in acquiring more than one language and that the French language is one of the easiest and most useful languages for a native English speaker to learn. The main aim of this article is to discuss some obvious difficulties involved in learning French by a native Jju speaker who already understands English; his first foreign language (FL1), and show that in spite of the challenges encountered in the learning of French as a second language (FL2), he can still become quite proficient in it.

According to Chanchu (2016), it is generally agreed that a foreign language learner does not enter the language classroom one day and come out the next as a near-native speaker but there is a developmental process which takes place over a long period of time and during this process, the learner may write or speak the language in a manner that is not considered 'authentic' by the native speaker. As time goes on and as the learner progresses in learning the language, the errors gradually reduce until the learner acquires near-native perfection.

Background to the study

This study is carried out as a reconsideration of the generally accepted notion that Mother-Tongue interference impedes on Second Language learners of French. To do this, we shall use the personal experience of the author to show that it isn't so for all FL2 learners. The purpose of doing so is to show that the impact of the mother tongue– Jju does not impede on learning and becoming proficient in French.

Significance of the study

This study will help single learner-users of French in KaJju to know that being an FL2, the make use of Jju does not affect learning and proficiency in French but lack of interest, lack of focus and determination do.

Research Questions

1. Does the formation of articles and gender in Jju affect the learning and proficiency in French?

2. Does the formation of the adjective and its placement with relationship to the noun in a sentence in Jju impede on the acquisition of proficiency in French?

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical framework for second language learning presents many perspectives of theories of second language learning according to Awhoeli (2011). Some of these theories include the Behaviourist theory where behaviourists like Pavlov believe that all learnings including language learning occur through a process of imitation, practice, reinforcement and habit formation. Other behaviourists like Spada et al, view Foreign language learning as a process of imitation and reinforcement where learners attempt to copy what they hear by regular practice and establish acceptable codes in the new languages. It means therefore, that humans learn a language through repeating the same form and text until it becomes a habit and a regular part of their life.

Contrastive analysts on their part believe that language is learned by the transfer of knowledge from the native language to the FL2 while identifying errors, analysing and eliminating them in the process before becoming proficient in the Second language. Chachu (2016) in agreement with the Contrastive analysts, calls this process of transfer–Interlanguage which Saville-Troike (2006), explains as the demonstration of the intermediate stages of FL2 development which can be viewed either positively or negatively especially as there is usually the question of language transfer from the FL1 with positive transfer being considered to aid language learning and negative transfer being considered a bane to acquiring the second language;

It is generally agreed that a foreign language learner does not enter the language classroom one day and come out the next as a near-native speaker. There is a developmental process which takes place over a long period of time and during this process, the learner may write or speak the language in a manner that is not considered ‘authentic’ by the native speaker. As time goes on and as the learner progresses in learning the language, the errors gradually reduce until the learner acquires near-native perfection. This transition between starting to learn the language and acquiring native-speaker proficiency is what is termed the Interlanguage.

Cognitive Learning Theory

The Cognitive Learning Theory is a broad theory that explains thinking and differing mental processes and how they are influenced by internal and external factors in order to produce learning in individuals. When cognitive processes are working normally, then acquisition and storage of knowledge works well, but when these cognitive processes are ineffective, learning delays and difficulties can be seen (<https://www.alleydog.com/glossary/definition.php?term=Cognitive+Learning+Theory>).

In this study, we shall use the Cognitive Theory which is based on neuro-psychological bases of thought and where language is not seen as a set of responses that are conditioned to stimuli previously met as the acquisition and storage of language, “... the cognitive theorists rely on the individual’s response and believe that learners use their cognitive abilities in a creative way to work out hypothesis about the structure of

the Foreign language (Awhoeli, 2011: 25). David Crystal on his part says that learners construct rules, try them out, and alter them if they prove to be inadequate. This shows that language learning proceeds in transitional stages as learners acquire more of the FL2 and errors diminish with more time. Vivian Cook corroborates that the prominence of the native speaker in language teaching has obscured the distinctive nature of the second language learner–user and created an unattainable goal for second language learners. Cook recommends that users of second language should be viewed as multi-competent language users rather than as deficient native speakers, she also suggests how language teaching can recognise students as second language users both in and out of the classroom (TESOL Quarterly, (1999).

Jju Language

Jju is the language spoken by the BaJju of Kaduna state of Nigeria. The BaJju call their land KaJju with their ancestral home in Dibyii located in Zango Kataf Local Government Area (LGA) where they are most highly concentrated. They are however also found in the Kachia and Jema’a LGAs. Because of their hardwork and spirit of entrepreneurship, the BaJju also have a remarkable presence in the Chikun, Kaduna South, Kaduna North LGAs and the Kaduna municipal city. Their origin is said to lie at Miango on the Jos plateau. Thanks to the Christian Missionaries from Europe and Canada who built schools and hospitals alongside their newly established Churches in Southern Kaduna in the early part of the 20th century, the BaJju are highly literate with about 60% literacy level attained according to Bivan and Yashim (NINLAS 2016: p139). Some books have been written in Jju which include; *Kpa Kazah* (1979) by Ashong, *Kaje, Jju of Nigerian Ethnic People profile* Joshu’a Project (2012), *Zuzzwa NJju Kpa katsutsrang* (n.y) by Kunhyop and Bature, *Zhi Myiam Jju* (2015) by Francis Mindat among many others.

Problems with Articles

While in French all nouns are preceded by an article whether definite or indefinite which agree in gender and the number of the noun it precedes, Jju morphology does not have a defined and clear-cut distinction between articles and nouns. We can therefore say that Jju like its sister languages from the same family tree branch ; Tyap, Aegorok etc., falls within languages that Naoyo Furukawa describes as *Langues sans articles* which he compares in the following way; “Tandis que la définitude est une propriété inhérente qui détermine le nom en français et qui est normalement exprimée, les langues sans articles ne disposent pas de traits morphologiques qui expriment cette propriété” (<https://www.cairn.info/revue-langue-francaise-2011-3-page-13.htm#>).

Below are some examples using the French nouns *Une chambre*, *Une tige* and *Un palmier* preceded by the indefinite article to buttress our position:

French	Jju	English
Une chambre	Bhadd	A room
Une tige	Dinan	A root
Un palmier	Kakwon Ntswaan	A palmtree

N.B All trees in Jju are preceded by the generic word **Kakwon**

The same nouns used with the definite article become as follows:

French	Jju	English
La chambre	Bhaddah	The room
La tige	Dinanti	The root

And used in plural form they are as shown in the following table;

French	Jju	English
Les chambres	Ahbaddah	The rooms
Les tiges	Ahnanah	The roots
Les palmiers	Nakwon Ntswaanah	The palm trees

An analysis of the above example shows that while the indefinite article in French stands separate from the noun it precedes, in Jju it is not seen separately but is part of the body of the noun itself, while the definite article is a suffix to the noun. Finally, as can be seen from the last table, the article in plural form in Jju is duplicated and is placed as both a prefix and a suffix to the stem word. This however, isn't the general rule as can be seen with TSWAAN from where the article indicator (prefix/suffix) does not encase the stem word as in the two earlier examples, but the prefix is placed on the generic **Kakwon** and in addition changing the morpheme **Ka** of the noun to **Na**.

Problems with Gender

While the gender in French is distinctive and characterised by changing an article before the noun and some moderation, in Jju, the gender form can be said to be non-existent except for nouns of animate things as we shall demonstrate in the two tables to follow:

General formation of the gender

French	Jju	English
Une rue	Ryen	A street
L'assiette	Kabatakha	The plate
Le soleil	Nomah	The sun
Les nuages	Ahninyanah	The clouds
La reunion	Katunkhah	The meeting
Un étoile	Katangngwad	A star
Une forêt	Kayidt	A forest

But,

Formation of the gender with nouns of animate things

French		Jju		English	
<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>
Un homme	Une femme	Ahrantyiok	Ahrambryin	A man	A woman
Un garçon	Une fille	Kasyiang	Kanyiang	A boy	A girl
Le chien	La chienne	Kabvwuu	Ahnahkabvuu	A dog	A she-dog

In the table above on animate things, we have shown that in French, the gender of a noun is formed by changing the article before a masculine noun to feminine form and adding a different noun or moderating the masculine noun to derive its feminine form but in Jju, the gender of the animate thing is indicated by the use of a different word in the feminine form or a changed morpheme.

Problems with Adjectives and their placement

Like other languages, French adjectives are many in number in this research therefore, we shall limit ourselves to the consideration of only 10 of them. The chosen adjectives will be used in short sentences to show their meanings and their positions.

French	Jju	English
Fort(e) -un bâtiment fort	Ahkyunkyang dinog	A strong building
Mou (molle) - une balle molle	Ahvuvwod nbuol	A soft ball

Petit(e) - une petite chaise	Chinchong ahkpragh	A small chair
Grand(e) - un grand roi	Ahgbadang Ahgwam	A big king
Long (ue) - un trajet long	Ahjyinjing kachyied	A long journey
Epais(e) - un mur épais	Ahpwyinpywen ntswabadd	A wide wall
Court(e) - une fille courte	Ahkunkum kaniyang	A short girl
Bruyant(e) - un cheval bruyant	Tsaab Ahchwrea	A noisy horse
Méchant(e) - un garçon méchant	Kasyiang Ahkpaad	A wicked boy
Noir(e) - un habit noir	Ahdyindying ahtrowo	A black dress
Bon(nne) - un bon homme	Ahtsatsagh Ahyin	A good man

Considering the table above as a representation of the formation and placement of adjectives in French and Jju, it can be seen that in French, most of the adjectives are placed after the noun they qualify with a few exceptions such as the adjectives of size *grand/petit* and also the descriptive adjective *bon*. Had these three adjectives been placed after the nouns they qualify, they would not have conveyed their intended meanings. On the other hand, most Jju adjectives precede the noun they qualify except the adjectives Achwrea - bruyant and Akpaad - méchant which we will like to call adjectives of manner. Another difference between French and Jju adjectives is that almost all Jju adjectives start with the morpheme *Ah*, in the table above there is only one exceptional case - Chinchong.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have shown that French and Jju from their Linguistic families have very distinct origins that are not related in anyway. Given this, there can be no equation or comparison of the two languages in any way that will not produce a problem as the end result. In fact, Dörnyei and Scott believe that many times, the so-called errors actually point to creativity on the part of the learner – be it morphological, syntactic, or even discursive and that they actually point to the learner making an effort to manage language problems and difficulties which they describe as a salient part in FL2 communication. Unlike Adigwe and Anuku (2015)'s position that a Nigerian child learning French language has a lot of problems to cope with such as the problem of mother tongue interference to the second language where the child first thinks in his mother tongue before translating it into the second language which is the English language, and finally having to re-translate his thoughts from the English language to the French language which adds to the child's inability to learn the language effectively; and that the child needs a patient and dedicated teacher who will help him overcome all his language defects, for us that is quite normal because Mother Tongue interference does pose as a problem to the learning of French by Jju native speakers. We then suggest that instead of expending time and resources just to prove what is very obvious, henceforth researchers on MT interference should direct their further studies on this subject to ways in which FL2 learners can overcome the problem. We equally suggest that to overcome MT

interference, FL2 learners of French should first have interest in the language, they should be determined and focused just as the author did many years back and they will be able to rise to whatever level they choose to get to in French studies.

David Crystal (Crystal, 2003, p. 165) defines Error Analysis (EA) as a “technique for identifying, classifying and systematically interpreting the unacceptable forms produced by someone learning a foreign language, using any of the principles and procedures provided by linguistics”.

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LES DEUX PREMIÈRES PÉRIODES DE L'ŒUVRE ROMANESQUE BÉTIENNE: UNE CARACTÉRISATION DE SES PORTE-PAROLES

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Résumé

L'œuvre romanesque de Mongo Beti peut être repartie en trois grandes périodes: celle des années 50, celle des années 70 et celle des années 90. Malgré le long intervalle qui sépare les deux premières périodes, de nombreuses ressemblances unissent les œuvres. Les jeunes porte-paroles de la première et les porte-paroles révolutionnaires de la deuxième ont en commun l'esprit critique. Aussi constatent-ils qu'il y existe de l'injustice et de l'oppression au sein de la société traditionnelle et coloniale que nous présente Mongo Beti. Mais alors que les porte-paroles bétiens de la première période décident de s'exiler de la société où ils constatent cette injustice, ceux de la deuxième période même s'ils sont eux aussi obligés de s'exiler dans un premier temps n'en reviennent pas au moins au sein de la société d'origine pour y mener une lutte révolutionnaire contre leurs oppresseurs. L'objectif que nous nous sommes assignés dans cette communication tout en nous limitant aux deux premières périodes de l'œuvre romanesque bétienne c'est de comparer le comportement et les réactions de ces deux groupes de porte-parole et d'entreprendre leur caractérisation.

Keywords: Périodes, Oeuvre, Caractérisation, Portes-paroles

Introduction

Alexandre Biyidi Awala (Mongo Beti ou Eza Boto) est né à Akometam (Cameroun) le 30 juin 1932. Ce romancier camerounais renommé est également essayiste engagé, enseignant et éditeur. Ses œuvres qui font l'objet de notre communication sont celles des années 50 et des années 70 que nous considérons comme les deux premières périodes de ses œuvres littéraires. Rappelons qu'après son retour au Cameroun en 1991, il a écrit *La France contre l'Afrique: Retour au Cameroun* (1993), *L'histoire du fou* (1994), *Trop de soleil tue l'amour* (1999) et *Branle-bas en noir et blanc* (2000). Ces deux dernières œuvres font deux parties d'une trilogie qui reste inachevée jusqu'à la mort de l'écrivain le 7 octobre 2001 à l'hôpital de Douala. Ces œuvres écrites après le retour de Mongo Beti au Cameroun peut être classifiées comme les œuvres de la troisième période qui feront l'objet d'une autre communication que nous ferons sous peu.

Avant de choisir et faire le portrait de celui que nous considérons comme le porte-parole de Mongo Beti dans chaque roman des deux premières périodes, il est nécessaire de dire quelques mots sur l'idéologie et la pensée de Mongo Beti lui-même. Dans son œuvre romanesque, son essai politique *Main basse sur le Cameroun* et finalement dans sa revue *Peuples Noirs Peuples Africains*, il essaie en gros de nous décrire toutes les souffrances infligées aux masses populaires par ceux qui se trouvent avantagés par le système existant, un système qui permet aux uns d'opprimer les autres. Selon Mongo Beti lui-même 'non seulement je suis pour l'opprimé, mais j'étais un opprimé' (Beti, 1979). En effet, ce sont les injustices du système qui retiennent le plus l'attention de Mongo Beti quelle que soit la société qu'il analyse et il dénonce ces injustices sous toutes leurs formes. Ce sont ces idées de l'écrivain qui nous serviront de guide pour découvrir, dans chacun de ses romans, le personnage ou les personnages dont les idées convergent partiellement ou totalement avec les idées de Mongo Beti. Ce sont de tels personnages que nous considérons comme les porte-paroles du romancier, un porte-parole étant une personne qui s'exprime au nom d'une autre personne ou d'un groupe.

Les Romans de la Première Période (les années 50)

Les romans de cette première période sont au nom de quatre à savoir, *Ville Cruelle* (1954), *Le Pauvre Christ de Bomba* (1956), *Mission Terminée* (1957) et *Le Roi Miraculé* (1958). L'histoire du premier roman se déroule au sud du Cameroun vers 1935. Elle s'agit de Banda, orphelin et paysan, qui vit dans le village de Bamila, son village natal. Il veut vendre ses 200kg de cacao et il se présente au fonctionnaire chargé d'examiner la qualité du cacao. Quoique le cacao fut sec et de bonne qualité le contrôleur ordonna qu'il fut brûlé. Banda qui s'est senti profondément blessé par cette injustice est en outre battu, puis chassé par les gardes régionaux.

L'histoire du deuxième roman se déroule en 1938 (Mercier, 1964) à la Mission catholique de Bomba et dans les stations dépendantes de ce même centre religieux. Le R P S Drumont qui a passé une vingtaine d'années dans cette région du Cameroun décide de laisser à l'abandon pendant trois ans, les stations dépendantes de sa mission de Bomba. Sa décision découle de cette certitude 'il leur manquerait; ils en seraient touchés; ils rentreraient en eux-mêmes et ils s'efforceraient de s'améliorer et de revenir à la foi' (PC 23). Les trois années écoulées, Drumont décide de faire la tournée des stations et c'est au cours de cette tournée en brousse (elle dure deux semaines) qu'il s'aperçoit que rien ne va plus. Il rentre à la Mission de Bomba découragé. De retour à Bomba, Drumont procède à des sondages et découvre, à son chagrin, que rien ne va pas non plus à la Mission, et plus particulièrement dans la sixa qui est moralement pourrie. Celui qui doit s'occuper de la sixa tire profit du tout et particulièrement des fiancées de la sixa qu'il oblige à se prostituer. Le découragement de Drumont est sans remède cette fois. Il admet son échec et décide de partir pour l'Europe pour une retraite définitive. C'est l'effondrement total de la Mission de Bomba et de ses stations.

Le troisième roman a pour cadre historique le sud-Cameroun vers les années 40. (Mercier, 1964). Jean-Marie Medza, un jeune lycéen qui rentre dans son village pour passer trois mois de vacances est chargé d'aller ramener de Kala la femme Niam auprès de son époux légitime. Heureux de fuir la colère de son père autoritaire, Medza se met

en route. Arrivé à Kala, Medza découvre Mama, son oncle et Zambo son cousin mais la femme Niam est partie loin en brousse en compagnie d'un nouvel amant. Entretemps, grâce à Zambo, il arrive à Medza une série d'aventures. Medza devient le centre d'attraction du village; on le fête, on lui demande conseil. En même temps il découvre au village le sort misérable des paysans. Il commence à remettre en cause l'autorité de son père. C'est à Kala aussi qu'il commence à considérer l'éducation occidentale qu'il a reçue comme inadéquate car elle n'a pas de rapport avec la réalité de la vie camerounaise.

Quand la femme Niam qu'il était partie chercher consent à retourner auprès de son mari, Medza ne sait pas ce qu'il va faire d'Edima qu'on lui a donnée comme épouse. Sa mission est terminée mais comment pourrait-il à nouveau s'accommoder d'un père autoritaire? Rentré à Kala, Medza ne parle plus à son père qui, lui aussi, évite de rencontrer son fils même à table!!! Une dizaine de jours après le retour de Medza au village, une délégation arrive de Kala pour lui amener sa femme Edima. Malheureusement, Medza et son père ne s'entendent pas et celui-là défie son père. Au cri de "A nous la liberté!" il s'enfuit avec son cousin Zambo délaissant sa jeune femme que son propre frère épousera à sa place.

Le quatrième roman a pour cadre historique la région Essazam au sud du Cameroun en 1948. (Mercier, 1964). Le personnage principal du dernier roman c'est le chef Essomba Mendouga, chef des Essazam qui, malgré son grand âge et sa vieillesse, prend sa vingt-troisième épouse. Atteint d'une grave maladie, le chef décide de se convertir au christianisme et de renvoyer toutes ses femmes sauf Anaba, la plus jeune. Cette décision du chef va à l'encontre de la tradition. Les notables des clans environnants se rassemblent à Essazam. Toutefois, le Père Le Guen, avec l'accord du chef, proclame celui-ci chrétien et lui donne le nom Lazare. C'est à cette situation que les sages de la tribu doivent faire face.

Les autotités administratives alertées par le caractère insolite de cette conversion, résolues à prévenir tous désordres à Essazam, demandent le déplacement du Père Le Guen. Mongo Beti mêle à l'histoire de la conversion du chef celle de Kris qui est le neveu d'une des femmes répudiées par le chef. Alors que les autres membres des clans rassemblés à Essazam perdent leur temps à palabrer, Kris qui pense que la meilleure façon de se réaliser est de se lancer dans une activité rentable, distille de l'alcool. Son ami Bitama qui est un collégien comme lui propose à Kris qu'ils aillent adhérer au parti politique P. P. P. Objectif: obtenir l'indépendance de leur pays et conquérir le pouvoir.

Quand l'autorité coloniale veut arrêter Kris du fait qu'il fabrique illégalement de l'alcool, il se sauve. Bitama lui va en Europe. Quant au chef Mendouga, il retrouve la joie de la polygamie. C'est donc le retour au statu quo à Essazam.

Les porte-paroles bétiens de la première période

a. Banda

Ce jeune personnage bétien est orphelin qui n'a presque pas connu son père. C'est sa mère qui l'élève et c'est pour cette raison qu'il l'aime tellement. Il ressent l'injustice et l'oppression et critique les oppresseurs. Il a fréquenté l'école où il a passé huit années

sans obtenir aucun diplôme et il en est amer. Signalons que parmi les porte-paroles bétéiens de cette période qui ont fréquenté l'école occidentale, Banda est le moins éduqué. Il est conscient du fait qu'on perd son temps à l'école parce qu'on y travaille la terre pour les colonisateurs au lieu d'apprendre quoi que ce soit et c'est ceci qui explique le niveau assez bas de son éducation. Aussi est-il incapable de tenir une conversation directe avec le représentant de l'autorité coloniale: il lui faut le service d'un interprète.

Nous le voyons dans *Ville Cruelle* en tant que paysan. C'est un paysan opprimé par l'autorité traditionnelle et l'autorité coloniale envers lesquelles il montre son dégoût. Alors que celle-ci confisque et jette au feu son cacao, celle-là lui est hostile. Si les autres membres de la société peuvent tolérer l'injustice et l'oppression, lui, il rejette telles situations. Il y a chez Banda un esprit protestataire prononcé. Pour nous en convaincre, qu'il nous suffise de mentionner avec quelle énergie il se défend contre quatre gardes régionaux. Banda prêche la nécessité de rester tenace. 'il faut toujours lutter' dit-il, 'nul ne sait où est fourrée sa chance, un jour on la découvre, en fouillant'(VC,74). Ceci s'accorde avec l'explication étymologique de son nom que fournit Melone lorsqu'il écrit 'le mot Banda évoque le personnage endurent, courageux, voire téméraire, une (crapule) en somme...Banda joue au dur, tient tête aux gardes régionaux; sa hardiesse lui coûte ses 200 kg de cacao' (Melone, 1971).

Malgré le fait qu'il paraît dur, Banda n'est pas un personnage ambitieux. Il n'aime certes pas son sort de paysan opprimé mais toute son ambition se limite à prendre femme pour satisfaire le désir de sa mère mourante puis à se réfugier en ville et y occuper un poste de petit ouvrier. Par ailleurs, il ne se préoccupe pas du sort des autres paysans. Banda est un personnage isolé dont les rapports avec les autres ne sont pas cordiaux. Malgré ses limites nous le considérons un porte-parole assez important de Mongo Beti du fait qu'il rejette l'oppression et l'injustice, même s'il ne le fait qu'en tant qu'individu et même si son souci du sort d'autrui se limite à celui des proches parents tels que sa mère. Même s'il ne parvient pas à établir un programme qui recouvre un terrain plus large pouvant mener au bonheur de tous, il est évident qu'il ressent l'injustice et la rejette. Incapable d'affronter les forces hostiles, il s'exile pour occuper un petit coin en ville.

b. Zacharie

Zacharie, le cuisinier de Drumont est un personnage complexe. C'est d'abord un exploiteur qui entend profiter de la situation pour servir ses propres intérêts. Par exemple, à la Mission de Bomba, il s'enrichit frauduleusement au détriment de ses compatriotes. Le Père Drumont même est longtemps dupé de son cuisinier; il le croit innocent. Ne construit-il même pas pour Zacharie, dans son village 'une belle maison avec des murs de brique et un toit de tôle?' (PC, 20). Nous devons en outre mentionner qu'il n'a jamais réellement aimé qui que ce soit. C'est vrai qu'il est marié (Clémentine est sa femme) mais nous le voyons se lancer dans d'autres aventures amoureuses. Les principes religieux que prêche son maître, le Père Drumont n'ont aucune signification pour lui. C'est son plaisir personnel qui compte.

Toutefois, nous considérons Zacharie comme le porte-parole de Mongo Beti en ce sens qu'il a l'esprit critique; il ressent l'injustice et lance des attaques contre

l'opresseur principal dans ce roman-Drumont- contre qui est dirigé l'attaque de Mongo Beti lui aussi. Pour ce qui est du côté émotionnel et moral, les idées de Zacharie ne convergent pas avec celles de l'écrivain. Zacharie n'est donc pas un porte-parole aussi évident que Medza par exemple que nous verrons ci-dessous et ses critiques ne sont pas aussi radicales que celles de Banda ou Medza.

c. Medza

Medza est un collégien adolescent qui parvient à obtenir son bachot. Parmi tous les personnages auxquels nous allons faire des références dans la première période de l'œuvre romanesque de Mongo Beti, Medza est le plus éduqué. Il est aussi le personnage dont les idées convergent le plus avec celles de Mongo Beti. Il a une conscience éveillée; il a l'esprit lucide et critique. Selon Melone "Medza c'est l'homme qui critique tout, se moque de tout"⁷ Cette explication étymologique de son nom sert d'appui à notre analyse de l'attitude qu'il adopte dans le roman. Medza n'est pas orphelin comme l'est Banda mais il n'est pas en bon rapport avec son père qu'il considère trop autoritaire. Il voit en lui un oppresseur.

Il comprend assez clairement les problèmes du paysan et c'est pour cette raison qu'il est capable de penser au sort du paysan qu'il considère comme opprimé et négligé et à celui du peuple en général comme ce qu'il dit ici nous l'indique:

Le drame dont souffre notre peuple c'est celui d'un homme laissé dans un monde qui ne lui appartient pas, un monde qu'il n'a pas fait, un monde où il ne comprend rien. C'est le drame d'un homme sans direction intellectuelle, d'un homme marchant à l'aveuglette (MT 250-1).

Devant tant de lucidité, comment ne pas récuser le jugement de Melone lorsqu'il écrit "Medza ne songe qu'à s'amuser." (Melone, 1971).

Medza n'est pas égoïste- ce n'est pas exclusivement à son sort qu'il pense. Il rejette le plaisir facile; il a une vision idéaliste, ce n'est pas un irresponsable. Comparée à celle de tous les autres jeunes personnages bétiens de cette première période, c'est la critique que fait Medza contre l'injustice et l'oppression qui couvre le terrain le plus large. Il est ainsi le plus important des porte-paroles bétiens. Ainsi nous nous accordons avec Serge Brindau qui a remarqué la convergence des idées de Mongo Beti et celles de Medza lorsqu'il écrit: Mongo Beti fait vivre un homme jeune, corps et âme, avec ses idées, ses passions, son intelligence lucide et ses difficultés affectives.

Mais toujours est-il que Medza, incapable comme les autres, de changer le système, incapable aussi de supporter l'injustice, décide de s'exiler. Il commence "une vie d'errance sans fin. Errance à travers les êtres, les pays et les choses" (MT 250) à la recherche de l'idéal.

d. Kris et Bitama

Malgré le titre du roman, le roi Mendouga n'est pas le porte-parole du romancier parce qu'il ne se prononce pas contre l'injustice. Ce sont Kris et Bitama, deux collégiens adolescents qui nous font saisir le message de Mongo Beti, à savoir que l'espoir ne

réside ni avec le chef, ni avec l'administration coloniale. Les deux ont l'esprit critique et éveillé et ils se prononcent contre l'injustice. Kris par exemple s'oppose à l'autorité de son frère aîné, de son père, des notables traditionalistes et des membres de l'administration coloniale. C'est un personnage qui n'aime pas être mené par le bout du nez; il veut toujours s'affirmer; il ne supporte aucune situation d'injustice. Mais Kris n'est pas comme Medza qui pense au sort d'autrui. Il est avant tout un individu qui veut se réaliser en tant que tel.

Bitama lui pense à l'avenir du pays et il veut prendre une carte du P.P.P qui, dit-il "pour la première fois dans l'histoire de notre pays, nous offre un cadre pour l'épanouissement de grands hommes de chez nous" (RM, 128). Bitama est un nationaliste qui rêve déjà de l'indépendance de son pays. D'après lui, les jeunes doivent prendre leur destin en main.

Les Romans de la deuxième période

Remember Ruben (1974) et *La Ruine Presque Cocasse d'un Polichinelle* (1979)

Ces deux romans mettent d'avantage l'accent sur les problèmes proprement politiques du Cameroun que ne le faisaient les romans de la première période. Ils nous décrivent en particulier, avec beaucoup de minutie, les activités de l'administration coloniale et de leurs auxiliaires ainsi que celles des organisations politiques camerounaises pendant toute la période qui précède l'indépendance. Il est à noter aussi que des personnages historiques figurent dans les deux romans (Ruben était un personnage clé de la lutte anti-coloniale au Cameroun et Baba Toura semble de toute évidence incarner Ahmadu Ahidjo, (le Chef d'État camerounais depuis l'indépendance et pendant plusieurs années). C'est sans doute cette ressemblance trop évidente que le romancier s'est senti obligé, à propos de *Remember Ruben*, de faire la mise en garde suivante, qui est loin d'être convaincante: "Toute ressemblance avec des événements passés, des personnages réels ou des contrées connues, est totalement illusoire et, en quelque sorte, doit être considérée comme regrettable". (RR,6).

Nous voulons signaler aussi que la période recouverte par les deux romans est beaucoup plus longue que celle des romans de la première période même si cette période coïncide partiellement avec les romans de la première période. Voici ce qui explique, en partie, les détails contenus dans les deux romans de cette deuxième période. *Remember Ruben* recouvre la période qui commence à la veille de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale (1939) et s'étend jusqu'à la veille de l'indépendance camerounaise en 1960, et *La Ruine...* traite de la première année de l'indépendance camerounaise en 1960 (du 1er janvier 1960 au mois de janvier 1961).

Les porte-paroles de la deuxième période

Notre choix des porte-paroles ici comme dans la première partie sera fonction de la prise de position des différents personnages face à la situation que nous révèle Mongo Beti dans ses romans. Pour nous un porte-parole bétien doit agir contre l'injustice, l'exploitation et l'oppression sous toutes ses formes. Les personnages principaux qui agissent d'une façon positive contre l'oppression et l'exploitation et qui libèrent les opprimés sont au nombre de quatre à savoir Abena, Mor-Zamba, Mor-Kinda et Evariste.

Signalons qu'ils puisent leur inspiration auprès de Ruben Um Nyobe qui était un personnage-clé dans la lutte pour l'indépendance du Cameroun. Dans *Remember Ruben* les quatre personnages ci-dessus nommés ont pour mission de libérer les opprimés. Ils vont tous, chacun à sa façon, bien sûr, réagir contre l'oppression. Trois parmi eux sont pour une réaction violente alors que le quatrième personnage est pour une réaction non-violente.

Abena

Ce personnage est contre l'oppression de l'homme par l'homme. Il ne fréquente aucune école occidentale mais il fait des efforts pour apprendre à lire. Parce qu'il sait lire et écrire on lui décerne le brevet de conducteur de camions militaires. Ensuite, il décide d'aller combattre en Europe. Sa décision d'aller faire la guerre en Europe s'explique par le fait qu'il est obsédé par son désir d'entrer en possession d'un fusil et d'apprendre à s'en servir avec le secret espoir de pouvoir l'utiliser pour libérer, non seulement son ami Mor-Zamba, mais aussi tous les opprimés d'Ekoumdoum.

Abena est le symbole de la révolution. Pour lui ce n'est pas le plaisir personnel qui compte, c'est plutôt le désir d'être libre lui-même et de pouvoir libérer les opprimés. Et quand il part pour la guerre, il reste optimiste et convaincu qu'avec un fusil, il pourra libérer les opprimés de son village. .

Ce qui est frappant c'est qu'Abena, comme les jeunes personnages bétiens de la première période, est conscient qu'il y a de l'injustice, de l'exploitation et de l'oppression au sein de la société. Par ailleurs, il décide à retourner à Ekoumdoum en vue d'y mettre fin à l'injustice sous toutes ses formes; c'est lui qui introduit l'idée de recours à la violence. Même si Abena n'est pas présent physiquement, il est présent dans l'esprit des révolutionnaires pendant toute la durée de la longue marche de libération vers Ekoumdoum.

Mor-Zamba

Selon Mongo Beti le nom Mor-Zamba signifie 'l'homme protégé de Dieu-Le Protégé de Dieu'.(Adegboye,1981). Pour sa part E Mveng explique que dans la langue Ewondo le nom veut dire 'Créateur de tout'. (Mveng, 1963). Le nom est donc significatif. C'est l'homme qui est protégé de Dieu qui peut tout créer. Mor-Zamba n'est pas instruit mais il fait des efforts pour apprendre à lire assez bien en bantou mais très mal en français (RR,233). Il a beaucoup d'expériences pratiques de la vie (RR,28). Il participe à toutes sortes d'activités. Comme Banda, Mor-Zamba est paysan, mais il est plus que cela. Nous le voyons tour à tour apprenti chauffeur, infirmier, et prisonnier. Nous le voyons participer aussi aux activités politiques de Kola-Kola. La description qu'on nous fait de lui c'est celle d'un homme de nature assez douce. Abena le décrit comme "une merveille de patience et d'indulgence" (RR, 36), comme "la compassion même" (RR,308).

L'impression que nous pouvons retirer de tout ce qu'il dit lui-même c'est qu'il est un personnage sensible à la souffrance des autres. "Il faut faire quelque chose!" crie-t-il quand il entend souffrir Ruben, "ils vont le tuer!" (RR, 189). Mor-Zamba ne peut pas supporter l'injustice. Mais cet homme qui aime agir d'une façon positive pour libérer les opprimés est un apôtre de la non-violence. C'est son *modus operandi* dans la révolution

qui le différencie de ses deux amis Mor-Kinda et Evariste. Lorsque ceux-ci dissent qu'il faut verser le sang, qu'il faut tuer pour réaliser leur but, lorsqu'ils dissent que la fin justifie les moyens, Mor-Zamba répond qu'il ne faut pas tuer et que la fin ne justifie jamais les moyens. Son opposition à la violence est toujours véhémence.

Et même après la victoire de son groupe et leur conquête du pouvoir à Ekoumdoum, Mor-Zamba reste toujours non violent et il décide qu'il ne faut pas exterminer les vaincus, il faut plutôt les passer en jugement. (RR,305). Il est idéaliste et il est convaincu qu'on ne peut pas établir la justice alors qu'on est soi-même injuste.

Georges Mor-Kinda (Jo Le Jongleur)

Mor-Kinda n'est pas adolescent comme la plupart des personnages bétéiens de la première période. Il aime agir selon sa propre volonté. Il est déjà assez âgé pour exercer la profession de boy chez Sandrinelli et pour être investi des fonctions officielles de gardien du groupe scolaire. Nous pouvons dire qu'il est aussi âgé que Zacharie dans *Le Pauvre Christ de Bomba* et comme Zacharie il n'a pas reçu aucune éducation occidentale formelle. Plutôt, il a accumulé des expériences au contact des milieux européens qu'il a eu à servir et il connaît à fond les habitudes des Blancs.

Mor-Kinda considère les Blancs comme des exploiters et des oppresseurs qui s'enrichissent au détriment des Noirs et des masses. Voilà pourquoi il décide de les voler. Mais signalons qu'il ne vole pas chez les pauvres. Son attitude est donc une réaction contre les riches qu'il considère comme des exploiters. Il est contre l'exploitation, l'oppression et l'injustice; il veut libérer la race noire et fonder une société égalitaire. Il est plus mûr que les personnages bétéiens de la première période et il a une vision de l'avenir qu'il exprime en ces termes:

“(...) il m'arrive de me transporter cent ans, deux cents ans dans l'avenir. Vrai, tout à coup c'est un autre monde, dont je puis douter que je touche pour ainsi dire du doigt. Les nôtres sont là dans leurs villages, dans leurs communes, dans leurs villes débarassés des Sandrinelli, des De Gaulle, des Saringalas, des Baba Toura [tous les oppresseurs] comme les peuples du monde; ils vaquent à l'accomplissement de leurs ambitions politiques ou matérielles; ils travaillent (...) En somme, ils sont devenus quelconques” (RPC 82-3).

Pour pouvoir établir une telle société, Mor-Kinda voit l'importance du combat sans lequel on ne peut pas conquérir sa liberté. C'est lui qui rappelle à Mor-Zamba ce fameux dicton de Ruben “La seule arme de conquête de sa liberté c'est le combat...” (RR 263). Comme Abena, il voit la nécessité de posséder un fusil parce qu'il est adepte de la violence. Il est persuadé qu'il faut quelquefois recourir à la ruse pour ‘amener les gens où tu veux qu'ils viennent’ (RR 104). Alors que Mor-Zamba est pacifiste et non-violent, Mor-Kinda est partisan des méthodes violentes et est prêt à tout pour atteindre son but. Pour lui, la fin justifie les moyens et sa règle d'or c'est: ‘oeil pour oeil, dent pour dent’

L'explication étymologique de son nom que Mongo Beti nous a fournie nous le révèle comme quelqu'un qui aime bouger “Kinda veut dire le voyage. Mor-Kinda c'est

l'homme qui voyage, l'aventurier qui est partout". Mais nous voulons ajouter qu'il est plus qu'un aventurier du type des jeunes personnages bétiens de la première période qui se lancent dans une vie d'errance sans aucun but défini. Mor-Kinda est un aventurier qui connaît son but: aller libérer les opprimés.

Evariste- Le Sapak

De tous les porte-paroles bétiens de cette deuxième période, Evariste est le plus jeune; il n'a que 14 ans et il est le seul à avoir fréquenté l'école occidentale. Apparemment donc il est comme les jeunes porte-paroles bétiens de la première période du fait qu'il est adolescent et qu'il a fréquenté l'école. Pourtant Evariste est différent d'eux parce qu'il est révolutionnaire. Ce que Mongo Beti nous a confié à propos de ce personnage illumine parfaitement ses traits de caractère:

Mais à mon avis ce qui le caractérise d'avantage c'est qu'il n'appartient pas à la même génération que ses deux aînés (Mor-Zamba et Mor-Kinda). Je l'appelle le sapak: le sapak chez nous ça se disait à un moment donné des jeunes gens, très jeunes. Dans le pidgin de la ville au Cameroun ça s'appelle aussi 'small boy' ou bien 'school boy', c'est-à-dire le petit garçon qui encore a un esprit d'écolier et c'étaient des gosses qui étaient radicaux, qui avaient dépassé le stade de la peur(...) qui étaient prêts à aller beaucoup plus loin dans la violence que leurs aînés- voilà Evariste. (Adegboye, 1981)

Evariste décide d'abandonner l'école du fait qu'il ne se crée pas d'emploi pour ceux qui, comme lui, fréquentent le collège technique alors que les privilégiés qui sont les enfants des amis de Biture (le chef d'Etat-Ahidjo) et qui fréquentent les lycées ont un avenir sûr. Rappelons que Banda quitte l'école parce que, d'après lui, on y perd son temps et qu'on y cultive la terre au lieu d'apprendre des choses utiles. Quant à Medza il critique le contenu du programme scolaire. Evariste quant à lui pense déjà à l'avenir et au boulot qu'il peut trouver après ses études. Nous voyons clairement que sa décision de quitter le collège technique est une réaction contre l'inégalité de chances qui existe au sein de la société et qui fait que pour des gens comme lui, il est impossible d'obtenir le moindre boulot sans avoir, au préalable, graissé les pattes à qui de droit. Ayant des principes, Evariste lui refusera toute compromission, s'adhère au mouvement révolutionnaire pour lutter contre l'injustice et l'inégalité.

A cause de son éducation de base, Evariste paraît parfois trop nourri de livres, mais c'est un stratège efficace. Par exemple, c'est lui qui souligne l'importance d'une guerre psychologique à Ekoumdoum. De plus c'est Evariste le plus savant des trois révolutionnaires et dont la dialectique était la plus pertinente (*RPC* 174) qui, avant leur marche sur le village d'Ekoumdoum, fait prévoir un point de mission, afin qu'ils puissent aisément se retrouver en cas de difficulté. Remarquons ici qu'il pense comme un militaire. Il y a donc chez le sapak l'esprit méthodique que les autres révolutionnaires reconnaissent et apprécient.

Evariste, comme Mor-Kinda, est pour la violence au service de la révolution. Selon Evariste “ils [nos adversaires] ne se gênent pas eux; pourquoi nous gênerions-nous, nous autres?” (RPC 219).

Rappelons que nous avons identifié quatre porte-parole bétéens dans les deux romans de cette deuxième période et que chacun d’eux a ses traits de caractère particuliers. Abena est un révolutionnaire qui privilégie la violence pour réaliser son but. Mor-Kinda lui aussi est un apôtre de la violence mais il est un révolutionnaire qui aime s’amuser, qui aime boire. Evariste est un révolutionnaire dogmatique toujours prêt à aller à toutes les extrémités. Entre ces trois personnages un élément commun: le goût de la violence. Opposé à eux est Mor-Zamba qui est l’idéaliste, le pacifiste, le pragmatique qui abhorre l’idée de la violence. Mais malgré ces différences, ces personnages réussissent à mener ensemble une révolution et ils prennent le pouvoir à Ekoumdoum. C’est que malgré tout il y a une profonde entente entre eux, et cette entente s’explique par le fait que les choses qu’ils rejettent sont communes.

Conclusion

Nous espérons que notre communication a mis en évidence un certain nombre d’aspects du comportement et des réactions des porte-paroles bétéens dans l’œuvre romanesque bétienne des deux premières périodes. Nous avons souligné la ressemblance qui unit ces porte-paroles et en particulier les caractéristiques qui distinguent ceux des premiers romans de ceux des romans de la deuxième période.

Pour ce qui est de la ressemblance, tous les porte-paroles bétéens ont en commun un sens critique particulièrement développé et un esprit perpétuellement en éveil, avec comme conséquence la mise en cause de tous les aspects de la société qu’ils trouvent insupportables.

Ce qui distingue le plus les jeunes porte-paroles des romans de la première période de ceux des romans de la deuxième période peut se résumer ainsi: alors que les porte-paroles bétéens des quatre premiers romans ne font aucun effort d’adaptation à la société dont ils sont issus et choisissent délibérément eux-mêmes la solution de l’exil, ceux de la deuxième période font tout pour se faire accepter par la société d’origine et mettent tout en œuvre pour y reprendre pied après avoir été contraints à l’exil. C’est ce qui explique notre répartition de l’œuvre romanesque bétienne en deux périodes. Notre répartition correspond aux deux périodes de l’œuvre romanesque bétienne que sépare un silence d’une quinzaine d’années.

La différence entre les réactions des porte-paroles peut s’expliquer aussi par leur âge et leur niveau d’expérience. Hormis Zacharie du *Pauvre Christ de Bomba*, les autres porte-paroles bétéens de la première période sont des adolescents à peu près du même âge que le romancier lorsqu’il écrivait ses quatre premiers romans. Et parce qu’ils sont des adolescents, leur niveau d’expérience est un peu restreint. A cause de leur jeunesse et leur manque d’expérience, ils cèdent facilement à l’impatience; c’est ceci qui explique en partie leur instabilité.

Il est à signaler aussi que les périodes recouvertes par les quatre premiers romans sont très courtes: aucun des romans ne couvre une période supérieure à trois mois. Aussi nous ne pouvons pas assister à l’évolution systématique des porte-paroles.

Ils sont comme saisis à un moment précis de leur jeunesse. Par contre, la période recouverte par les deux romans de la deuxième période est plus longue que celle de la première période: comme les porte-paroles de ces deux romans sont les mêmes, les périodes qu'ils recouvrent doivent s'additionner. Nous obtenons ainsi une tranche de vie d'une durée de 22 ans. C'est dire que nous avons le loisir de voir évoluer les porte-paroles qui finissent par être plus mûrs que ceux de la première période.

Un autre élément qui nous aide à expliquer la différence dans la prise de position des porte-paroles des deux périodes c'est leur rapport avec les autres. Les jeunes de la première période agissent la plupart du temps à titre individuel. Si parfois il y a des rapports les liant aux autres, ce genre de rapport se situe plutôt sur le plan émotionnel. Par contre, les porte-paroles bétiens des romans de la deuxième période ne sont pas des personnages isolés. Il y a chez eux un désir profond d'entretenir de bons rapports avec les autres membres de la société. Il est à noter aussi que pour ceux-ci, leur amitié est moins fondée sur l'attrait émotionnel que sur la communauté de vues politiques. Ils comprennent mieux la nécessité d'agir ensemble pour réaliser leur but.

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A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED MEDIA PHOTOGRAPHS OF DEMOCRATIC NIGERIA'S PRESIDENTS 1979 – 2018

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Abstract

It is common practice that almost all commercial and private print media in Nigeria make use of photographic images. This has made it possible for national and international engagements of Presidents to be visually documented. Also, other political personalities have often times taken advantage of the print media photographs as propaganda machinery because they are easily discernible to both the literate and non-literate audience. In spite of the widespread usage and acceptance of photographic images, its art historical review and intellectual study, especially in the print media industry have received less attention. This paper therefore attempts to make an analysis of media photographs of Nigeria's democratic Presidents to bridge the scholarly gap identified.

Keywords: Photography, Print Media, Visual Communication and Review

Introduction

Arising from the several agitations for political emancipation from colonial rule in the 1940s-1960s, notable African nationalist like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (1904-1990), started the publication of a newspaper in Nigeria known as— *The West African Pilot* on November 2, 1937. The emerging news media was used as a veritable tool for the propagation of political independence from the then colonial administration. While acknowledging the role of political and satirical images in such newspapers, Fosu (1986) notes that, artists like Akinola Lasekan (1916-1974) produced “cartoons that were simple but conventional illustrations with symbolic meanings that were easy for the average reader to understand”. Lasekan's career as a mass media artist was widely appreciated. He emerged during the period that Nigeria was clamouring for political independence. Fosu further notes that Lasekan's cartoons came to depict colonialism as being unjust and that nationalism was self-evident.

Given the attainment of independence in Nigeria in 1960 and the heightened political activities, a new set of media outfits were established. Odorume (2012) observed that “the periods between 1960 -1966 saw many government newspapers springing up”. One of them was ‘*The Morning Post*’ established by the Tafawa Balewa government in 1961. The paper ceased to exist after his government was toppled in a military coup on 15 January, 1966. Between 1960 to date, many newspapers and magazines have come on board and have published severally in Nigeria. The aim being; some to propagate the activities of government and some as propaganda tools for various political groups. These propagations, stepped up the need for stories to be accompanied with images. As Ugiomoh (2009) notes, “The birth of the print media like the newspaper, magazine, billboard adverts and so on has vulgarised the photographic images in Nigeria as in other parts of the world”. On the role of photographic images in enhancing visual communication, Dakyes (2012) affirms that

photography has undoubtedly found relevance in all spheres of life, as it enhances the understanding of text messages, creates conviction, impresses memory and interest in the print media. Photography is playing a significant role in corporate promotion and product marketing, above all, it enhances visual literacy. Photography has become an indispensable phenomenon.

Thus, this paper seeks to examine how the print media photographs of Nigeria’s past and current democratic Presidents have not only served visual and intellectual interest and shaped public opinion towards governance, but have significantly contributed to art historical discourse.

Print Media Photographs

In order not to distort the historical context of events, the randomly selected print media photographs are chronologically presented in this manner. (1) Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, (Plate i). He is the first democratically elected President. He ruled Nigeria between October 1, 1979 and December 31, 1983. (2) Chief Olusegun Mathew Okikiola Aremu Obasanjo (Plate ii). He is the second democratically elected President. He ruled Nigeria in this capacity between May 29, 1999 and May 29, 2007. (3) The third Nigerian President in this category is Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’Adua (Plate iii). He ruled the country between May 29, 2007 and May, 2010. (4) Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan (Plate iv). Jonathan ascended as the country’s President on May 6, 2010 to May 29, 2015. (5) The fifth democratically elected President Muhammadu Buhari (Plate v). Buhari ascended power on May 29, 2015. He is the President and Commander in Chief of the Armed forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as at the time of this paper.

Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari

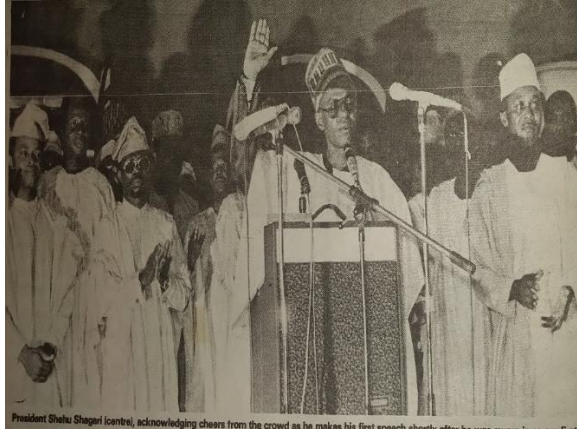


Plate i. Alhaji Shehu Shagari

Source: *New Nigerian* Newspaper. October 2, 1979. Page 10.

Plate i is a monochromatic photograph of President Shehu Shagari, acknowledging cheers from the crowd as he makes his first speech shortly after he was sworn in on October 1, 1979 as the first democratically elected President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

There are five figures in the front row of the photograph. Other figures, not so discernible, are dotted behind the first row. The President is depicted with his right arm raised. Other figures as seen in the photograph are watching keenly or clapping, probably in appreciation of the President's speech. Their facial expressions suggest fulfillment as witnesses to their principal (the President) who is acknowledging cheers from the crowd. Several microphones are arranged in front of the President signifying the presence of the press.

Captured in black and white, the scenario portrays the President in a flowing *babanriga* (big gown) typical of the Hausa and Fulani way of dressing. His cap which normally goes with this nature of attire is peaceably perched on his head and slightly tilted backwards to show his forehead. Contrastingly, the other figures on the left appear in similar attire but their caps are worn in a different pattern that is mostly typical of the Yoruba ethnic group of Western Nigeria. While the President appears larger than other figures due the camera angle, the light has also cast some shadows on most of the figures behind thereby giving the impression of a large crowd in silhouette. The photograph is reminiscent of the ancient Egyptian style of painting whereby, the Pharaoh on the throne or the most important personalities are painted in proper relative size, next in size is the Queen, while other figures may be smaller than the Pharaoh. Remarkably, the photograph, (plate i) is an historical visual, which places it among other photographs presented.

Chief Olusegun Mathew Okikiola Aremu Obasanjo

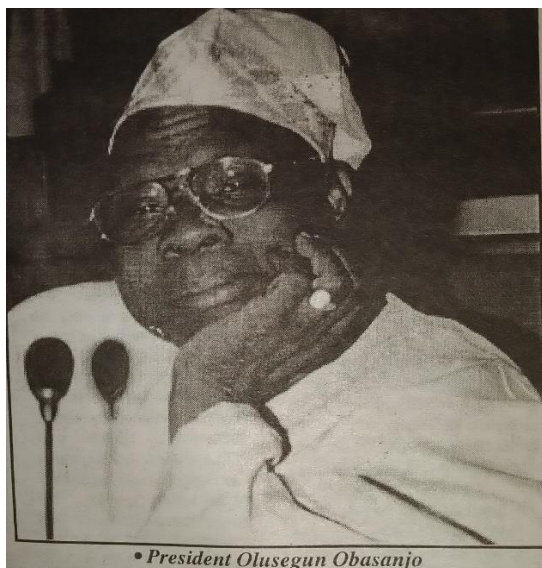


Plate ii: Olusegun Obasanjo

Source: *Nigerian Tribune* Newspaper. September 20, 2004. Page 16.

Plate ii is a close up portrait of President Obasanjo. He is captured in his usual style of traditional Yoruba attire. His cap, worn in like manner, is slanted towards the left side of his face, almost touching the left ear, which is an indication of the President's marital status. According to Olusegun (2018),

turning the cap to the left side indicates a man is married, while turning it to the right indicates he is still single. Some take it farther than an indication of marital status. If a man's cap is lifted up, it shows pride, if it turned to the front, it indicates he is tired of life, and if turned to the back, it can be said that he is a man who does not care.

However, Adegoke (2018) is of the opinion that,

the marriage attribution is largely new and recent with all these *alaga iduro* phenomenon at Yoruba weddings just finding a way to spice up the whole ceremony by asking the groom to tilt his cap to his left immediately his dowry is accepted just to signify he is now married and his new spouse heart at his left— a form of symbolism of the heart at the left.

Symbolically too, is the President's facial expression. His head, which is comfortably resting on his left hand is hosting a slightly grinning face. He is, maybe listening to an audience. The overall composure of the President exudes contemplation in the midst of prevailing circumstances of the President of the most populous black nation in the world. Apart from his impressive military career, he has ruled Nigeria twice; first as a military Head of State (1976-1979) and second as a democratically elected President (1999-2007). He is a controversial personality too because of some of his stance on national issues. For instance, he was imprisoned in 1995 by the late military Head of

State, General Sani Abacha on charges of plotting a coup. One year after his release from prison in 1998, he contested and won an election to highest political office in Nigeria. He subsequently set up a reconciliation committee headed by Justice Oputa, which he appeared and testified.

Significantly, the individual traits of a leader cannot be overlooked in an analysis of this nature. The personality traits of acclaimed leaders– national and international are a strong force for national integration and transformation.

Alhaji Umaru Musa Yar’Adua.



Plate iii: Umaru Musa Yar’Adua

Source: *Nigerian Tribune* Newspaper. May 6, 2009. Page 1

President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua resumed office as Nigeria’s President on May 29, 2007. However he was plagued by reoccurring health crisis that saw him spending sometimes outside office attending to his health situation. Plate iii depicts the President resuming office after a two-week leave. This is one out of several of such leaves. Looking keenly at the camera man, the President is accompanied by aide de camp (ADC) in full military attire. Also visible is a third figure, probably one of the President’s aides. This photograph was published amidst speculation about his health. Nigerians may have eagerly been looking forward to seeing his visual images on national television or on the pages of newspapers as evidence of a physically and mentally fit President capable of continuing in office. For instance Keyamo (2009) notes that;

last week, after many months of speculation, official sources at the Presidency finally admitted that the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua is afflicted with an ailment called Acute Pericarditis. Since that announcement, we have heard and seen different opinions, both on the internet and from different medical personnel in the country as to the nature of the ailment.

In addition to these, the President was on most occasions, flown abroad for routine check-ups, which is an indictment of lack of adequate and functional modern facilities in our healthcare system.

The possibility that citizens, especially in Africa, seem to rely on facial appearance, body weight and size for determining the health status of an individual, places this photograph on a pedestal of ideal evidence of the President's state of physical wellbeing at this point of Nigeria's political history. The President looked fit and capable of resuming office in order to perform his official assignments.

Goodluck Ebele Azikiwe Jonathan

Another photograph discussed is Plate iv. It depicts President Jonathan at the extreme right. On the left of this image is the then Chief Justice of Nigeria (CJN) Justice Aloysius Katsina-Alu. In between this duo are two other unidentified figures—one is dressed in the traditional attire of a Solicitor and Barrister of Law while the fourth figure, dressed in full military attire is captured in full ceremonial uniform. Jonathan, who by religious inclination is a Christian, is seen clutching with both hands, what appears to be a Bible. He is putting on a fedora hat which over his tenure as President became one of his signature attires.



Plate iv: Goodluck Jonathan.

Source: *The Punch* Newspaper. May 30, 2011. Page 1.

The presidential sash bearing green, white and yellow colours runs down from his left shoulder downwards, signifying that he has formally assumed office as the President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Significantly, according to Raeside (2013) “A presidential sash is a cloth sash worn by presidents of many nations in the world. Such sashes are worn by presidents in Africa, Asia, Europe, and most notably Latin America”. Sashes are colourfully patterned after the nation's official flag. The CJN appears to be administering the oath from a document in his hands. This seems to be the Nigerian constitution equally designed in the green and white colours of Nigeria. Trust in front of the figures is a microphone to ensure clarity.

The historical significance of this photograph brings to the fore the events preceding the 2011 Nigeria general elections and the aftermath of same. President Jonathan came to power in May 6, 2010 after the death of his predecessor President Umaru Yar'Adua, who because of his demise could not complete his first term in office.

Party members had argued that a Northerner be nominated to complete Yar'Adua's tenure.

In spite of all these, Jonathan was nominated as the party's flag bearer for the People's Democratic Party (PDP). He defeated his main challenger, Muhammadu Buhari of the Congress for Progressive Change (CPC), in the April 2011 general elections. This supposedly sparked up rioting across some Northern states of Nigeria, with reported deaths, burnt down shops, Churches and Mosques. This act of violence significantly undermined the numerous peace accord for a peaceful election often signed by the major actors in the democratic history of Nigeria. The violence in itself was orchestrated by lack of trust based on ethnicity and religion. Such insinuations were captured by Josiah and Johnson (2012) who note that;

After the Nigeria's independence in October 1, 1960, and subsequently after successfully handing over of governance from military to civilian rule on May 29, 1999, it was a common fact that every tribe (sic) has the freedom to contest for the presidential seat and be voted for. Unfortunately, the people in the Southern part of Nigeria were later denied of this civic right, until the long awaited dream came in Dr. Jonathan during the April 2011 general elections.

Trust and understanding are therefore the parameters needed to govern a multi-ethnic country like Nigeria. Oath taking (Plate iv) is a visual reminder of a president's promise to keep the unity of the country.

Muhammadu Buhari

Plate v captures a moment ascribed to the visit of President Buhari to his farm in Daura, Katsina State of Nigeria. Clad in a white *caftan* with a matching cap, the President is sighted with his left hand on his waist and his right placed on top of the fence. Other figures who probably are his farm attendants or visitors can be seen in the background explaining a point to the President who is starring fixedly at his cows. The grazing cows are mostly white and black in colour, oblivious of the august farmer in their midst. The ranch looks simple, with the shady tress in the background creating a feeling of perspective and an impression of a large expanse of land with a favourable climate of sky blue clouds.

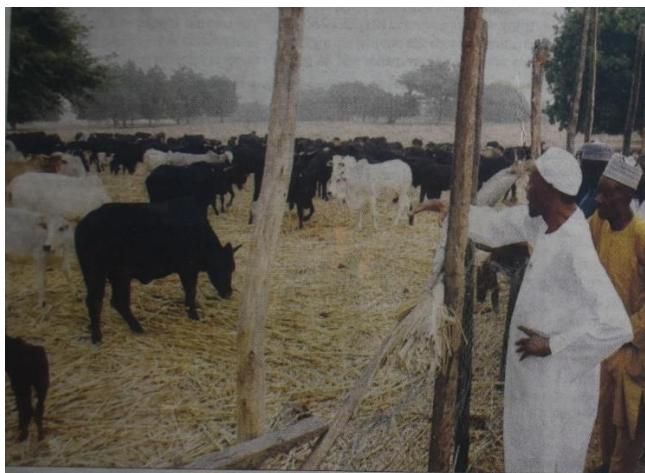


Plate v: President Muhammadu Buhari.

Source: *The Punch* Newspaper. December 11, 2017. p. 1.

Culturally, the typical *Fulani* ethnic group is associated with the raising of livestock. They are a semi-nomadic, pastoralist living in the central regions of Nigeria and some semi-arid parts of West Africa. Thus, the name *Fulani* has become synonymous with grazing and cattle ownership. The visual impression of President Buhari attending to his cattle (Plate v), lends credence to his *Fulani* origin. He was born to a *Fulani* family in *Daura*, Katsina State.

As a prerequisite and as a constitutional requirement on assets declaration for public office holders, President Buhari, according to Eribake (2015), had declared in 2015 “that his holdings in his farm include 270 herds of cattle, 25 sheep, 5 horses, a variety of birds and a number of economic trees”. This photographic evidence brings to fore the cultural milieu that abounds within the *Fulani* ethnic group which historically put, is the domestication of cattle and other species of livestock. The cultural values of the photographs under scrutiny and its contextual significance can be viewed from various angles. Firstly is that in spite of the President’s position as the number one citizen of the country, he finds time to embrace animal husbandry as a hobby. The second aspect is the recent security situation in some parts of the country arising from farmers and herdsmen crises. The Federal Government of Nigeria in a bid to stem these crises had proposed the establishment of *RUGA*. Adedunle (2019) notes that “*Ruga* is a Hausa word for cow settlement”. The project requires State Governors to provide land in their state to Federal Ministry of Agriculture for the *Ruga* settlement project which will be strictly for cow bearers and anyone into animal husbandry. On the contrary, the Federal Government had insisted, according to Mudashir (2019) that;

Ruga Settlement that seeks to settle migrant pastoral families simply means rural settlement in which animal farmers, not just cattle herders, will be settled in an organized place with provision of necessary and adequate basic amenities such as schools, hospitals, road networks, vet clinics, markets and manufacturing entities that will process and add value to meats and animal products.

Despite the assurances of the Federal Government to Nigerians that the *ruga* settlement will help resolve the Fulani herdsmen crises across Nigeria, many Nigerians are afraid that the project is a step towards *Fulanisation* of Nigeria. This paper notes that the photograph of President Buhari tending to his cows (Plate v), was used by some social media commentators (Facebook, twitter, Instagram) to support their argument against the establishment of the project by noting that it is a Fulani backed agenda, and that most of the Fulani citizenship claim in Nigeria is questionable.

Conclusion

The paper hinges on published print media photographs of democratically elected Presidents of Nigeria. It analyses the photographs based on their socio-cultural milieu while taking into cognisance the aesthetics, historical and political context in which the photographs were taken and utilised. The paper attempts to further assert photographs as a creative endeavour worthy of scholarship. For example, Alhaji Shehu Shagari in joyful salutation heralds the first review among democrats. Olusegun Obasanjo is captured in a contemplative mood, Alhaji Shehu Musa Yar'Adua in an alert mood, Goodluck Jonathan holds a Bible taking oath at inauguration while Muhammadu Buhari watches over the herds of cow in his farm. Thus, the photographs covers socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-religious milieu of the Presidents reviewed.

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HOW CAN WE TELL THE DANCE AND THE MUSIC FROM THE DRAMA?: AN AESTHETIC DISCOURSE OF THE TIV KWAGH-HIR PERFORMANCE

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Abstract

In performance discourse, specifically of theatre, the view of dance, music and drama as either independent or interdependent arts as well as their associated relationship in performance is still rife in polemics. Evidently, the relationship of these arts varies from place to place and depends on the aesthetic consciousness and sensibilities of given cultural people. Put differently, there are cultural and traditional perspectives to their treatment in performance as either disparate or co-habiting arts: ordinarily viewed as the willful mingling or assemblage of related art forms, or as an organic form— a complex intertwining relation of some inner diversity. This paper is not merely the ways African performances as *Kwagh-hir* are experienced, but the manner appraisals or judgments of African performances are made, and the fragile conclusions that are sometimes reached to vitiate their true nature. No doubt, knowledge of the true nature of the phenomenon of performance is still inchoate and evolving, the paper however affirms African performances as *Kwagh-hir* theatre as a triplex: an organic entity that intricately weaves dance, music and drama into a form. The paper concludes that the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* is not a temporary amalgamation of entities in a harmonious form but a complex fluid mix of performative properties that defy distilling into disparate entities because each one is framed in the other.

Keywords: Dance, Music, Drama, Aesthetics, Performance

Introduction

Perspectives about the nature of the relationship between dance and music in the context of their intertwining relationship with other arts, especially drama, are versatile and still rage in disputation today among scholars. Nevertheless, it is a common experience to see the intermingling of these arts in performances of varied traditions across cultures of the world. Given this, a number of scholars have acknowledged and postulated on this relationship. Bode Osanyin echoes the idea of many scholars and practitioners by referring to this phenomenon, in the context of performance in Africa, as “African Total Theatre”. He goes on to define the concept as the “assemblage of all African art forms in a highly concentrated, heightened and dynamic theatrical event” (154). According to him, “the African Total Theatre explores the eclectic quality of the African indigenous

theatrical forms in which music, dance, poetry, masking and topicality are, not only well blended, but also constitute important integral components” (154). Osanyin’s description may postulate, at face value, a willful interaction of these arts and not a performance with inherent and inevitably interdependent aspects of a form. Meki Nzewi also suggests the idea of a temporary amalgamation of these arts in performance:

If one ever dares to observe that drama unincorporated with music and dance is alien to the theatrical sensibilities of the unalienated Nigerian of any ethnic background, the chances are that he would be hounded, branded and written off as a heretic by our core of Euro-American oriented literary dramatists and stage critics. But the truth remains that stage presentations not structured to, sequenced by, vected through or tipped with music and dance or stylized movement is alien to the inherent Nigerian theatre sensibilities. (531)

Admittedly, the association of these arts in performance may be perceived variedly in terms of their conceptions relative to given cultural contexts and aesthetic sensibilities. However, in the aesthetic consciousness of many African cultural milieus, music, dance and drama as arts and or theatre, are taken to be conceptually organic and unified to such extent that the idea of differentiating or observing a strict dichotomy, especially between music and dance, constitutes an alien enterprise. This finds expression in the performance notion of the Idoma people of Nigeria who conceive these performative arts under an umbrella name called ‘*Ije*’. According to Jenkeri Okwori

Idoma music and dance are interrelated and interdependent. Unlike the Western style of categorization whereby music is defined separately from dance, in Idoma dance is realized within the framework of music and vice-versa. It is almost unrealistic to find a song in Idoma which does not have a labour complement like grinding, cutting, pounding or dancing. In the same vein it is even more unrealistic to dance without music. (1)

The word ‘*Ije*’ is ‘play’ and embodies the performing arts of dance, music, and song. Further, Okwori explains that these performative ideations are distinguished with adjectives: *Ije-Oje* (dance), *Ije-Ogwo* (Music) and *Ije-Ogwo* (song). Therefore, “each cannot stand on its own and make meaning until a qualifying term is attached to determine the aspect (Okwori 2). Although Charles Keil (cited in Hagher 167) claims that there is no such word as ‘music’ in Tiv culture, Iyorwuese Hagher however counters and clarifies that it is not entirely correct to say the term does not exist as such is misleading. He then explains that “music in Tiv does not exist solely by itself. It is used for dancing or singing or as a song as in *imar* (flute) or leading processions” (Hagher 167). While this clarification is true, it is however a limited view of the truth as music is an intricate part of the entire gamut of theatre, whether dance or drama, as well as its use in social, political and economic life of a society. Hagher, elsewhere, (*The Kwagh-hir ...* 182) is more assertive and lucid on the matter in reference to *Kwagh-hir* theatre, when he contended that “the *Kwagh-hir* is a complex art that cannot really be meaningfully

dissected into its various artistic constituents. Rather, the *Kwagh-hir* expresses a unity where many of its elements can be discovered.”

This paper navigates the complex conceptual vicissitude of the phenomenon of performance especially in African aesthetic thought and specifically exemplifies the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* theatre as a specialised performance infrastructure and institution with the aim of revealing a typically unique African performance phenomenon.

Conceptual Overview of Aesthetics and Performance

Aesthetics is often referred to as philosophy of art because it is essentially about the appreciation of beauty. As a philosophical enterprise, aesthetics involves the analysis and evaluation of art. In the notion of Sebastian Gardner, aesthetics strongly deals with the study of the nature of art. He problematises what defines a work of art, and what makes our experience of it different from that of “real life” (93).

While art, as much as aesthetics, is difficult to define in one breath because of its conceptual elasticity, many philosophers endorse the position that works of art exist only in the minds of their creators and of their hearers, viewers, or readers. There is a sense in which the definition of art encapsulates the totality of man’s creation. In other words, art is man’s creation; the aspect of his culture that essentially functions for his edification and contemplation. This is why in aesthetics, natural beauty or natural creation is not recognised as art in spite of our description of natural objects or reality as beautiful. Nevertheless, the question of whether art can provide knowledge of or insight into reality is as old as philosophy itself. Therefore one approach to giving it a sense is simply to give a list of examples of the kind of features that are aesthetic: beauty, ugliness, daintiness, dumpiness, elegance, and so on. A more ambitious approach is to say that the list of aesthetic characteristics is non-arbitrary in virtue of a crucial role that beauty and ugliness play: other characteristics, such as, elegance, are ways of being beautiful or ugly. Either way, it is clear that works of art have many non-aesthetic characteristics, and nature has many aesthetic characteristics. Thus, works of art form part of the province of aesthetics and “the uniqueness of art’s relation with reality consists in the fact that art opens up the aesthetic potentials of reality, and assert its ideals of man and life by means of aesthetically assimilating it” (Kanu 224).

The contradiction above is at the heart of the problem of aesthetics in the context of aesthetic judgment. Little wonder that perceptions vary across cultures and amongst individuals. In extrapolating this, performance as an embodiment of aesthetics, with its characteristically ephemeral nature, is among the casualties in the definitional problems of aesthetic discourse till date. Therefore, the connection between the art of music, dance and drama as integral performance aesthetic art, raises a fundamental aesthetic question which has motivated the assumption of some aestheticians that the “union of music and dance is a pure accident or a matter of fashion.” To them “dancing is a dramatic art” (qtd in Apeh 233). This could be justified from the theoretical assumption that Greek drama emerged from choric dance.

What the term “performance” means today has become increasingly difficult in conceptual terms since it shifted beyond its theatrical orientation. This shift may be why Diana Taylor notes that “performance is not always about art. It is wide-ranging and

difficult practice to define and holds many, at times conflicting, meanings and possibilities” (6). The term is today used in the theatre, in anthropology and the visual arts, in business, sports, politics, and science. Across these fields, it signals a wide range of social behaviours. Marvin Carlson confirms that “it has become extremely popular in recent years in a wide range of activities in the arts, in literature, and in the social sciences” (1). In view of this conceptual ramification, Mary Strine, Beverly Long and Mary Hopkins have averred that performance is “an essentially contested concept” (qtd in Carlson 1). Guillermo Gomez-Pena also observes this conceptual difficulty of performance and asserts that:

...performance art is a conceptual ‘territory’ with fluctuating weather and borders; a place where contradiction, ambiguity, and paradox are not only tolerated, but also encouraged. The borders of our ‘performance country’ are open to nomads, migrants, hybrids and outcasts. (qtd in Diana Taylor 3)

Evident from several submissions of scholars as above, the word “performance”, in a broader transnational, trans-disciplinary, multilingual context, has a wide range of meanings. Carlson, in the preface of his book: *Performance: a critical introduction*, elucidates on the wider cultural level of “performance”. According to him, it

...has continued to develop as a central metaphor and critical tool for a bewildering variety of studies, covering almost every aspect of human activity. Performance discourse and its close theoretical partner, “performativity”, today dominate critical discourse not only in all manners of cultural studies, but also in business, economics and technology.

Richard Schechner provides an encompassing definition of performance that is important here: pretending to be someone other than oneself, is a common example of a particular kind of human behaviour he phrased as “restored behaviour” (qtd. in Carlson 3). The import of this conception is its pointer to a quality not involved with the display of skills but with certain distance between “self” and behaviour, analogous to that between an actor and the role this actor plays on stage. Even if an action on stage is identical to one in real life, on stage it is considered “performed” and off stage merely “done”. Today, the meaning of performance is sought in its praxis, its performance. Some scholars have associated it with, not only doing, but also with re-doing. Marvin Carlson puts it more succinctly thus: “performance implies not just doing or even re-doing, but a self consciousness about doing and re-doing on the part of performers and spectators, an implication of great interest to our highly self-conscious society” (Preface ix).

Notwithstanding its tumultuous notion, it must be noted that when performance emerged as a distinct genre in the early 1970s, a number of its practitioners utilised distinctly theatrical approaches. Carlson explains that “the very presence of an audience watching an action, however neutral or non-matrixed, and presented in whatever unconventional space, inevitably called up associations with theatre” (114). Therefore, despite the myriad ways in which performance has been interpreted by ethnographers,

anthropologists, linguists and cultural theorists, the context of specific interest here is framed by Marcel Danesi's definition. In an elaboration of the concept of performance as theatre, he appropriately defines it as referring

...to the physical means employed for executing an art text before an audience ... given spatial prominence through a raised stage, and they typically involve props and paraphernalia such as costumes, masks, musical instruments, and materials of various kinds ... according to a socially defined tradition. They are prepared, scheduled, and set up in advance; (with) beginning and an end; they unfold in terms of a structured sequence of parts; and they are coordinated for public participation ... (it is) reflective and constitutive of cultural meanings; they both shed light upon the values of the culture and critique them. If they are aesthetically powerful, they end up becoming part of common traditions and may even transcend the cultures for which they were originally designed. (165)

Although the above appropriately frames *Kwagh-hir* theatre, it may not be superfluous to corroborate with De Marinis' idea in the conceptual frame of this paper. According to him, performance is

...a complex discursive event, resulting from the interweaving of several elements, organized into various codes and subcodes (which together constitute a textual structure) through which acts of communication and signification take place, while also taking into account the different pragmatic contexts of enunciation. (qtd. in Lansdale 7)

Performance aesthetics therefore, refers to a system of artistic standards which inform the practice of an artist, group or institution by which he or their vision is conveyed. It also refers to a set of standards for beauty that determines the way in which an artist or group of people choose to express himself/themselves in performance, as well as the way performance work is judged by its observers. Performance aesthetics are not cast in stone as they vary from performer to performer, from culture to culture, and from time period to time period.

The Context and Performance of *Kwagh-hir*

The *Kwagh-hir* theatre is a popular folk art form of the Tiv people in Central Nigeria. Its provenance "can be found first and foremost in the Tiv consciousness and ideological predilections (Hagher, *The Tiv Kwagh-hir*... 109). The performance of *Kwagh-hir* essentially "reflect the moral prejudices, sanctions of the community" (Enem 308) and it is a confluence of composite forms like storytelling art, poetry, puppetry, music, dance and dramatisation. As a versatile creative art form, *Kwagh-hir* is dancing, singing, acting miming, music, poetry, acrobatics, masking, puppetry, painting, designing, costuming and so on, and intricately intertwining in one performance. These art forms together with the conspiracy of historical factors became bonded together to make the *Kwagh-hir* an effective socially critical and resistant oppositional art (Hagher 109). Enem alluded to the resourcefulness of the Tiv people as expressed in their dramatic arts, their music, dance and storytelling performances which, through time, have

accumulated resources drawn from shared experiences and historical contacts with other cultures to evolve into what the art is today (306). According to Hagher, “*Kwagh-hir* theatre represents the level of the total integration of the graphic and the plastic arts with all other performing art elements”. (“The Dynamics ...” 190)

In *Kwagh-hir*, music is as profound as the dance by which they both reveal the drama. A noticeable feature of *Kwagh-hir* is that the music precedes and introduces other tangible elements and which also provides the framework within which the entire performance elements are displayed. It initially sets the mood for the story that takes the form of dance-action or dance-drama through the anchor or the narrator of each episode. Edith Enem attempts to explain how the performance usually proceeds:

...first the narrator will come out and tell the story and almost immediately the chorus of musicians and dancers, although seated with the audience as a separate group, start their performance ... at the climax or terminal point of the drama, the chorus starts singing again as flourish for the departure of the cast from the circle. After this, there is hushed excitement for the next story and to help the narrator’s presence on stage, the chorus begins in the background, of a song and dance to establish new atmosphere. (307)

The impression, and of course what the songs and the general music create is a high kinetic urge for the histrionic displays in the form of dancing and dramatising contemporaneously in performance.

From close observation of a number of performances, it is easy to agree with Hagher that “all *Kwagh-hir* performances are similar in structure” (*The Kwagh-hir* ... 144). The opening glee reveal a dramatic episode which function to bring the audience to attention and later followed by the appearance of an animal masquerade figure with several layers of differently coloured raffia fibre covering the performer (dance-actor) from his lower limbs down to the floor, called *dagbera*. Hagher (*The Tiv Kwagh-hir...*) describes the performance of Leo Agatsa group which he documented in 1977 in this scenario:

The *fefay nyam* dashes into the arena at fast speed and dances vigorously to the music and song. Since the name suggests speed, the masquerade covers the whole arena with its presence. Even when dancing in stationary position, the *fefay nyam* vibrates with short fast forward-backward movements, which throw the raffia fibre into such disorder that all the layers of colours are seen at once. Costume colour and movement seem to be its prime attraction. (146)

In order to transit from one episode to another, masquerade shows interchange with puppet show because they each constitute extensive costuming, make up, arrangements of props in appropriate performance position. These transitions are marked by new theme rhythms by the drummers, and the lead singer picks a song, the chorus answers and the audience also follows in singing. This then ushers into the arena the *shuwa* (narrator) who begins the narration for the new puppet episode. In this proceeding, the narrator engages with the audience in some kinds of interjections with

questions and answers. An example is such puppet shows as *Iorvaa* – the grinding woman. The singers and audience respond to the lead singers of a particular puppet show:

Song

Leader: Iorvaa va veoo

Chorus: A va tese kasev u uma wua wuan

Leader: Ioraa va va veoo

A va wua Kwagh

Lugh, lugh, lugh.

Translation:

Leader: Iorvaa has arrived

Chorus: Let her come and show human women how to grind

Leader: Iorvaa has arrived

Chorus: Let her come and grind, gracefully, gracefully, gracefully. (Hagher, *The Tiv Kwagh-hir...*148)

The above is typical of how *Kwagh-hir* songs are sung. The performers in *Kwagh-hir* rely heavily on improvisational approach to dancing, though within the frame of the thematic and dramatic standards of the performance. Therefore, *Kwagh-hir* music reveals itself as a form of ‘phonic dance’ since the mimetic movement which sketch the narration constitute the lines of musical texture amplified by rigorous body movements of the performer or displays of phonic definition of the song lines by the body of the dancer. Enem observed that “the animation of puppets is initiated and sustained in time so that a rhythmic pattern of repetition, suspense and spectacular action is achieved over the interplay of diverse situations in the total performance” (309). This is typical of a number of Tiv body attitudes in dance, especially such dances as the popular *Swange*. In this context, *Kwagh-hir* performance affirms dance as visual music. Hagher notes that “...the song is inextricably woven into the dance and music” (“The Dynamics...” 169). This means that nearly all movements derive from a rhythm line, the rhythm-of-dance in the dance music, or the metric aggregate of the various rhythmic structures in the music.

The beauty of *Kwagh-hir* performance is that it defies, to a large extent, language barrier and may not require translation for a modern and or culturally heterogeneous audience. Hagher alluded to this on his account of a Western audience at the South Beach, Miami in the summer of 2003 where they watched the *Kwagh-hir* for the first time: “they were able to focus on the nuances of allusivity and not distracted by the songs whose meanings they did not understand, nor the structure or theme or its variation”. According to him, “this audience, by withholding hidden norms, values and professional bias were better able to communicate and respond to the inner language and message” (*The Kwagh-hir Theatre...* 188-189). Evidently, the visual elements, in the context of the puppets, masquerades, and costumes which are animated by the dance movements, hold much meaning and fill up the gaps that the songs in vernacular may

create for non-Tiv audience. No doubt, the performance hardly requires translation to a non-native of Tiv. Therefore, *Kwagh-hir* performance may not necessarily rely on the song texts for understanding, even though this contributes to the narratology, its communication emphasises ‘visual grammar’ displayed by artistic perceptual codes.

***Kwagh-hir* Performance Elements as ‘Siamese Triplets’**

Evidenced from the analysis above, the visual actions of *Kwagh-hir* performance are both the dance, which incorporates the mimetic actions (drama) and these performative actions which occur within the framework of music as a core element that animates the dance and invariably amounts to the dramatic actions. Put differently, when *Kwagh-hir* performance opens, it enacts the synthesis of music, dance and drama which characteristically exemplifies African aesthetic consciousness of inseparable entities in performance, what perhaps Ojo Bakare theorised as the ‘performative trinity’-“the indivisible oneness of dance, music and drama within the context of African performance as opposed to the Western concept of performing arts where dance, music and drama exist as different art forms, ... the three occur and function as one singular artform.” (5-6). Similarly, Meki Nzewi corroborates that

Dance is rarely ever conceived without music, the reverse is not the case in the traditional creative-artistic milieu. As aesthetic and eurhythmic expression, dance is a corporeal transformation of the energy quotient of music; it is also a behavioral manifestation of the latent mood and action character of music”. (“Dance and Curriculum...” 252)

Therefore, in Tiv performance consciousness, which is tantamount to possibly many African aesthetic sensibilities, the idea of performance is not the temporary assembly or amalgamation of disparate entities in a harmonious form but rather an organic entity; what, in sociological context, is described as a form of social solidarity theorised by Emile Durkheim; a phenomenon that is characterised by ‘voluntary engagements’ of elements (that is, not deliberately juxtaposed or coerced) in complex interdependence for mutual benefits of the performative elements. This contrasts with the outlook of a mechanical solidarity which depends on ascribed relations between the ‘performative properties’. Thus, the dance is the music in a more palpable form, and the drama (story) is framed in music while, again the dramatic action exists in the form of dance actions (mimetic movements). This complex mix of performative properties can hardly be distilled into disparate entities because each one is framed in the other, in the sense of ‘Siamese triplets’ with one heart.

In extrapolating the above, the point being canvassed regarding the intricate interdependence of music, dance and drama in the context of *Kwagh-hir* performance is that the elements are permanent features of the same phenomenon in contrast to being temporarily and or mechanically attached to themselves. This may also explain why Hagher would assert that “the *Kwagh-hir* has broken the barrier between drama on one hand and dance on the other. To the Tiv mind, there is no ambivalence. He could refer to the drama as *kwagh-hir*, meaning the *Kwagh-hir* dance of *Inumbe: kwagh-hir*, which is the *kwagh-hir* play, all in one breath” (190).

If story (plot) is therefore the most essential element in the estimation of Aristotle, then by analogy one can submit that African dance and music, to a large extent, always have stories to communicate. Within this prism, how can anyone encounter such African performance and determine the limits of the dance and where the music begins or how can the music and the dance be separated from the drama? Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the line between the dance, drama and music in the context of *Kwagh-hir* performance. In other words, to attempt to delimit these harmoniously associated elements as though it is a temporary amalgamation is not only to misjudge it but to also approach a phenomenon with a wrong aesthetic preconception. Music, dance and drama do not, in actual fact, refer to three distinct spheres but are, rather, ‘one and the same’ especially in the Tiv *Kwagh-hir* performance where the ontological association of song/music and the dance ultimately yield the story (drama).

Conclusion

This paper has attempted to demonstrate the complex interconnection of music, dance and drama, and how they are ordinarily or generically viewed as the amalgamation of disparate art forms in performance. This sort of outlook has engendered problems in not only and merely the way in which African performances such as *Kwagh-hir* are experienced, but the manner in which appraisals or judgments about African performances are made and the fragile conclusions that are sometimes reached.

For the Tiv people, *Kwagh-hir* performance infinitely and structurally demonstrates what Leiris (qtd in Traore 64) describes as “the totality of the human expression” in the form of indigenous theatre. The performance is therefore the dramatisation of music, dance, history, politics and the aspiration of the Tiv society. To typify this performance, using Osanyin’s words, “it is a mystical as well as a scientific language with which the African world can unravel the mystery and the predicament of her estate” (156).

Kwagh-hir demonstrates itself as a multi-media art form of the Tiv people. This sort of configuration is an expression of the characteristic of the Tiv people’s cultural and artistic versatility, diversity and political commitment. Therefore, its popularity is predicated on the art’s polysemic disposition anchored on its structural versatility. The theoretical submission here is that, although the intricate relationship between dance, music and drama in *Kwagh-hir* theatre specifically is not a novel aesthetics in the conventional knowledge of theatre scholars and practitioners of Africa, but it specifically attempts to highlight this knowledge in the peculiar context of *Kwagh-hir*, to affirm the theory of African traditional paradigm of composite theatre. It therefore presents *Kwagh-hir* as a valuable reference point amongst several examples in diverse Nigerian and African societies.

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GENDER PRIVILEGING, ‘DE-PRIVILEGING’ AND COUNTER STEREOTYPING IN A CONTENTIOUS SEXUAL SPACE

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Abstract

Privileging, de-privileging, stereotyping and counter stereotyping are arguably natural to every narrative. Consequently, this paper examines how privileging, de-privileging, stereotyping and counter stereotyping are used in the works of one of the leading female contemporary Nigerian playwrights, Tracie Chima Utoh-Ezeajugh, as representing feminist narrativity of contentious gender space. It critically analyses how privileging, de-privileging, stereotyping and counter stereotyping do foreground the dialectics of libidinal politics of social, cultural and economic survival of women in a patriarchy. Of course, that which is seen as counter privileging of ‘feminist-self’ against ‘feminists-others’ in the plays is similarly analysed. The paper further investigates how feminist politics of ‘feminist-self’ is played against the backdrop of men’s presumptuous resistance, prompting a forceful renegotiation of power and economic balance between the two main sexes in the plays. Part of the issues of its focus is correspondingly on how feminists ‘signs’ and their ‘significations’ are employed to privilege women’s interests above men’s interests in the works. Finally, the paper discusses how contentious such ‘signs’ and ‘significations’ are to resolving gender conflicts within real-time social realities of the sexes in a contemporary Nigeria.

Keywords: Gender Privileging, Stereotyping, ‘De-privileging’, Sexual Space, Libidinal Politics

Introduction

The focus of this paper is on how feminist writing essentially exemplifies a form of gender and class privileging. It discusses the nature of privileging and its challenges in the day to day relationship between different genders and classes of people, particularly, African women, as they represent different demographics of class distributions within the contestation for space in the continuous struggle for economic and political survival among themselves and with men as seen in Tracie Chima Utoh-Ezeajugh’s drama as a representation of gender contested space.

Actually, as it seems, from the narrativity of the life of the early man through different socio-economic contraptions to the present; from communalism to feudalism, capitalism, socialism and communism, and as also underlined by the Darwinian survival

of the fittest, humanity will perhaps never be able to divorce discussions around class, race, gender and space from privileging in relation to socio-economic and political constructions (Ojoniyi, 2013, 111). It seems privileging is entrenched in human discourse. And since narrativity is central to any meaningful discourse and counter discourse on socio-construction or deconstruction, gender narrativity uses subtle privileging to reconstruct and renegotiate socio-economic power and political space. In essence, the place of writing in shaping, reshaping, conditioning, reconditioning, constructing, deconstructing and shifting public perspectives in relation to human actions and counter actions cannot be overemphasised. This is arguably one of the reasons Karl Marx in his explanation of dialectical materialism considers writing as one of the key weapons for socio-economic political revolution. Consequently, Marxists through the idea of “literary engage” (Akanji, 1989), use writing to shape and condition public sphere perspective of the nature of socio-economic contract between the state and the people.

Following from the argument above, conceivably, every narrativity is essentially therefore not value free (Ojoniyi, 2017). And, if writings and discourses are covertly used to condition and shape public sphere perspectives, then, as argued in Ojoniyi (2014, 2015, 2017), no public space is essentially free. In fact, it seems no human space is ever free (Ojoniyi, 2015, 2017). We can thus safely submit that, either overtly or covertly, every space is a contested space on the bases of the demographic distributions of different classes, races, tribes and genders of the peoples.

Presumably therefore, every feminist or gender writing is not value free. It is done either to shift, construct, deconstruct or condition perspectives through privileging. It is perhaps the reason “A room of her own” is very important to Virginia Woolf and other feminists.... However, perhaps just as Marxism seeks to confront what it sees as class hegemony in the oppression by Bourgeoisies, the capitalists, until it realises its rank is not homogeneous, feminism has also sought to confront its hegemony in patriarchy until it equally realises its own rank is similarly full of class of special “animals” who are more “equal than other animals” just as the great Napoleon and his gangs of pigs are special than other animals in *Animal Farm* (Akoh 2008). So, in the plays of Tracie Chima Utoh-Ezeajugh, a contemporary Nigerian feminist playwright, one comes in contact with privileging in its natural state between the genders as one also encounters a form of class within class hegemony of women that shifts the battle ground from the patriarchal ‘other’ to feminist ‘self’ in a form of a counter feminist discourse! It is a form of a write back within a write back. But beyond the write back, I am going to concentrate on the analysis of her plays within the dialectics of privileging as a natural phenomenon, looking at the problems of such privileging in the relationship of ‘self’ against ‘other’ and the challenges of deconstructing the privileging through a form of an evaluation of ‘self’ interests in relation to the interests of ‘other’ within a kind of libidinal politics of dialectical materialism.

Contentious Sexual Space and the Dialectics of Libidinal Politics in Tracie Chima Utoh-Ezeajugh’s play

In her first two plays– *A Night of Thousand Truths* (1999) and *Forest of Palmtrees* (1999), Tracie Chima Utoh-Ezeajugh’s focus is not so much on the issues of the

oppression of women by men, under representation, lack of equal opportunities or stereotyping of women. She seems to focus on the contributions of the sexes to the general human problems within the family and the society. She touches on equal distribution of wealth, resource control and power politics as issues of current interests within the Nigeria political space. But in her third play, she goes all out, not against patriarchy, but against women who are using women liberation and empowerment platforms to enrich themselves and oppress other women. These women become totally beastly that to kill other women to privilege themselves and preserve personal interests above group or collective interest becomes natural.

In her second collection of three plays, somehow, from the first play in the collection she seems to build on the identified recklessness of the women folk where the last play in the first collection left off. Its title is even very suggestive in this direction, *Our Wives Have Gone Mad Again* (2001)! However, beyond this seeming frowning at women's recklessness, the play which could be seen as a write back to Ola Rotimi's *Our Husband Has Gone Mad Again*, leaves certain critical omissions in its treatment of women's irresponsibility in relation to the establishment of deterrent actions to evil actions and the quest for social justice for all. For instance, the women in the play are not in any way vilified for all the evils they openly perpetuate. And to worsen the matter, men are presented in totally uncharitable manner as perhaps only 'reasonable' at having a group sex with a harlot. Consequently, one has to look beyond a seeming recklessness of the characters to the recklessness of allowing crimes to be glamorised through a deliberate omission in characterisation and plot development of the play. And within the theory of Sartre's consciousness (which states that every conscious act has intentionality), the intentionality to gift-wrap crimes by the women is suspected, especially as men are caricatured and demonised in the same play.

The remaining two plays in the collection, *Every Day is for the Thief...* (2001) and *Cauldron of Death* (2001) seem to clearly represent a shift from women as part of the challenges and problems of women to men as the guilty ones and the beasts in gender relation. This shift appears to be very significant as it signals a kind of a reappraisal of Utoh-Ezeajugh's opening ideology in the first four plays. It is as if she has now come to clearly see and recognise the crime of patriarchy. And of course, from the two plays to her latest plays, complementarity as seen in her first two plays and as advocated for by scholars like Mabel and Akoh, is no longer presented as a blanket option; it now comes with a proviso. It is now going to be complementarity with a radical window option based on the assumption that is anchored on the arguments that men seem to be perpetual ingrates and unrepentant sinners. Therefore, women must forcefully seek personal peace and joy through proper educational empowerment, and the continuous fight for equal opportunity and mutual respect in the home and the community. Where these are not possible, complementarity is no more an ideology or a condition Utoh-Ezeajugh will support as her female characters are now at liberty to walk away from their marriages, families and homes to seek private fulfilment and freedom contrary to the African view of communal existence. In essence, complementarity is deconstructed for individuality. In her recent plays, she has now successfully moved into complementarity with options. The paper will now specifically discuss the beginning of counter stereotyping and 'de-privileging' of men in *Every Day is for the Thief...* and *Cauldron of Death*.

Privileging, De-privileging, Stereotyping and Counter Stereotyping of Men in the Plays

Every day is for the Thief... signals Utoh-Ezeajugh's clear departure from her opening ideology of the principle of complementarity in her first two plays. It is also not about women oppressing women or women oppressing men as in the case with *Who Owns this Coffin?* and *Our Wives Have Gone Mad Again*. In this play, she seems to have also come to the opinion that, of a truth, men are ingrates, selfish, and uncaring, and that, women need to break themselves from uncritical love, attachment and care for men.

It is a short play of just three characters of a male and two females. It deals with the familiar theme of relationship, particularly, the promise of marriage between a man and a woman and often, the betrayal that is associated with such promise. Of course, it is again taken for granted that it is perhaps natural for men to let down women's love and trust. Women are frequently seen as passionate and total lovers, while men are habitually seen as playboys who are callous and perhaps incapable of any true love. This assumed natural law of men's nature as against women's angelic nature forms the underlining ideology in the play. It is a call to a kind of critical thinking and appraisal of love relationship between men and women, particularly, on the part of the women who are presented as the natural victims of men's infidelities.

To make the matter worse, Chudi, the male culprit in the play, is a jobless man who seems to have seen promising marriages to different ladies as a kind of gold mine of survival and power play. He uses promising marriage to these ladies as the bait to sustaining their seeming uncritical but passionate love and attachment to himself. Of course, he has perfected the art of lying, deceiving and stage-managing genuine love to win, command and secure the commitment of the ladies. He has developed a comprehensive time table and ingenious time management by making sure that the ladies do not meet in his house. To Oby, who is not also working like him, he is a worker who earns money. To Amaka who is a nurse, he is an applicant who is in a serious need of a job. So, Amaka spends money on him lavishly, while he spends the money on other ladies like Oby and Ekwy. He is so smart that he maintains and sticks to his time table, a schedule of visit for all the ladies he keeps to strictly.

He will marry Amaka once he secures a job. That is the promise and it is to motivate Amaka to prevail on her Uncle in government to use his connection to secure a job for him. All the promises and the readiness of Amaka to sponsor the wedding are turned down on the ground that a man must be responsible before he thinks of marriage or gets into it. He is comfortable to collect money from Amaka to feed, buy clothes, pay for his house rent, equip his house with household things and spend the money on other ladies, but he is not a responsible man if he collects the money for their wedding from her! He keeps postponing meeting her parents or introducing her to his family to such a time he would have secured a job. At present, Amaka has gone through two abortions for this jobless fellow in a relationship of three years, yet he keeps deceiving her.

Amaka seems to be so desperate for marriage that she is not able to be critical enough to engage herself in any act of reflective consciousness on the apparent lack of seriousness and commitment on the part of Chudi. She is totally blinded by the anxiety of losing Chudi that she is even eager to entreat him on every flimsy accusation that challenges her fidelity to him. In fact, she is presented as lacking any sense of self-worth

and fulfilment outside her getting married to Chudi. She spends almost all her salary and savings on Chudi to keep her hope of marrying him alive. Chudi collects her money and spends it on other girls he has equally promised to marry.

Unfortunately for Amaka, she is not presently pregnant to be able to demand marriage forcefully like Oby. Oby's time to demand for what she has been promised for years, for which she has equally gone through three abortions, has finally come with her fourth pregnancy for Chudi. In many ways, Oby is more fortunate than Amaka. Chudi spends most of the money he collects from Amaka to keep Oby in good shape. Even, on that fateful day of "the owner" when Amaka and Oby eventually meet in Chudi's house, Chudi has handed the six thousand naira cheque he has collected from Amaka to Oby. The money is meant to get rid of the 'unwanted' pregnancy. And wise Oby, she collects the cheque before coming out forcefully to tell Chudi her plan to keep the pregnancy. The pregnancy is not just to negotiate the promised marriage; it is to demand for an immediate marriage! Chudi is finally trapped in the unbridled use of his libido.

The unplanned meeting of Amaka and Oby in the house of the "Every day thief", Chudi, serves as the eye opener for the two of them. Initially, Oby wants to defend Chudi by fighting for the protection of her "husband" against the presumed intruder; Amaka, a perceived gold digger and husband snatcher! However, through Amaka's maturity and sobriety, she is able to guide Oby to see the true swindler, the thief who has stolen their lives and dignity. The two are then able to realise that Chudi has been playing pranks with their lives. They have both aborted pregnancies for him more than once. He has been dating the two of them and promising them marriage for over three years. The moment of the meeting of the two is the moment of self-awareness and realisation. It is the moment of their deliverance from their uncritical desperate desire for marriage with such a man who evidently lacks the character to be a husband or a father.

At this point, Amaka decides to accept her foolishness and to walk away from Chudi. However, she will not take such a walk until she removes everything she has bought to equip the house in the hope of marrying him. She is also demanding to be reimbursed of all she has spent on him. Chudi's attempt to resist her removal of the things she bought to equip the house provokes a fight between them. Oby, realising that Chudi has nothing and that she has been scammed to think he has a job and earns money joins in the fight. She eventually hits Chudi with an unnamed heavy ...

The fight and Chudi's presumed death after he slumps, leads to their deliverance and liberation from naive passion and desperate desire for marriage. Thinking that he is dead, the two decide to abandon Chudi's corpse and run away. There is no feeling of attachment to him again. It dies. In fact, at that moment, everything that Chudi represents or means to them flies away. They are running away to start a new life and so, when Chudi's seeming lifeless body on the floor sneezes, signifying the hope of his still being alive, instead of returning to resuscitate him, they run away. That they did not return to him after realising that he is still alive is very instructive. It is a pointer to the fact that their release from what he represents, particularly, from innocent craving for marriage which he promises, is total.

Of course, we can presume that Oby will abort the pregnancy while Amaka will start a new life by deriving strength from her maturity and job. Successfully, the play

ridicules the desperation of ladies who always think that marriage is the ultimate marker of a woman's joy and fulfilment. The stories of Amaka, Oby and the other ladies in the hand of jobless Chudi clearly reveal the psychological weakness of any support for such argument that seeks to promote women's definitive purpose in their being married. In their desperation to find purpose and fulfillment in marriage, Amaka and Oby have had to abort pregnancies to satisfy a man that is just a mere pleasure seeker who has little or no value for their lives.

Up until the point of their conscious awareness of the deception of Chudi, it seems Amaka and Oby are presented as mere stereotypes of weak, passion-ridden, and intellectually weak and irrational ladies while, Chudi, on the other hand, is presented as the clever, smart and intelligent guy. He is the man who is able to have successfully dated more than two ladies for over three years, promising each of them marriage and getting them to keep aborting pregnancies for him. However, Chudi is actually successfully stereotyped as the image of the male uncaring monster! He is the unfeeling beast who relishes himself in the assumed power of the libido to command respect and love from women who always have to bow in worship to the power of the eternal great phallus! He is the egoistic bigot who at the point his secret is discovered refuses to be sober and seek forgiveness, but rather in a moment of a form of a libidinal glory, shouts on the two hurting ladies, "Leave my house, both of you! Leave my things alone! Go on, get out! Trouble makers" (Utoh-Ezeajugh 2001, 110-111).

Perhaps, Chudi is not a trouble maker. He is a gentle man. He is the owner of the house only that Amaka pays for the house rent. He is also the owner of the things in the house; Amaka only bought them with her money. And, now, the two trouble makers, the nuisance in the house, one, the person who feeds and clothes him, the other carrying his baby, must get out of his house to let him have peace. And maybe Chudi is not smart enough, he would probably have declared himself a polygamist in the making and, by so doing, he would have found a way to accommodate the 'interests' of the two 'trouble makers!' Unfortunately for Chudi, he is no longer living in the 18th or 19th century Africa. It is late for him. Not being a Muslim, he also cannot lay any claim to the faith of Allah that permits a faithful male to marry up to four wives if one can swear to be capable of being consistent with the four, satisfying them equally like a god is wont to do! It is now a different time, and there is no hiding place for Chudi! Utoh-Ezeajugh makes him to pay for his coming at the wrong time in history. The women draw their pound of flesh and leave him demobilized. They are liberated. They are now conscious of the fact that there is more to a fulfilled and purposeful life than a mere marriage. They indeed walk away, killing complementarity to find inner peace and fulfilment without the man!

In *Cauldron of Death*, Utoh-Ezeajugh seems to have completed her transition from complementarity to the identification of the eternal sinner that must be cursed for his unbridled libido as far as gender problems are concerned. It is just like when and how the gods identified the betrayer, Camus's Sisyphus, who was accused of giving the secret of fire to men. We know that from then on, he lives under the eternal curse of a fruitless labour as he still rolls that huge stone in his mythic world to date. And from now on, men will be fully stereotyped in Utoh-Ezeajugh's plays. Men and women will not share the blames of existential problems equally as mutual contributors again. Her

focus is now totally shifting from the transitory sinners of the third and the fourth plays to the historical sinners of gender relationships. The sin itself is essentially biological and historical. It is rooted in the libido and its assumed sense of power, authority and aggressiveness.

The play looks more of a commissioned play to address the problems and the challenges of HIV and AIDS. It focuses on how it is contracted and how it spreads. Also, it discusses its consequences and how it could be prevented. It is a play of six characters besides the drummers and the dancers. The main characters are evenly distributed. There is therefore no real issue with representation or no representation. However, the culprits in the play are the male characters who are presented as very loose and unable to control their libido. In actual fact, the whole crises in the play are directly linked to the sexual looseness of Junior and his father, Ikem. They are the ones who have infected every member of their family with the deadly HIV virus.

Junior and Ikem are presented as sexually undisciplined in the play. From the beginning of the play to the end, the focus of the crisis of HIV/AIDS on humanity and survival is not placed on or shared with their sex partners; it is squarely placed on them. Even Sandra Okon, who is one of Junior's sex partners, the one who, actually after realising that she is already infected with the HIV virus, goes "on a vengeance mission and freely distributed the virus to as many as got into her trap" eventually finds, or better put, is found of the Lord who "touched her life in a special way..." (Utoh-Ezeajugh 2001, 145-6). She "repented", finds salvation and life afresh in the Lord and in HIV control drugs. But Junior is not very lucky to find the Lord or the control drugs. He is not even able to find forgiveness with self or with others. He pays the ultimate price for his unbridled libido, perhaps, because his sins are many. He has donated blood to his sister, Ozoemena, when she had an accident and was in a very critical condition. Unfortunately, the blood Junior donated to her was not screened by the hospital. The sin of that professional lapse is also placed on Junior. Maybe the thinking is: why is Junior not cautious and reflective when he knows how he has been living his life?

At least, Ozoemana will not forgive Junior for that. She prefers to have died than to live with the reality of the hope of a progressive death from HIV virus to AIDS. The actuality of death is nothing really compared to the existential crisis, the apprehension of a seeming sure prospect of a continuous bodily degeneration with which she has to live. That is the most painful death, the consciousness of carrying death in one's body and actually dying day by day! It is also more painful if one has a sense of being without sin, a sense of being saintly having avoided 'sins', especially sexual sin, all of one's life! The existential contradiction is perhaps heightened in such a person who feels he/she is innocent and therefore does not deserve the punishment of HIV/AIDS virus. It may be a justifiable punishment for sinners like Junior and Ikem, it is not for assumed innocents like Ozoemana and her mother, Nneoma.

It is also not so sure if Nneoma will ever really be able to forgive Ikem, the second sinner especially that he has equally slept with the notorious Sandra Okon whom he met on one of his business trips. Of course, to everybody in the house, it is of no use that Sandra has set a trap of sex for unsuspecting innocents and that she might just have caught Ikem and maybe, Junior in her trap. The rational thinking is why they will fall into such trap by Sandra? It may actually be a good idea to get the rod of trouble, the

libido, castrated whenever the he-dog is leaving the vicinity of his exclusive owners, the gender saints. The saints do not really have anything to castrate that can totally render the hole useless. The clitoris is not as big as the penis. We do know that if the clitoris is mutilated, the hole can still be lubricated in the very act, perhaps at a great strength. However, imaginably, Sandra only sets sex traps to destroy other men for the sins of the men that got her infected with HIV. Perhaps, she is an innocent virgin who does not have any hormonal demand for sexual pleasure before and again! Her sexual consciousness must even have been destroyed by her mindfulness of being with HIV? And since her problem is presumably caused by the gender demons, maybe she is only interested in mutilating them with her mutilated vagina, for her clitoris is not mutilated! It is perhaps merely a revenge game where she does not feel the tingle again? This reality should make it more sinful for any man to always want sex for pleasure?

We can imagine these different levels of rationalisations as they come into the issue and struggle in the consciousness of the libidinal sinners against that of the saints that, in actual fact, nobody eventually finds forgiveness, either in themselves or in the others. The only person who in the long run escapes this burden of eternal consciousness of guilt is Junior, for he dies. The others, Ikem, Nneoma and Ozoemana are not so fortunate, not even with Dr. Dike's triumphant announcement of the discovery of HIV/AIDS' cure. What the announcement means is many more years of existential torture of the consciousness of betrayal, infidelity, lack of integrity and the fear/apprehension of future possibilities of revenge or further betrayals.

These problems are human problems, not just gender problems. Consequently, to present Ozoemana and Nneoma as innocents who are suffering from the sins of Junior and Ikem, while deliberately overlooking or underplaying the roles of equal sexually undisciplined women like Sandra Okon, is essentially a counterproductive stereotyping of the male gender. The point is that each gender is filled with characters who are like the bacchante revelers under the influence of Dionysian orgy. These are pure Kierkegaard's aesthetic characters, Nietzschean's Dionysian characters or Soyinka's Ogunnian characters that live merely for pleasure (Ojoniyi 2012). They pursue pleasure to their own tragic end. Often, such actions have no gender.

Cauldron of Death could lend itself to a very engaging psychoanalysis as one tries to deal with fear and guilt (circumstances) induced nightmares of Junior to the crisis of consciousness of other characters in the play. The play opens with one of Junior's incessant nightmares in which a character- Death, wearing a regalia with an inscription of AIDS on its back, joins in a group dance with Junior and his friends. He, Death, succeeds in sharing his drink with them. Of course, Junior is the first to share in Death's cup! Consequently, after Death reveals his character as AIDS, he decides to take Junior away since he is the first to partake of his feast of love. Junior wakes up from this nightmare struggling with Death to leave him alone as he keeps struggling and shouting his resistance to death.

There is no doubt that his apprehension of death has taken over the totality of his consciousness from his sub-conscious mind, his intuition to his reflection, conditioning or pre-programing him to certain intentionalities. He is prone to insomnia and unnecessary phantasm over his past and the consequences of that past on his present and the people around him. Same also goes for his father, mother and sister. They are all

caught within the existential web of the crisis of consciousness that imposes itself on the human psyche and often makes it captive to its own narrative stereotypes.

Conclusion

The unfortunate reality here is that humanity seems to getting fixated within a perception of gender privileging, de-privileging, stereotyping and counter stereotyping... and Utoh-Ezeajugh seems to be getting obsessed with the need to demonise the male gender as others before her have done by counter stereotyping and de-privileging them in their plays!

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INTERROGATING OSOFISAN'S DEPLOYMENT OF THE PERFORMATIVE TRINITY IN *YUNGBA YUNGBA AND THE DANCE CONTEST*

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Abstract

The African drama and theatre reveal their distinction from the European stage in several ways. One of such ways is through the deployment of song, drum and dance which Bakare (2019) refers to as “the performative trinity” that this distinction manifests itself most prominently. The performative trinity as Bakare makes us understand are Song, Music and Dance, which together make the African stage not only functional, but also a unique, rich and aesthetic performance experience. Osofisan uses these three elements of Song, Drum and Dance which he calls ‘three daughters’ effectively in his play, *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest*. This paper, therefore, explores how Osofisan has deployed these elements of song, drum (music) and dance in the play under discussion, to interrogate the story of Africa (Nigeria’s) rebirth in democracy after years of protracted military rule. Africa’s travails have been associated not with natural disasters, nor with the lack of manpower, or even the absence of technological knowhow but with benighted and visionless leadership. Africa’s sit-tight, greedy, selfish and proneness to ageing leaders as opposed to young, vibrant and ready-to-experiment ones as obtainable in other climes is the subject which engages Osofisan’s creativity in *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest*. The thrust of this paper is to appreciate how this story was told using his three ‘daughters’ or Bakare’s performative trinity. This is done through a critical appraisal of the work with emphasis on the use of music in the play. It was discovered that music not only helps to project the narrative texture of the play, it also heightens the suspense, helps the audience to relax and adds to the aesthetic richness of the story without distracting the audience or affecting the flow of narration. It was then concluded that Osofisan’s use of music in *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest*, is quite functional and appropriate.

Keywords: Performative trinity, Government, Democracy, Drama, Leadership

Introduction

Indeed, in most parts of Africa, the longest and most vicious governments are the one-party states run by civilians. And all of them have piled up a record of massive foreign debt; of mass poverty, as contrasted to the

opulent lives of a small, super-rich elite; of inept and corrupt bureaucracies; failure and failures everywhere...(Osofisan, 1993: xv).

Drama in Africa is a celebration; it involves the totality of song, drum (music) and dance. It is usually done without a defined demarcation between performer and spectator as both constantly swap roles. This is especially so in the pre-colonial era before the European scramble for Africa that brought about literary drama, thus splitting African theatre and drama into literary and indigenous dramatic experience. While the former is characterised as a theatre/drama that has no clear distinction between audience and performer; the latter is clearly distinct with reference to actor and audience. Many African/Nigerian writers fall into the literary tradition where a play can be staged without recourse to music. This is where Femi Osofisan stands out- in his use of the performative trinity of song, music and dance. His plays make one nostalgic as he engages both audience and actor in a festival of life thereby justifying Anyanwu's claim that, "There is a close affinity between theatre arts and life. Indeed, theatre arts, because of its composite nature, has been seen as the literature of life," (Anyanwu, 2005: 13). Taking further the metaphor of theatre arts as the literature of life, we see in it a life lived to the full, a life that has all the trappings of what has been seen as total theatre. Total theatre as used here embraces the involvement of the audience, the use of music, song, dance, the total and, or partial elimination of the demarcation of acting space between the audience and the stage; a people's theatre of open space. In his inaugural lecture, Bakare (2019) contends against the term 'total theatre' to delineate African performance, claiming that it echoes Western theatre approach to drama and a distinction of its components. As he puts it:

Drama, when it is done in our clime, is with the compliment of dance and music. In my estimation, not even the latter invention of the descriptive expression- total theatre- would fully explain the nature of African performance. The idea of a total theatre still suggests the existence of different art forms, which when assembled, now make a total picture. The expression- total theatre- therefore is still deficient because it is defining the African Performance from the Euro-American prism, not from the authentic African perspective. In Africa, we do not assemble different forms of arts and make them complete by working together. When our performances occur, they simply occur with the intrinsic indivisibility of dance, music and drama in an intricate web. (Bakare 2019: 6)

Arising from his explanation above, Bakare sees dance, music and drama as the "performative trinity" and whose properties are drama, dance and music; "Dance, music and drama are, therefore, not separate art forms in Africa" (7). Osofisan's three daughters; Song, Drum and Dance can interchange for the performative trinity of Bakare.. Thus, irrespective of the nomenclature with which these art forms are identified, they are synonymous and constitute the ingredients with which African delicious drama is cooked. Bakare is simply stating the obvious: that African drama is functional and is a composite of dance, music and drama. These three elements which Osofisan refers to as 'his' three daughters, are inseparable and inevitable, in any African performance especially as portrayed in his dramaturgy. They are more so in virtually all

Osofisan's plays as he engages them as vehicles for crafting his dialogue. This is especially applicable in the play under study where these elements are fused together in their creative best to project the story.

Osofisan is generally regarded as a playwright in the Marxist tradition but it is his placement in the folkist mode (Nwosu & Nwosu, 2014: 140) that we are considering here then, is his deployment of the three major instruments of African narrative-Song, Drum and Dance that distinguishes him as a playwright and a unique folk performer. Thus, the thrust of this discourse here is his use of the three instruments of song, drum and dance in telling or rather re-telling the story of Africa's rebirth in democratic governance in the play, *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest* (2012). Indeed, it is almost impossible to come across any of Osofisan's plays devoid of these instruments which Bakare calls the performative trinity of African theatre.

Osofisan in *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest*, made the three musical instruments into three units of Song, Dance and Drum. This could be read as depicting the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria and also the three major families in the play. The play is an obvious reference to Nigeria presented in an allegorical form using the contest and the succession order in Iyeneri's fictitious narrative. However, before delving into the significance of each unit, we will first of all look at music holistically as embodying those three elements and how it functions.

In the theatre, music can be used in any of the following modes:-

- It can be instrumental.
- It can also come as song/vocal, functioning as text, and
- It could take the form of both instrumental and song/vocal.

Osofisan in his plays, blends the three modes to produce a total theatre that is rich in African aesthetics. This he does by carefully selecting from the rich Yoruba folkloric tradition and craftily weaving his narrative into the music as can be seen from the play under study (See page 42 on the story of the Stomach and the Limbs). Here, the playwright where the contentious issue of who is more important in the society is illustrated, depicting the government as the unproductive stomach and the people, the ruled, as the workforce. In the end, however, both are revealed to be essential to the overall working of the society and should work together. The way the dialogue is crafted into the song tells much of the creative ingenuity of the playwright. The totality of the three elements of performance- song, music and dance, further support Bakare's submission that drama is done with the compliment of song and dance in our clime. It lends credence to the theory of performance in African theatre and drama.

Music in the Theatre

Music has been said to speak a universal language. The legendary King of Reggae- Bob Marley (Robert Nesta Marley) once sang that one good thing about music, when it hits you, you feel no pain," (Marley & the Wailers, *Trench Town Rock*, 1973). Similarly, Shakespeare notes that the man that has no music in himself, nor is not moved by the concord of sweet sounds, is not to be trusted (both citations in Anyanwu, 2001: 89-91).

Notwithstanding the universality of music, some scholars have noted that its acceptability is sometimes affected by certain perspectives such as culture and exposure. "Music is a universal phenomenon. However, when music is selected irrespective of geographical boundaries, it may not affect the audience the same way (Aluede & Aluede 2013: 205). Aluede and Aluede go on to posit that "culture is a major factor and a foundational determinant of pleasant and unpleasant music" (2013:203). This means that though music may have global appeal, its functionality is strongly rooted in culture. A people's culture to a greater or lesser extent then, affects their response to and acceptance of music.

The implication of the foregoing is that though music may speak a universal language, its universality is controlled by certain factors as noted above. Thus, "classical" music from the Western culture may have no meaning to an untutored African from a rural environment. In the same vein, in a specific culture from Nigeria or Africa in general, certain people may not fully appreciate music from other cultures. What is of concern here is how the author has used music to achieve his objective. Aluede and Aluede aver that "... African music is usually crafted in such a way that it allows for performer/audience participation, allows for the use of polyrhythm in songs and instrumentation and encourages the use of dance rhythms in compositions which make such songs danceable even in the faces of little or no instrumental accompaniment" (2013:205).

In the theatre, music functions in several ways. It serves as leitmotif; it creates the general mood of the play, thereby, creating the right atmosphere; music also serves transitional objectives. It is used to fill the gap when there is scene change in order to keep the audience focused, interested and alert. It helps equally to keep the stage hands on their toes in terms of alertness in doing their work. Music also serves as a cue, prompting the execution of certain actions, even prompting actors in taking their lines; guides the lighting personnel on what mood of light to deploy, creates tension as well as reduces same, alerts members of the audience to the opening and closing of scenes and end of performance, is used for special effects, among other things. Needless to say, it also helps to signal the end of both scene and the entire performance.

It is to the credit of Osofisan as a playwright and master story-teller that he is able to achieve all these in the play whilst letting the story unfold from the music while the dialogue grows and climaxes. The use of music in this particular play more than anything else, helps to encourage audience participation. It gives them a sense of involvement and participation while still on their seats and above all, it evokes that nostalgic feeling of identity and a sense of belonging. The music is made to flow seamlessly from one scene to the next and does not falter when the subject changes or suspense heightened. It rather helps to keep the story in focus while expanding the scope through inferences from the music.

Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest: Synopsis

The play is in six parts, divided into a prologue, an epilogue and four parts, and the timeline spans two days. It is an intense two-day event, which covers the period of the festival initially dedicated to choosing a new priestess to oversee the affairs of the

community for the following year. The play begins with the prologue, where Aperin opens the dialogue by addressing the audience and soliciting their participation in the play. She sets the tone by teaching the audience and the other characters the refrain of the song on which the plot of the play revolves.

APERIN (Sing): *Wundiametanimo bi:ilu, orin, atiijo*
 Wundiametanimo bi
 Ijo, Iluat'orin !
 Three, three daughters have I
 Drum, Song and Dance;
 Three, three daughters have I
 Dance, Drum and Song (7-8).

She introduces Drum, Song and Dance as the three lovely and gifted daughters of Madam Felicity. Though she is interrupted before the completion of the introduction, the stage is set for a story that embraces the three major ethnic groups of the country (Felicity) easily recognisable as Nigeria in the play and how their journey into dissension began from a once thriving, united, and prosperous family to a nation of discrimination, corruption and intolerance. The interruption is expectedly from the women on their way to the sanitation exercise meant to cleanse the environment where the festival and the play would take place. This exercise easily reminds one of the sanitation exercise done on every last Saturday of the month in the country designed to keep the environment clean. Aperin departs before the arrival of the women, leaving the stage empty for the commencement of the festival which is the play.

In the typical Nigerian style of pursuing shadows in preference for the substance, the families, rather than engage in the cleaning up exercise and purification for which they had come, begin a light banter on supremacy over one another thereby pre-empting the chain and tone of argument in the coming events. Even the elders who came to supervise the exercise are caught up in the flexing of leadership muscles. Fortunately for them, another issue of weighted input crops up and the cleaning exercise is completely abandoned. The issue which comes up is incidentally at the centre of the festival: the need to revert to the old order of leadership succession which the young revolutionary group – Yungba Yungba – found out had been usurped by the present regime, under the incumbency of Iyeneri. This is no doubt a call to return to civilian/democratic rule from the military imposed autocratic government.

The tone of the play which is set in the prologue is effectively exposed in **Part One, Day One** of the festival. The three major families – Mayesoge, Arooroton and Jeosunwon playfully yet seriously flex muscles while showcasing their prowess in dance and envisaging the likely winner to take home the prize. This is typical of electioneering campaigns in the country where contending parties showcase their merits over their opponents while trying to sell themselves to the electorate. As this is going on, information filters in that the festival may not hold after all. There appears to be a terrorist group determined to stop the celebrations. Before this scandalous bit of information could be digested, a masked group appears on the scene. It is made up of

three members, again a reflection of the tri-partite icon present throughout the play. However, among the group is one who does not belong to the three major families in the community; Ayoka, the minority member, is later chosen to be the leader and spokesperson. This is no doubt Osofisan's advocacy for a president from any of the minority ethnic groups in the country. The group reveals itself as Yungba Yungba- the dream of sweetness. And their mission is quite simple: that the festival should be held "according to the original laws of our tradition! Those laws that have been pushed aside, without our knowledge or consent!" (*Yungba Yungba*, 21).

Things have degenerated in the community because those who knew kept quiet, refusing to complain, and thereby allowing the regime to continue with sit-tight syndrome stretching one term of office to a decade, with no plans to leave the office or change. The Yungba Yungba reveals to their colleagues the reasons for the festivals, it was more than dancing and the choosing of husbands.

That was how the dance contest came about. Our foremothers, skilful dancers and musicians themselves, saw at once how fun could be mixed with serious business. They knew the tremendous amount of training, and energy, and self discipline it takes for anyone to win our championship and they knew these were also the qualities needed for responsible leadership! So in place of elections, they chose the dance! And every year therefore whoever won the contest became our political head, leader of the younger women, and companion of Iyaloja! (*Yungba Yungba*, 23-24).

Having stated their purpose, they are able to win the support of their colleagues and a delegation is therefore selected to discuss with Iyeneri on the need to return to status quo as it affects the objective of the festival. This is going to be an arduous task, but the young are usually difficult to dissuade once they make up their minds. Iyaloja, the most insightful of women, admonishes the delegation to be gentle with Iyeneri and gives them her blessing. She is quick to recognise what leaders are always blind to or pretend to be oblivious of: "When the old iroko feels the stiffening in its joints, it leaves the rest of the dancing to its saplings!" (*Yungba Yungba*, 30). This wisdom is lost on Iyeneri, who like most African leaders would rather die in office than make way for another.

Parts Two to Five are taken up with intrigues of resistance to change and the doggedness of determination on the part of the change agents – the Yungba Yungba. Iyeneri lays open the crux of the problem when she declares to the amazed delegation sent to see her: "Do not be embarrassed, girls. This is politics, and you are novices in the game. In time you too will discover that the struggle for power, for the control of it, is older in our compounds than what you call by the name of compassion," (34). This is a selling argument of political office holders: that they are older, not necessarily more experienced but older and so, they should be allowed to continue even when the said age is counterproductive.

During the exchange between Iyeneri and the members of the delegation sent to her, the latter calls upon Aperin, more or less her media/press secretary, to explain things to the delegates. Aperin, as crafty as ever, echoes the sentiments of all the

government apologists that the country has ever witnessed. But unlike them, she is able to admit that she is in no position to bite the finger that feeds her when she says:

Ah, Iyeneri, with all due respects-on this particular subject, I have no opinion at all! Iyeneri is the voice of the river goddess herself, the first and the last word on everything! Besides, my friends, she pays my salary. The rat may not speak the language of cats, but she understands enough to stay in the farthest corner of her hole when cats are meeting! (35)

Having kept herself from offending her employer, and asserting her neutrality in the matter, Aperin lets Iyeneri do her own defence, which she does rather energetically. Like those from the major families/tribes who think the prerogative of governance is their birthright, she frowns at the boldness of Ayoka who is an ‘unknown’ because she is from the minority family. “And you, you dare to talk to us in such tones! You’re not even from one of the founding families! Or what concerns the tadpole in the affairs of crocodiles!” Ayoka quickly rebuts: “Perhaps the fact that they both live in the water” (36); which is indeed, a transparent truth as Nigeria belongs to all- the rich and the poor; the ethnic majority and minority alike.

As is common with the Nigerian situation, those from the major ethnic groups find it difficult to recognise the fact that Nigeria belongs to over two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic nationalities, each of which has the right to produce the President. This was the case of the Jonathan regime (2010 – 2015). President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan comes from a minority tribe in Bayelsa State of the Niger Delta region, yet Nigerians, especially those from the northern part of the country, refused to recognise or accept the authenticity of his origin as an Ogbia indigene. Ogbia is a minority ethnic group in Bayelsa State. However, to the rest of the country, he is regarded as an Igbo man and treated accordingly just because his name seems similar to or sounds like Igbo! Iyeneri toes this line!

After much persuasion, Iyeneri agrees to the call for a change. But her agreement is a mere charade intended to cause dissension among the families, thereby providing her with the opportunity to cancel the festival and continue in office. This is quite reminiscent of President Ibrahim Babangida (1985 – 1993) smokescreen that saw the annulment of the 12 June 1993 presidential elections. The election, which was considered the freest and fairest in recent times supposed to have been won by Chief M. K. O. Abiola, was annulled by the Military President, General Ibrahim Badamosi Babangida, with rather flimsy reasons. Aperin, using the story of the Stomach and the Limbs, foreshadows the fate of the daughters of Madam Felicity – Song, Drum and Dance –who used to toil and labour as one, in love and unity until the enemy came to throw spanner in the wheel of progress, thereby causing confusion and disharmony. Unlike the daughters of Madam Felicity, the limbs recognise their ineffectuality without the responsibility of the stomach and reunite. However, the story at this point in the quest for change by the Yungba Yungba group appears to them misplaced, hence they were not convinced. Her anecdote is quite misplaced because it contradicts the goal of the Yungba Yungba, which is the need for a change, a change which they are protesting in order to achieve but which Iyeneri is against because she wants to continue in office and die there if possible.

They heard those words, and then they understood. How we each have our role. And must walk the road of our destiny! That like fingers, men must learn to live Unequal as they're born: for rebellion is brief and vain: they last who do not complain. (44)

When Iyeneri pretends to give in to the request for change, using the consideration of the people as her excuse, Aro captures the typical Nigerian sentiment when she says: "The people! The people, Iyeneri! But you know the people! They will dance on one side today, but give them another tune tomorrow, and they'll be dancing just as giddily!" (47). The above statement is a pointer to the unprincipled nature of both ruler and the ruled in our country; neither appears to be committed to a particular cause but is driven and propelled by individual avarice and greed.

Part Two, Day One, ends on a happy note for the group because Iyeneri has consented to allow a free playing ground, for the return of the status quo during the festival, but she makes Ayoka the responsibility of Aro to deal with, by giving her the twin images that would rob her of her sanity. This reveals that she never intends relinquishing power in the first place. This is because with Ayoka out of the way, the festival would be nullified or cancelled, and Iyeneri would then continue in office. Iyeneri's scheming to make Ayoka lose her sanity reveals the extent to which African leader would go in their desperate effort to remain in political office.

Part Three begins with a renewed vigour in preparation for the festival by the families. Here, we see the intrigues as each family plans to win the competition by various means; typical of gimmicks adopted by Nigerian politicians. The story of the Tortoise and the Antelope in a competitive race is also told to illustrate that the battle is not always to the strong, nor the race to the swift. This analogy of the tortoise and the antelope gives us an idea of the rigging of elections in real life political situation. One easily recalls such phrases as "the more you look, the less you see," strategy of some politicians in their shenanigans to win election. Iyeneri capitalises on the tussle for supremacy and squabble among the families to win the competition and seizes the opportunity to send the twin images, the symbol of a wandering spirit (madness) to Ayoka, through Aro. Whilst the quarrelling is still on, Ayoka enters in her demented state and everyone is thrown into confusion. Iyeneri declares that nothing could be done for her because she has the images in her possession. To Iyeneri, Ayoka is now beyond redemption. With the madness of Ayoka, the festival celebrations are cancelled and the sacred week polluted. And since there is no festival, then no successor would be chosen which means Iyeneri remains the leader. This Part ends with Iyeneri asking that the cleansing rites should proceed immediately to purify the community from the pollution due to the violation and defilement of the peace week, by Iyeneri herself, though unknown to the others at this point. Iyeneri's represents the sit-tight, greedy, old and visionless leaders in Africa, who though always touting the slogan of "Youths are the leaders of tomorrow", are nevertheless not willing to accommodate them in leadership roles. This lends credence to Achebe's submission that, "the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership... The Nigerian problem is the unwillingness or inability of its leaders to rise to the responsibility, to the challenge of personal example which are the hallmarks of true leadership," (Achebe, 1983: 22).

On Day Two, Part Four of the play, the concerned members of Yungba Yungba accuse Iyeneri of complicity in Ayoka's madness. Unknown to them all however, Aperin had forewarned Ayoka of the plans of Iyeneri, and with Aperin's help, Ayoka was prepared. Her appearance as a mad girl is therefore, redemptive. She hoped Iyeneri would show mercy, even pity, on seeing her mad, but this is not to be. When the truth dawns on her that her efforts at self-perpetuation, at the expense of a young girl's life, have failed, she accuses Aperin of betrayal:

Iyeneri: Aperin! You betrayed me!

Aperin: Not me, Yeye! It was power that betrayed you! You held it for too long, and Allowed it to kill your humanity! You would keep it at all costs! You were even Ready to defile your own peace week! No, Iyeneri, I could not follow you that Far...(*Yungba Yungba*, 85).

Iyeneri accepts the consequence of her wickedness as she suffers the fate that she had planned for Ayoka. Having accepted her fate, Iyeneri admonishes the families to go on with the festival but to avoid acrimony of any sort. She even places a curse on any who would bring bad blood into the festivities. The play ends on that note as she goes to her death (presumed).

The epilogue is taken up with the continuation of Aperin's story which was interrupted at the beginning of the prologue. It is the story of Madam Felicity, with her three daughters: Song, Drum and Dance. How they lived together in harmony and as one family until the enemy came and brought disunity and subsequent disruption of family love and unity. This story is reminiscent of the Biblical parable of the Sower who, having sowed his seeds and gone, at night the enemy went and planted weeds among the seeds.

Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest: Brief Appreciation

In *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest*, Osofisan uses the idiom of the three musical modes: Drum, Song and Dance, to tell the story of Nigeria's leadership succession and its challenges. It is a very good and dramatic illustration of the attitude of the three main ethnic nationalities and their relationship with the minority ones. Ayoka represents the minority ethnic groups while the three major families portray Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa with the last erroneously believing that leadership of the others is their birthright. It is also a warning directed at politicians especially at moments of transition during elections and the sit-tight syndrome of the incumbent leadership. He is able to capture the mood and the intensity for the struggle for leadership among the three major ethnic nationalities who seem to think that Nigeria and her control is their birth right to the exclusion of the minority tribes. The playwright tells us that freedom is like the need for air; it is everybody's right and in the fight for freedom, unity and oneness, all hands must be on deck. The dramatist seems to suggest that though all fingers are not equal, each has its own unique attributes, thus underscoring the uniqueness of the ethnic groups, whether major or minor. By making Ayoka the spokesperson of the Yungba Yungba group, the playwright seems to advocate for the minority ethnic nationalities to

be given an opportunity to rule the country. This prediction or advocacy appeared to have succeeded with the emergence of President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as the President elect in the 2015 general elections in the country.

It is however typical of Osofisan, to leave his plays open ended, leaving it to the audience/public to draw their own conclusions. The play is silent on whether the dance contest is held; and whether a new priestess is chosen to be the eyes and ears of the youth and companion of Iyaloja, as it was mooted earlier. The play also reveals that aspect of Nigerian life where a given project is abandoned in the pursuit of another, which may equally end up abandoned. For instance, the cleaning exercise which was supposed to open the festivals is never completed. It was marred by quarrelling and all manners of bickering. The same is true of the contest. However, the use of song, drum and dance as metaphor by Osofisan, is quite effective. It is reflective of Osofisan's dramaturgy that his theatre is incomplete without his three confessed daughters: Song, Drum and Dance, which he blends with drama to give a holistic African total theatre experience. Indeed, though the three musical instruments are symbolically representative of the Nigerian nation, they represent for the playwright the inevitable ingredients of story-telling. And without them, one wonders how this griot, this master storyteller would weave his "twyning tayles" of Africa's experience.

Conclusion

Kerr (1997), makes us understand that literary drama in Africa came on the heels of colonialism against the traditional popular drama of pre-colonial presence. Osofisan, in spite belonging to the literary tradition, clings to his indigenous sources in his plays. This makes it easy for him to engage such indigenous theatrical elements as song, drum/music, and dance, which are essential to the popular theatre and which in *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest*, he refers as his three daughters when he uses the character of Madam Felicity to sing, "Three, three daughters have I, Song and Drum and Dance." These same elements are what Bakare calls the performative trinity of African drama. Osofisan effectively deploys these to tell the story of Nigeria's democratic system and the challenges which confront it such as the sit-tight syndrome of the leaders and the difficulties of transition from one government to another. His successful use of music in this play makes it appealing as a text to the reader as well as a pleasure to watch on stage.

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LEADERSHIP, YOUTHS, AND DOMESTIC TERRORISM IN NIGERIA: AN INTERROGATION OF AHMED YERIMA'S *HEART OF STONE* AND ESIABA IROBI'S *NWOKEDI*

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Abstract

Since the independence of Nigeria in 1960, the country has been plagued by ethnic, religious, socio-economic and political crises. Post-Independent Nigeria thrived on regionalism and inter-ethnic rivalry that culminated in a civil war in 1966. The socio-economic root of ethnicity and identity politics in Nigeria cannot be over emphasised. The struggle for limited and scarce resources has led to discontent, rivalry, electoral violence and struggle for political power. The unequal infrastructural development of the regions in Nigeria has also been traced to corruption and poor leadership. The teeming mass of unemployed youths have provided a steady stream of foot soldiers and miscreants for politicians and misguided radicals. Thus, this paper interrogates the radicalisation of the youths, tracing its relationship to poor leadership and how it develops to domestic terrorism. Two plays are used for our analysis. The plays show how anarchy develops from distortion of truth and abuse of power by leaders. The plays are Esiaba Irobi's *Nwokedi* which advocates an atmosphere of terror against political tyranny, and Ahmed Yerima's *Heart of Stone* which depicts senseless terrorism that emerges from a failed generation. The study adopts a qualitative research methodology using the Relative Deprivation Theory and the Theory of Social Criticism. The paper posits that the youths have active roles to play in the society and that their untapped human resources are a potential time bomb.

Keywords: Youth, Leadership, Identity Politics, Terrorism, Violence

Introduction

Arguably, there is no one generally accepted definition for terrorism, however, several attempts have been made by scholars to give meaning to its concept. Whittaker (5), in his search of an explanatory definition of terrorism, states that:

“Terrorism, in the most widely accepted contemporary usage of the term, is fundamentally and inherently political. It is also ineluctably about power: the pursuit of power, the acquisition of power, and the use of power to achieve political change. Terrorism is thus violence.

Bruce Huffman quoted in Isharat and Mukesh, notes that, Terrorism is an act of violence for the achievement of political interests, it has sweeping psychological implication and is committed mostly by non-state entities as well as revolutionary groups (103). Terrorism can be driven by political or religious influences. Okoye, in offering a theoretical understanding of terrorism, quotes different authorities on the study of terrorism. Of particular interest to us, is the definition by Weinberg which explains how terrorism transforms the victims of injustice into the perpetrators of injustice. He defines “Terrorism as the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change” (Okoye, 37).

It is worthy to note that not all radical or proscribed political organisations are terrorist organisations as the use of violence or violent tactics is one of the differentiating features of terrorism. Whittaker captures this point succinctly when he states that, the terrorist is fundamentally a violent intellectual, prepared to use and committed to the use of force for the attainment of his goals (9). Generally, by its operational tactics, scholars are in agreement that terrorism is a serious global security threat that goes with serious violence against humanity.

Now, violence is “the threat, attempt, or use of physical force by one person or more persons that results in physical or nonphysical harm to one or more other persons (Neil *et al* xii quoted in Otun1)”. The World Health Organisation (4), defines violence as “The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual against oneself, another person or against a group or community that either results in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation.”

Violence can be interpersonal, self-directed or collective violence. Self-directed violence includes suicides and self-mutilation. Interpersonal violence encompasses violence between family and intimate partner, while community violence is between persons who are not related. Community violence incorporates youth violence, random acts of violence and institutional violence. Collective violence which is a subset of community violence is the use of violence by a group against another group to achieve political or socio-economic goals. It ranges from armed state conflict, genocide, organised violent crimes and terrorism (WHO, 5). According to Kane (5), “Organised violence is a purposeful and systematic use of terror and brutality to control individuals, groups and communities”. It includes terrorism, reprisal attacks, armed conflicts and others. Organised violence captures the extent of insecurity in society due to armed conflicts. It carries a lure of power that is intrinsically rewarding to the perpetrators (Karstedt and Eisner, 7).

Actually, it is the lure of power in the struggle against political tyranny and betrayal that sets the tone of actions in the two play texts I have selected for this study. Sandhu posits that “violence has its socio-political roots in poverty, racism, sexism and homophobia (xxvi)”. In essence, an understanding of the existing socio-economic, religious and ethnic sentiments of Nigeria’s post independent era, aids our understanding of the prevailing culture of corruption that tilts the exploited and the frustrated youths in the plays on a path of violence and terrorism.

In proffering counter terrorism strategies and a deeper understanding of the acts of terrorism, Whittaker (11) makes a distinction between corrigible terrorism and incorrigible terrorism. In the former, there exists the possibility of finding a “political/diplomatic” pathway out of the conflict by addressing underlying root causes, while the incorrigible terrorist group holds on to absolutist and maximalist ideology that the only solution to such group is to suppress the group to prevent it from wrecking more havoc.

In the last few years, terrorist related violence in Nigeria has become diverse and ever occurring. In fact, a culture of violence seems to have enveloped the country. For instance, the country is reeled with tales of havoc in the troubled North East and stories of unrest in the oil rich Niger Delta region. The other regions are equally not left out in the tales as pockets of violence are recorded almost on a daily basis. Violent conflict in Nigeria ranges from civil unrest, cult clashes, farmer/Herdsman crises, kidnapping, oil theft, ethno-religious crises, communal clashes, electoral violence, the Boko Haram insurgency and others (see www.amnesty.org report on Farmers and Herders crises).

The social economic realities in post independent Nigeria creates an enabling environment for domestic violence and the violence is mostly youths related (Abudullahi et al 41, Samuel 2, Winton 117) as young people are mostly the perpetrators and the victims of the violence. Of course, corruption, poverty and socio-economic disparity create germinating grounds for violence and terrorist radicalisation. The various factors that influence the development of domestic terrorism also include poor governance, absence of justice, marginalisation of rural areas, porous borders, unemployment and proliferation of arms (Bamidele, 112).

The continuous selfish exploitation and appropriation of the resources of the country by corrupt politicians have equally led to economic breakdown and social instability. Poor leadership has created a vacuum in the educational system leading to poor educational development especially, in the Northern region of Nigeria. Human capital development entails education and viable employment. However, corrupt leadership has led to socio-economic breakdown leading to a teeming mass of unemployed, under employed and unemployable youths. Some of these youths have at one point served as a political thugs and societal riff raff to politicians and have tasted the lure of power and violence. These youths have in the words of Samuel (1) “become ‘sacrificial lambs’ for the sustenance of the interest of bloody political demagogues under the umbrella of ‘Democracy’, and, unfortunately, in most cases, they are given the impression that they are fighting for their rights”. Hence, as will be seen in the two main dramatic texts in this study, the disadvantaged youths, used, frustrated and faced with a bleak future, pick up arms in revolt against a state that seems to have failed them.

Now, the Nigerian nation is made up of an estimated 200 million people (2019 World population review) of which over 60 percent are youths under the age of 30. The National Bureau of Statistics reports a 55.4% unemployed/underemployed youths in Q3 of 2018. These mass of dissatisfied youths are seen to be prone to easy radicalisation in the two texts under study; *Nwokedi* by Irobi and Yerima’s *Heart of Stone*. A prevailing theme of violence runs through both texts. Violence, thus, becomes a stage upon which they act out their frustration and aggression at a system that has robbed them of a future and hope. According to the Fanonian theory of violence, “Violence frees the native from

his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction, it makes him fearless and restores his self respect” (63). Consequently, in similar fashion, Nwokedi the protagonist, in Irobi’s *Nwokedi* views violence as a cleansing force, one that is liberating and cathartic in nature.

Drama as a Tool of Social Criticism

The two dramatic texts serving as our primary source of data in this study are drawn from the Nigerian society. The two playwrights use the selected texts as social commentary and social criticism of the corrupt post independent Nigerian society. Of course, we can conveniently say that the African playwright is a critic of social ills, an advocate for justice and a social reformer, for he often draws from his immediate environment and his lived experiences, the social and political issues troubling the society to make his plays. He creates this with characters, action, dance, lights, costumes, music and others, to produce a fictional world that is a microcosm of the society. By this, his play text becomes his “eye and voice of social conscientisation” (Binebai n.p).

Since play texts reflect the society, we can easily analyse them using the Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT) which is a sociological theory embedded in the Frustration-Aggression theory. The reason is that RDT is capable of opening our eyes to the process by which dissatisfied persons express their dissatisfaction when deprived of something desirable relative to other persons or groups in a society. This disenchantment deals with how a group of people feel when they compare their positions to that of the others and realise that the others in the group possess something that they do not have. And, the point is when this feeling persists, it is capable of leading to frustration, aggression and stress which may result to violence (Abudullahi et al, 54). Furthermore, the perception of deprivation and marginalisation lead people to rebel especially when frustrated by “social economic and structural inequalities” that aggravate their existence as members of a society (47). RDT has been cited by scholars as the cause of social movement and deviance. It can lead to collective actions such as riots, gangsterism, cultism and terrorism. In the two plays, we see the protagonists identify with social groups that form part of their social identity. The fire spitting Nwokedi is the leader of the Unemployed Youth Association in Osisioma; who goes on a violent rampage against the political elites. While, Musa in *Heart of Stone*, joins the extremists as a rebellion against an unjust society.

Analysis of *Nwokedi* and *Heart of Stone*

Esiaba Irobi’s *Nwokedi* (1991), employs revolutionary aesthetics and indigenous Igbo ritual festival in his chant against oppression, corruption and abuse of power by the political elites. It depicts the ritual cleansing of the land by the Ekumeku age grade on the occasion of the Ekpe festival. The Ekpe festival is a ritual Igbo festival of the Ngwa people used to symbolically drive out the old year and usher in the New Year. The ritual involves the spilling of the blood of a ram by a singular stroke of the machete by the leader of the age group at the shrine of the gods. Nwokedi’s family is the only family empowered to slaughter the sacrificial ram. His father had done it and his grandfather

had played the role too. Nwokedi had played the role for the past six years but this year he demands a blood more potent. Human blood, preferably the blood of a corrupt politician. However, the closest available politician is his father, Nwokedi snr and his brother-in-law, Arikpo. Two corrupt politicians who have mortgaged the future of the youths for their own selfish lust for power. Nwokedi, possessed by the spirit of the mask, raises the machete to strike off the head of Arikpo, whom he has instructed the Ekumeku to present. His father, Nwokedi snr, rushes in to save Arikpo but falls under the descending machete. The machete rises a second time and Arikpo is also beheaded. It is on this image of terror, violence and youth rebellion, that *Nwokedi* unfolds.

The Ekumeku age grade comprises of the youths of the village. This age grade also make up the cream of the Unemployed Youths Association with Nwokedi as the president. In Osioma village they are known as the Ekumeku, which means Whirlwind, while in Arikpo's village Ugep, they are called The Devil's Brigade. The members of the unemployed youths, truly live up to their alias by wreaking havoc and mischief. Although the Ekumeku is charged with the duties of the Ekpe masquerade cult-- a secret cult that carries out *ala* propitiation rites against the earth mother when an abomination has been committed or when the earth goddess is perceived to have been offended – they transform into a group of young revolutionaries, fighting against selfish leaders and eradicating abuse of power. In their quest for better life and equal participation in governance, Nwokedi, the leader of the Ekumeku, transforms into the very monster he seeks to eradicate. Nwokedi, a youth corp member serving in the Northern part of the country, is a fearless, headstrong young man with lofty ideals for the future. He has a strong hatred for the ruling class. Nwokedi is a self-acclaimed revolutionary who believes in trying to change the status quo rather than watching it deteriorate further. As presented in the play, Nwokedi demands a share of life, of the future of his generation, from the wasteful and selfish leaders. In his interaction with his fellow corps members he states,

NWOKEDI: ...have you asked yourselves what vision they have for us. What vision they ever had? What is the vision of a grey haired generation that ruptured the future of their offsprings and tore it into shreds... we must seize the reins of power in this nation. Every generation comes and goes. But each must leave change. Each must have a destiny. A destiny to hand over to posterity. Where is our destiny?... (30)

Nwokedi's anger is directed at the system manipulated by the politicians and the corrupt leaders. His radical stance against the exploitative generation of his father leads him to declare a "cleansing" against their corruption and selfishness. The youths of Osioma in agreement with Nwokedi decide that the younger generation be given a chance at governance. Thus, they vote against Nwokedi snr, a former member of senate who is running for a second term. In Ugep, the Unemployed Youth Association warns senator Arikpo not to contest again as his previous term in the senate had done nothing to combat unemployment or provide jobs for the graduates. Senator Arikpo defiles the order of the youth as he has no concern or interest in the plight of the youth. He goes ahead with the campaign and the youths go on a violent riot against him. They burn down his new house, destroy his car and attack him with machetes and axe. The violent

attack against Senator Arikpo is sustained in Osisioma where the youths show no respect for all politicians. The aim of the unemployed youth movement is to change the system to one that is beneficial to them. Thus, they recourse to violence to pass across their message as they have been frustrated to the point of aggression and despair by the senseless exploitation of the ruling class. Senator Arikpo describes the youths as:

ARIKPO: The Devil's own brigade! A miserable mob of jobless young men and women. A menace of unemployed chimpanzees. A harvest of political illiterates. Nonentities. Pieces of dirt. Most of them graduated from the universities. Others from polytechnics. Louts who cannot find jobs for themselves. The only job they could find was to shatter my house into fragments. (3)

The Unemployed Youths Association, by their grievances and tactics of airing them, are at the risk of metamorphosing into a terrorist group. Although their concerns are justified and they are fighting for a noble cause- the removal of the corrupt ruling class- their methods are crude and violent. They employ the use of bombs, arson, mob action and murder to show their frustration. Even though they have other means of overthrowing the politicians, such as at the election and voting massively for a younger and smarter candidate, they are guilty of the abuse of power for which they accuse the politicians.

According to Whittaker, "the fundamental aim of the terrorist's violence is ultimately to change 'the system'. Nwokedi in the ritual possession of the Ekpe masquerade does not kill the sacrificial ram which has been made available, rather, he slaughters his father and Arikpo, the two corrupt politicians. Nwokedi's defiance to established authority is captured in his altercation at the Youth Corps orientation ground with Awado. The revolutionary army of Esiaba Irobi is made of frustrated and disconcerted youths, who strike blindly in rage at anything in their path as social deprivation is perceived to have led them to frustration. For them, violence becomes a cathartic tool of self-expression and the restoration of self-esteem. Offering insights on the playwright's dramatic occupation, Diala (235) states that Irobi recognises "unemployment as a latent revolutionary factor" and recognises that "segment of society as potential revolutionaries" against self-centred corrupt leaders who wish to remain in power perpetually.

In Ahmed Yerima's *Heart of Stone* the playwright explores the gory tale of religious fundamentalism fuelled by distrust, fear and intolerance. The social reality and intricacy of life in the troubled North East of Nigeria is the focus of this play. Musa, a young borehole digger, goes on a suicide mission against the "infidels" who are equally members of his family that are gathered for the wedding of his cousin. Musa's choice of action is influenced not only by radicalism and religious fundamentalism, but also by the monetary gains he makes as a member of the rebel group. The play tells the story of the havoc that is wrecked on the family by violence and exposes the enabling factors that makes terrorism the last resort of the social deviants. The play is set in the contemporary Northern Nigeria. Musa is a young orphan, having lost his mother to death eighteen years before and his father not too long after. He is brought up by his grandmother Kaka Patu, who does all she is able to do to send him to school before enrolling him at an

Arabic school. In *Heart of Stone*, the playwright tries to depict the psychological state of a young boy who accepts to be a suicide bomber. Musa is concerned about caring for his family but at the same time, he is ready to defend the faith of Islam. Kaka Patu, Achief and Kaka Vera at different times speak of the apparition of death that they see hang around Musa. But Musa erroneously believes that to die for the faith is to die a hero. Hence, when his uncle, Achief, speaks of the vision of death he saw, Musa is all too happy as he believes he will die a warrior like his great grandfather. Youthful exuberance, ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, disillusionment and an ingrained sense of grievance are the undoing of the young man. Ali, the young man who recruits Musa into religious fundamentalism, tells him not to think or rationalise as the course they have chosen is their “respite”.

Musa believes he is the “true believer”. His motivation stems from a deep dissatisfaction with his life, the society and a bleak future. On his return from the terrorist training camp, he asks Amina his pregnant fiancée “how many boreholes do we need to feed our children?” By this question, it is obvious that financial enticement is a contributory factor to the recruitment of young men into terrorist groups. Apart from that, there is also the early radicalisation and indoctrination of the Alamajiri boys in some of the Quranic schools. Musa speaks to Sheik Sani of the rejection he and his fellow Alamajiris faced from the society, the politicians and even from the Mallams. In desperation and anger, they lash out at all and everything, venting out an anger that has been internalised for long through indoctrination in the Arabic schools. Musa is the psychologically motivated terrorist. The one with the ‘we versus them’ outlook. And, for the psychologically motivated terrorist, violence is an avenue to relieve the constant and burning anger as well as to gain group acceptance. Musa rages against the Christians that have gathered to pray for his cousin’s (Glady’s) marriage. This rage shows the level of his hatred and depravity. The line between family and enmity is blurred in him due to his religious intolerance and extremism. The line between logic and irrationality is also distorted. The rebellion goes out of control and the ‘wretched of the country’, the social misfits, revel in the violence that gives them a ‘voice’. For Musa and many other ‘rejects of the earth’ “life does not matter anymore. What matters is eternal life in the hereafter” (59).

Conclusion

In *Heart of Stone* we see the resulting absurdity that emerges from a society that does not consider the future of its youths. Left unprovided for and exploited by the politicians, the religious rulers and the society itself, the young adult may exhibit deviant behaviour such as violence, drug abuse, criminal tendencies and restiveness. It goes without saying that the would-be terrorist may be recruited from this mass of disenchanting youths. Whatever, the case may be, when the grievances of the citizens are not addressed, they may turn out to be problematic for the country. Thus, in *Nwokedi* and *Heart of Stone*, we experience the socio-economic challenges faced by the youths which are caused by corruption and poor leadership. The resulting effect of this is the breeding of avoidable acts of violence, cultism, and domestic terrorism. We equally see that ethno-religious crises flourish in the midst of ignorance and fear. Insecurity destabilises a nation and does not encourage foreign investment. To mitigate these

factors, there is need for increased political participation by the youths. A share in governance can ensure that their interests are safe-guarded and considered in policy formulation. Better governance, increased political participation and the development of human capital should be key drivers of government. Special attention should be given to the youths in the form of formal and informal education, skill acquisition, technical knowledge, and micro credit for young entrepreneurs. Increased human capital development will contribute to the fight against domestic terrorism by reducing the available pool of recruits and social misfits. Good governance will lead to social and economic development thereby producing a nation that is truly democratic and beneficial to all.

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ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSES OF SELECTED PIDGIN CONVERSATIONS IN DOMESTIC AND BUSINESS CONTEXTS

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Abstract

The fact that sociolinguistics seeks to explain the reasons behind specific linguistic choices in the society is undisputable. The roles of sociolinguistics transcend this, as it also provides some facts about language issues that result from language contacts, colonisation and multilingualism. The thrust of this study was to examine selected pidgin-based discourses from the sociolinguistic angle. The data constitute domestic and market discourses drawn from Ilorin metropolis through recording of conversations which were transcribed for ease of analyses. The study deployed Hymes' theory of communication, with the adaptation of four elements of the acronyms-SPEAKING: Setting, Participant, End and Instrumentality; for the analysis of the speech samples based on the preponderance of these elements in the studied data. The findings drawn from the analysis of the speech samples, revealed that the use of Pidgin English as an instrument of communication has numerous implications on the decoders. It is not only informative but also educative and persuasive. In conclusion, even though Pidgin-English is regarded as an informal language, its functions transcend the informal domain: It is employed in formal discourses informally. Apart from this, an ethnographic assessment of the pidgin-based discourses has established the profoundness of setting in social interaction.

Keywords: Speech Events, Contact Situation, Formal and Informal Discourses, Pidgin English

Introduction

It is no doubt that pidgin English is a contact language and over the years, its significance has extended from its use for commercial purposes to domestic functions. Pidgin English is a variety of spoken language which exhibits all the characteristics of the conventional discourse. A spoken language can be a monologue or dialogue. It can also come in form of different genres of literature; drama, prose and poetry. This justifies that Pidgin English is not only used in informal contexts, it has found its way into the formal discourses, among which are the literary texts such as Obafemi's (2003) *Pestle on the Mortal*. Even though there have been vast studies and literatures on Pidgin

English discourse, this study intends to embark on an Ethnographic analysis of selected pidgin conversations in Ilorin Metropolis. The choice of Hymes' Ethnography of Communication is to establish the significance of context in human communication, be it a communication which adopts the standard variety of language or the sub-standard ones.

Literature and Theoretical Review

Sociolinguistics simply studies how language use is a determinant of a given society's linguistic requirements. It studies and explains why language users speak differently in different social contexts and is concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning. In interaction, we adjust our communication style consciously and we simplify explanations for children, talk louder when conversing with someone who has difficulty in hearing and sometimes we change our speech rate, lexical choices, and even syntax to become similar to our interlocutor's (West & Turner, 2010). Sociolinguistics seeks to explain such adjustments. Sociolinguistics according to Trudgill (2000) helps language users to understand the nature of human language by studying language in its social contexts. He submits that sociolinguistics is that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon.

Hudson (1996) asserts that there is a close connection between language and society because language cannot be separated from the society. The users of language are from different social classes; therefore, their language is influenced by the social norms and cultural patterns. Sociolinguistics does not only study the relationship between language and the society, but also considers some factors such as the social background of the interlocutors; age, gender, social class, ethnic background and the contexts as well as the manners of communication.

Apart from the social variables as determinants of linguistic choices, other phenomena such as contact situations among others, also determine language use. For instance, Pidgin English is a contact language created by people with no language in common. Holm (2004, p.5) asserts that pidgin is a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups and people with no language in common. It evolves when they need some means of verbal communication; perhaps for trade, but no group learns the native language of any other group for social reasons that may include lack of trust or close contact.

Language contact is a notable sociolinguistic phenomenon which gives birth to the variety of language referred to as Pidgin English. Pidgin is an English-based pidgin and creole language spoken as a lingua franca across Nigeria. It can be spoken as a pidgin, a creole, slang or a decreolised acrolect by different speakers, who may switch between these forms depending on the social setting (Faraclas, 1996). Osisanwo (2012) examines the morphological classification of the Nigerian Pidgin English. He claims that existing studies on the domestication of the English Language in Nigeria have concentrated on the Nigerian variety of English and the Nigerian Pidgin, with emphasis on the features of Nigerian English usage and Nigerian Pidgin (Jowit 1991, Banjo 1996, 2004, Bamgbose 1995, Osoba 2004, Adegbija 2004, Egbokhare 2001, Osisanwo 2005

among others). To him, these studies delved into the phonological, grammatical, lexical, morphological, semantics and pragmatic peculiarities of the language(s).

Oro (2015) submits that Nigerian Pidgin (NP) has been classified as an indo-exogenous language because it is a bridge between English (an exogenous language) and the numerous indigenous languages of Nigeria. It derives the bulk of its vocabulary from English, its superstrate language, while its structure and function are closely affiliated to Nigeria's indigenous languages, its substrate languages. It is reported to be the most widely spoken language in Nigeria with 3 to 5 million native speakers and more than 75 million second language speakers (Elugbe, 1995; Faraclas, 1996; Egbokhare, 2001). Its speakers cut across geographical location, age, educational and socio-economic classes.

This study is concerned with actual language use in social contexts which Hymes refers to as 'ethnography of communication'. According to Hymes (1962), ethnography of communication is an approach to understanding how language is used for communication. Hymes cited in Farah (1998, p. 125) argues that:

the study of language must concern itself with describing and analysing the ability of the native speakers to use language for communication in real situations (communicative competence) rather than limiting itself to describing the potential ability of the ideal speaker/ listener to produce grammatically correct sentences (linguistic competence). Speakers of a language in particular communities are able to communicate with each other in a manner which is not only correct but also appropriate to the socio-cultural context.

According to Hymes, ethnography of communication is concerned with the linguistic competence of language users; that is what language users know about appropriate patterns of language use in his or her community. Johnstone and Macellino (2010), state that Hymes' ethnography of communication, offers a bipartite conception of speech that encompasses both the 'means of speech' available to speakers, and the 'speech economy' which interlocutors participate in. According to them, Hymes offers a theoretical concept for language study that accounts for both linguistic variation from individual to individual and relative linguistic coherence across the social realm. 'Means of speech' from Hymes' point of view is the interlocutors speech style, while 'speech economy' is a set of relationships within a speech community; the market place in which interactants use their means of speech, and those means of speech are in turn a constituent element of the speech economy (Hymes 1989, p. 446).

From Hymes' argument, speech does not occur in a vacuum, rather it occurs within a context. When meanings of words are analysed, language users realise that they entail dimension of participants, setting, topic, channel and so on. Speech can be used in so many ways among interlocutors or group of interactants and each interactant has its own style or norm of linguistic behaviour. Hymes (1974) in order to analyse the language of specific groups, proposed three levels of analyses: speech events, speech situations, and speech acts. Of these three acts, Hymes asserts that a speech event is the most important factor in dealing with particular instances in speech exchanges. A speech event is the basic unit of everyday communication. In any conversation, be it telephone

conversation, class interaction, interviews, etc., speech is important and event will not take place without it. Speech situation is the social situation in which speaking takes place. Hymes (1972), states that it accounts for all the features of the situations, some of them may not be linguistic. The speech acts according to him, is the lowest unit. It is the constituent part of speech events. They are the individual utterances that form the minimal units of analysis for ethnographies of communication. Hymes offers the example of a party (speech situation), a conversation during a party (speech event), and a joke within a conversation (speech acts). To understand the framework of how speech works, Hymes (1974) proposes the Ethnolinguistic Hypothesis of SPEAKING.

- **The Setting and Scene (S)**
This has to do with the physical contexts of discourse, that is, the temporal and spatial situation of the speech event. It covers the physical circumstance of communication in time, place, period, season, and weather. Scene on the other hand, refers to the psychological context or cultural view of the event or setting in discourse.
- **The Participants (P):**
This refers to the discourse interactants and the role relationship between them. The status, age, profession and beliefs of the participants are important in communication.
- **Ends (E):**
Ends have to do with the intention of the discourse participants. The intention, otherwise known as goal, dependent on some factors such as: the occasion of discourse. The goals of discourse may be the same for all participants but in some cases may be different.
- **Act Sequence (A):**
Act sequence refers to the actual form and content of what is said: the precise words used, how they are used, and the relationship of what is said to the actual topic at hand.
- **Key (K):**
Key refers to the tone, manner or spirit in which a particular message is conveyed: serious, lighthearted, mocking and sarcastic among others.
- **Instrumentalities (I):**
Instrumentalities deal with the channels employed in communication: for example, verbal (oral or written) and the style or actual form of speech used which can either be formal or informal.
- **Norm (N):**
Norm has to do with what is acceptable and not acceptable in a speech community. It consists of rules or conventions guiding speech or communication.
- **Genre (G):**
Genre refers to clearly demarcated types of utterance: such as poems, proverbs, riddles, sermons, prayers, lectures, and editorials.

Ethnography of communication (also known as ethnography of speaking) is an approach to analysing language which has been designed to heighten awareness of culture-bound assumptions. Wardaugh (1999, p.242) states that Hymes proposed ethnolinguistic framework in order to take into account the various factors that are involved in speaking. He adds that ethnography of a communicative event is a description of all the factors that are relevant in understanding how a particular communicative event achieves its objectives. Adedimeji (2007) states that Hymes’ ethnography of communication aims at describing how conventions of language, as well as its forms, relate to various aspects of social behaviour.

Methodology

This study is a survey type of research. This method enables the participation of the researcher through an observation of the activities of the interlocutors. Four pidgin-based speech samples were selected purposively from domestic and market settings for a conduct of a cross-sectional research. The first datum is a monologue: a lamentation by a woman who soliloquises and reveals the tedious task of motherhood right from conception to birth as well as child nurturing. The significance of motherhood is emphasised as well as the need for the appreciation of motherhood. Datum two is a conversation which topic is *Omugwo* (mothers’ rites for their daughters after child birth in the Eastern Nigeria—Postnatal Care). The third conversation takes place between a buyer and a seller while the fourth conversation is a story which relates the personal experience of one of the two interlocutors. The data were recorded and transcribed orthographically. The data collected were analysed using Hymes’ Ethnography of Communication. Four of the parameters of SPEAKING which are: Settings, Participants, Acts and Instrument were adapted for the analysis of the data.

Data Analysis

The data for this study which constitute selected pidgin-based conversation are analysed on the tables below. Each section contains the analysis of each of the four tenets across the data.

Setting

Datum One	The physical setting is domestic. The linguistic setting reflects the use of repetition, both lexical (‘wel wel’,) and structural repetition (“pikin no easy <i>fa</i> , pikin no hizi at al”). The social setting reflects the use of language that is gender specific. It is women’s talk, therefore the possible registers include ‘moda’, ‘pikin’, ‘fire’,
Datum Two	The extract is a domestic discourse; <i>Omugwo</i> , which normally takes place in the domestic set up. The linguistic setting reflects the choice of registers that are peculiar to child birth and postnatal care such as “wen pesin born for hospitu”, “she go dey kom dey kuk, baf bebi”, etc. The social setting reflects the cultural practice of postnatal care, a tradition which is symbiotic

	<p>in nature, the maternal grandmother takes the responsibility of care-giving to her grandchild and the child (the one who gives birth) in turn takes care of her mother on her departure by buying her gift items. This is reflected in the exchange thus:</p> <p>“wen she wan go, you go package am, buy rapa, buy <i>george</i>, umbrella, shoe, hairtie, everitin to make am hapi...”</p>
Datum Three	<p>The scene for this extract is indefinite. However, there are contextual clues such as ‘haus’, ‘<i>madrassa</i>’ (meaning Arabic school) and “Kwara State” in the narrative, which point out specific locations and places of events.</p>
Datum Four	<p>This extract takes place in the market, where there is a haggling between a buyer and the sellers. Words indicating the product of interest to the buyer such as, ‘<i>matiria</i>’ ‘brawn’, “troza lent”, ‘mesure’, as well as those indicating transactions such as, ‘sel’, ‘bai’ and so on are indicators of the setting of the exchange.</p>

The extracts presented on the table above have different settings. Extracts one and two have their physical settings as the domestic set up. The physical setting for datum two is indefinite while that of datum four is the market. The social setting for the first datum is gender-specific while that of datum two is the cultural practice of postnatal care. The differences in the physical and social settings of the extracts are reflected in the linguistic choices of the participants.

Participant

Datum One	<p>The extract is a monologue, therefore, there is a single participant. The implication of this is that the extract has a single topic which is the ‘Pain of Motherhood’</p>
Datum Two	<p>There are five participants in this exchange—two active participants and three passive ones. The active participants are the interviewer and the interviewee while the passive participants are the characters, mentioned in the exchange between the two active interlocutors; Mama and Bebi.</p>
Datum Three	<p>Here, the participants are three—the narrator, Maymuna and Bros. One of the three participants is active while the other two are passive participants. The active participant is the narrator while the passive participants are the subjects of the narration.</p>
Datum Four	<p>There are four participants, all of whom are active- the buyer and the sellers (including the sales boys). However, the seller has a higher number of turns because of the need of the seller to persuade the customer (buyer) to buy the product.</p>

The table above presents the participants of the four extracts under study. The participants vary across the extracts. The first extract has a single participant while

extract two has five, both active and passive ones. The third extract has three participants while the fourth also has four like extract two. Even though the second and last extracts have related number of participants, the numbers of active and passive participants vary. The implication of the differences in the number of participants is the depth of the information. It is easy to deduce the contextual variables in an exchange with more numbers of participants than those with less ones. It is also worthy to note that passive participants also have significant contributions in the interpretation of a discourse piece.

End

Datum One	<p>The main purpose of the monologue is to emphasise the significance of women in the domestic setting and the society at large. These two functions are what the speaker encapsulates in her message of appreciating motherhood. Hence, the choice of utterances such as:</p> <p>“Modas, dey try no be smol o, pikin no hizi at ol”, etc. and the hurdles of motherhood such as: “kari belle fo nai mont”</p>
Datum Two	<p>This extract is expository and descriptive. It seeks to expose the listener (specific) to the criteria for conditions attached to and processes of Post-Natal care (<i>omugwo</i>). It also streamlines the roles of the mother (who just delivered a baby) and that of the grand-mother (the care-giver) in the course of the activity and beyond. “She go kom dey help yu, yu go relas, yu no go do anitin. She go kom dey kuk, baf the bebi, do oda tins, your only wok be say if di bebi cry, she go wake you say bebi dey krai o, mek yu stand up dey breast fid”.</p>
Datum Three	<p>The extract is both expository and narrative by nature. However, the goal is to educate the listeners (nonspecific) that making precious use of time has significant effect on human life, and heeding positive advice is for the benefit of the advisee. “Wetin I dey tok be sei, we fit do wetin we wan do if we dey detamin...she don bekom beta persin na with fokos, so mek we trai wetin gud.”</p>
Datum Four	<p>The aim of the exchange is to achieve the purpose for which buying and selling are set aside. Even though the buyer is not interested to buy, the seller adopts marketing strategies to convince the buyer to buy and appeals to the buyer’s emotive sense.</p> <p>Seller: “Bai join na, use am sow sket... bai dis won na, na faiv troza, and won yad”.</p> <p>Buyer: “Dis kolo no be wetin I want”.</p>

The ends of the four extracts are also distinctive. The first extract seeks to convey the significance of motherhood in child existence and even the society at large. As the popular maxim goes: women are the bedrock of the society, which starts from every home. Like the first extract, the second one seeks to emphasise the significance of postnatal care in the traditional community. Postnatal care is an important aspect of culture which the interactants seek to preach to no specific audience. This is an aspect of culture which is almost going into extinction among the present generation. The purpose of the third extract is educative in nature while that of the last is transactional.

Instrumentality

Datum One	The channel adopted by the speaker to convey her message is informal— the use of Pidgin English. Although informal, its target is vast; the speaker seeks to communicate to a very large audience, young or old, learned or illiterate, thus, the choice of the simple variety of language which a larger percentage of hearers can decode.
Datum Two	The narrative versus descriptive method is used by the speaker to pass the information across to her listener. The speaker is as explicit as possible to make sure that the listener understands the message (<i>Omugwo</i>) she seeks to pass across.
Datum Three	The expository and narrative techniques are employed by the speaker to relate the message to the listener, who is unspecified in the monologue.
Datum Four	The seller adopts the persuasive approach to ensure that the customer buys from him. However, the buyer is more informal and blunt in her response to the seller’s requests. At the end, the seller wins over the seller as she eventually buys from the seller.

The instrument adopted for conveying the message in the first extract is informal while that of extract two is both narrative and descriptive. The third is similar to the second because both expository and narrative approaches were used to convey the message of the interlocutors to the listeners. The last of the extract is conveyed in a persuasive manner. Each of these approaches are determined by the field of discourse.

Discussion

This study was based on the analysis of pidgin-based speech samples from a sociolinguistic perspective. The data has been analysed with the adaptation of Hymes’ (1974) *Ethnography of Communication*. Four of the eight parameters recommended by the theorist were adapted for the analysis of the speech samples. The deductions made from the analysis are highlighted as follows:

7. Firstly, the settings of the pidgin-based exchanges which constitute the data for the study vary. The physical, social and linguistic contexts play significant roles

in understanding the underlying meaning behind the linguistic choices. More specifically, even though it is believed that Pidgin English is regarded as an informal language which does not suit a formal linguistic repertoire, some of the exchanges are more serious, especially datum two and four which themes are postnatal care and haggling. This indicates that the use of Pidgin English is not limited to informal discourses, as it could sometimes be used to express formal ideas. Similarly, in spite of the fact that buying and selling takes place in the commercial centers, the haggling process is a form of argumentative piece, which is formal in nature.

8. Secondly, the analysis of participant in the exchanges has also proven that Pidgin English also exhibits the same characteristics as all other existing human languages: it could be used in conversations, nonreciprocal discourses like the in datum One and Three, where we have monologues— lamentation and narration. Its use is not limited to specific domains and individuals.
9. Thirdly, the use of pidgin has successfully enabled the participants achieve their intentions. This indicates that Pidgin English can also be used to pass across messages indirectly, such that the addressee will comprehend the message conveyed. This is achieved in the four data under study. In datum one, Pidgin English has perfectly informed the listeners on the significance of motherhood; datum two has educated the listeners on the importance of the cultural practice of postnatal care; and in datum four, the purpose of the commercial transaction has been achieved through the vehicle of Pidgin English.
10. Lastly, the use of Pidgin English as an instrument for communication also has numerous implications on the decoders: it is not only informative but also educative and persuasive.

Conclusion

So far, it has been observed that even though Pidgin English is a contact language, it shares similar characteristics with all other existing human languages. Its classifications based on existing literatures cut across the lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels. Apart from the fact that it is acquired the way every other language is, its functions are not limited to informal conversations and settings, neither is it limited to people of particular social strata in the society. Its use and functions are mainly dependent on the contexts not only the individuals. Despite these significant characteristics of the Nigerian Pidgin English, its deficiency at the orthographical level renders it unsuitable as the Nigerian lingua-franca. Hence, the Nigerian Pidgin English can fill the long-term national language vacuum if intellectuals, linguists and other stake holders can work towards a standard orthography of this pidgin variety.

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Appendixes

Datum one

Oh geh! Modas dey tri o no bi smol o, if pesin neva stat somtin u no go no au e bi, hey mama dey tri wella dem dey tri well-well, pikin no hizi fa! Pikin no hizi at ol, dey kan distub eh, dat ma dota so, she can distud peson eh! She no go let peson slip, if she no slip, I no go fit slip, modas dey tri o, wi sopose dey tek kia of awa mama wel-wel, mek wi tek kia of dem wel-wel cos dem try no be smol tin. Make peson karri belle fo nai mont kom bon d pikin d dey yu go bon d pikin sef eh! Shi go si faya no bi smol tin eh! E no hizi mek God bles awa mama fo hus dem tri welwel.

Datum two

A: jus tok abaot *Omugwo* mek a hie, if yor husband dey hie nau im fo esplain beta. Na wen pesin bon a wont.

B: wen pesin bon fo hospitu yu go kom bak, *omugwo* don stat, mey bi yu go kol yor moda,

Na d moda of d geh go always kom fo igbo. So wen she kom *gan*, she go kom dey hep yu, yu go relas, yu no go do anitin, she go kom dey kuk, baf bebi, do oda thing, yor only wok bi say if bebi kraai she go wek yu sei bebi dey kraai o, me kyu stand up brest fid, yu no go do anytin na she go do everitin, *Omugwo* is sopose to bi tree mont, bet yu no sein a Buhari nau change dey.

Wen she wan go, yu go pakege, bai lappa (wrapper), bai *George* (brocade), umblera (umbrella) to mek am hapi, bai sop or salt, wey she go shear fo oda wimen to tel dem sei she don kom bak fo *Omugwo*, becos wons dey hie sei she go *Omugwo* dem go ekspet somtin.

A: ok! Dat won wey dem dey put pawda fo fes na wen dem kom grit d bebi

B: yes, if na hist yu no sei fo hie evribodi na *Oyinbo Oyinbo* dat dei wey yu dey kom from hospitu yu go bai pawda enibodi wey yu si fo road go tel yu sei giv mi bebi pawda o, dem go put am fo fes.

A: so yu do anaous sei sombodi bon

B: so wen yu giv dem pawda dey wil nau sei wea is bebi? Ha bebi hawa yu? Wehkom! Dem go go deir wey, yu tu go kari yor bebi go haus.

A: dem don hapi wit pesin sey pesin bon

B: pipu we kom grit yu fo haus yu go kom bring smol pleit put pawda dem go dey rob pawda

A: ok! Rob pawda fo deir fes.

B: dat pawda min wehkom o, d wons wey neva bon bifo go rob a fo belle e go bi laik preya fo dem.

Datum three

A won tok ababout ma friend a nem na Maymuna, dis geh eh a bros nem na Hafiz, bet d geh laik mek she dey pley fo us, she dey pley, dey pley sotey dat her Hafiz kom tel am sey yu dis Maymuna y yu jus dey haus jus dey pley, y yu no jus dey follo mi go *Madrassa* (Arabic School) na, na so dis geh bigin go *Madrassa*, smol smol, d geh bigin to no *Juz Amah* (the last portion of the Quran), bifo yu no, she start *Juz Mulik* (the second to the last portion of the Quran), if a tel yu sey dis geh don go faa no bi smol, wetin d geh no eh no bi smol tin o as d geh dey gud sef eh, she reprizent Kwara State for *Musabaqoh* (Quran reading competition) wey dem do fo 2018 January. Infakt na she win d fest katigori fimale section, wetin a dey tok bi sei wi fit do wetin wi wan do if wi dey detamin. Pesin wey dey haus dey play dey gist go jus dey pley up an dawn, nau she don bikom beta pesin na wit fokus, so mek we trai wetin gud.

Datum four

A: bai d brawn

B: a no dey sel o, na bai a dey bai

C: bai join na

B: no na dat long won a wan sow

C: use am sow sket

B: sket wey sket. Na diferen matirials dey inside sef, dis kolor no bi d same wit wetin a want

C: dis won na d sametin laik dis, bai dis won na faiv troza won yad, d long won dey ok yu go tek am sow sket.

B: long won?

C: wi don measure d long won

D: *ati wan* long won *tan*

C: yu bin nid tree and kwota troza and a sey mek d matiria no weist fo pises me kyu bai am as Faiv troza won yad.

B: faiv troza won yad ok.

A NEEDS ANALYSIS STUDY OF SELECTED ESP STUDENTS OF AUCHI POLYTECHNIC, AUCHI

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Abstract

Needs analysis is neither unique to language teaching nor restricted to language training, but it is often seen as the corner stone of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) because it leads to a very focused teaching and learning experience for both students and the language teacher. The purpose of this study was to find out the communicative language needs required for effective professional communication in English Language for Higher National Diploma (HND) students in the Department of Science Laboratory Technology (SLT), using samples from Chemistry/Biochemistry option in Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi. To achieve this, questionnaires were administered to sixty (60) students during English Language class. The results revealed that HND 1 SLT language learners, need to be taught effective communication skills to enable them work as technicians and managers in their future fields.

Keywords: ESP, Needs Analysis, Learner Demands, Effective Professional communication, Realities

Introduction

The status of English as an international language has affected many domains of life and society in ways that make it necessary to apply the language to specific needs. Of the fields that need specific English, education is the most significant. The evidence to it is the inclusion of English as a compulsory course at different levels of education in Nigeria. This is because in international diplomacy, politics, trade and commerce, English is the dominant medium of communication. Competitive demands of government, industry and corporations; both national and international, for economic and technological progress, all require a language that is widely used for communication. The English language is that language, because of its prestige, universal acceptability, and status. Hence, it is no wonder that organisations in English speaking countries prefer employees with better proficiency in writing and speaking English. Accordingly, our students want to prepare themselves for the job market by learning English well, and as teachers, we have to improve their skills in the English language. The students of Higher National Diploma One (HND 1), in the Department of Science Laboratory Technology (Chemistry/Biochemistry option) in Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi, take Communication in English Language (GNS 302) as a Second Semester course.

Hence, the first step in improving their proficiency in communicative skills is to identify their specific learning needs, since according to Hutchinson (1987), a thorough organisational and instructional needs assessment lies at the heart of a well-designed, effective ESP course.

Definition and Characteristics of ESP

The term ESP stands for English for Specific Purposes. It is a linguistic field of study that addresses the immediate and very specific needs of learners of a target language which is required for academic or professional purposes (Dudley-Evans & St. John, 1987). It is a subdivision of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), which is defined as, "...the area of inquiry and practice in the development of language programmes for people who need a language to meet a predictable range of communicative needs" (p.4). **Communicative competence** is a very significant issue in ESP which is successful only when instruction is tailored to learners' needs. Dudley-Evans and St. John offered a modified definition of the **absolute and variable** characteristics of ESP:

1. Absolute Characteristic

- ESP is defined to meet specific needs of the learner;
- ESP makes use of the underlying methodology and activities of the discipline it serves;
- ESP is centered on the language (grammar, lexis, register), skills, discourse and genres appropriate to these activities.

2. Variable Characteristics

- ESP may be related to or designed for specific disciplines;
- ESP may use, in specific teaching situations, a different methodology from that of general English;
- ESP is likely to be designed for adult learners, either at a tertiary level institution or in a professional work situation. It could, however, be for learners at secondary school level;
- ESP is generally designed for intermediate or advanced students;
- Most ESP courses assume some basic knowledge of the language system, but it can be used with beginners (p. 20).

A number of terms and phrases are important in ESP, but the main concern in this study is needs analysis which is now expanded in detail below.

Needs Analysis in ESP

Needs analysis is considered to be the main driving factor in ESP curriculum development. In the domain of language programme design, needs analysis refers to a number of the means for identifying and validating the needs and establishing priorities of language learners. Brown (1995) defines needs analysis as "the activities involved in

gathering information that will serve as the basis for developing a curriculum that will meet the learning needs of a particular group of learners” (p.9). Ellis and Johnson (1994) view needs analysis as a “method of obtaining a description of a learner’s needs (or group of learners’ needs)” (p.10). Their definition of needs analysis is almost similar to Brown’s. Thus, the goal of needs analysis is to find out what learners want to use the language for, and what level of competencies they require in the language. Richards (1985) observes that needs analysis is the requirement for fact-finding or the collection of data from various sources. Furthermore, Westerfield (2010) asserts, “In the needs assessment process, the ESP practitioner does his/her best to find out information about the needs of the sponsor organisation, the needs and wants of the learner, and the context in which the learning will take place” (p.23). Hutchinson and Waters (1987) recommend that the ESP practitioner must do a target situation analysis (what does the learner need to be able to do with the language in the future), a present situation analysis (what can the learner do with the language now), and a context analysis (what is the environment in which the learning will take place)” (P.3). From the above explanations, it is obvious that the investigation of needs analysis may be conducted in three different areas which are: Target Situation Analysis (TSA), Present Situation Analysis (PSA) and Context Analysis (CA). These can be done by “examining both qualitative and quantitative information based on questionnaires, tests, interviews and observations” (P.2). And the ultimate goal of needs analysis is to design a curriculum and develop appropriate teaching techniques. The results of needs analysis can be used to determine a syllabus and suitable teaching techniques. This is necessary because “...in a learner-centered classroom, key decisions about what will be taught, how it will be taught, when it will be taught, and how it will be assessed, will be made with reference to the learner. Information from learners will be used to answer the key questions of what, how, when and how well (Hutchinson & Waters, p.13).

Objective of the Study

The purpose of this study was to find out the communicative language needs and wants required for effective professional communication in English Language for Higher National Diploma 1 (HND) students in the Department of Science Laboratory Technology (Chemistry/Biochemistry option) in Auchi Polytechnic, Auchi.

Methodology

The information for this study was collected through a questionnaire because it was the most appropriate tool for gathering the views and demands of the learners. The participants of this study were 60 in number. The participants were requested to answer “Yes or No” to the questions asked. They were also asked to provide very brief answers on rating scale such as “high, average, low, poor, good, and better’. The statistical devices used for analysing the data were percentages and frequency distribution based on the “Yes and No” responses.

Analysis and Results

The first section of the questionnaire was centered on the Target Situation (Future job descriptions). Most of the respondents, 40 (66.6%) belonged to 21-24 age group and the highest number of participants, 49 (81.6%) were males. It was found that most of the respondents, 52 (86.6%) had an average level of proficiency in the target language, which is English. The second question found that all 60 (100%), that is all of the participants wanted to learn Communication in English (GNS 302) for their future profession. In addition, all the participants agreed that the language would be used for writing, reading and speaking. Similarly, almost all of them, 57 (95%), agreed that they would use it for writing business correspondence, such as technical reports. Ultimately, all of them 60 (100%) realised that they would use the language for face to face communication in the course of daily interlocution in the English medium. Also, a large portion of the learners, 56 (93.3%), demanded that the content areas should be related to SLT because the majority, 38 (63.3%) of them would work as laboratory technicians and a lesser number of them, 20 (33.3%), as managers agreed that the language would be used in their laboratory work as laboratory technicians. A large number of respondents, 52 (86.6%), realised that they would require the language for demonstrations, and small talk with patients. However, the majority of them, 49 (81.6%), indicated that they would use it in trying to convince prospective patients on the need to run necessary health tests. The last question of this section inquired when and how often the language will be used. All the participants 60 (100%) said that the English language would be used after completion of their studies and they would use it very often in their professions as well as in their social life.

The second section of the questionnaire surveyed the Present Situation (Present Knowledge) of the ESP learners. The highest number of participants, 52 (86.6%), viewed that they were not too good in writing, while 41 (68.3%), said that they were average in speaking. The next question found that most of them, 48 (80%), could not really write grammatically correct sentences and 51 (85%) could speak with fluent English. About their weaknesses, the majority, 57 (95%), said that they could not produce logical, intelligible and interconnected writing. Their writing (composition/essays/reports) lacked required vocabulary and logic for their profession. While, some of the participants, 21 (35%), revealed that they could not create well-organised paragraphs; most of their paragraphs lacked coherence and unity. Regarding weaknesses in speaking, all of them, 60 (100%), agreed that they could not speak in context, with fluency and intonation. That is, they all avoided class presentations. The second highest number of respondents, 57 (95%), failed to speak fluently and the third highest, 52 (86.6%), had problem with speaking in context. In addition, 58 (96.6%) of the participants, the highest, admitted that they had some background knowledge in General English (GNS 101, 102, 201 & 202). After that, 58 (96%) of the learners, the highest, picked up the option that they lacked the necessary skill of writing correct business correspondence, and 51 (85%), the second highest, lacked the skill of job interviews. Next, 31 (51.6%), answered that their past language learning experiences were average.

The third and last section of this questionnaire surveyed the Context Analysis; that is the environment where the language learning would take place. In answer to the

first question, 57 (95%) of the participants chose the option that the instructional materials should be delivered not only face to face, but also by the use of internet, mobile apps, and PowerPoint presentations. Next, 30 (50%) of the learners agreed to the option that attendance at class should be compulsory and made a part of course evaluation. The Majority, 52 (86.6%) of the respondents said that the course materials should be chosen from different sources like textbooks, videotapes, mobile apps and other materials used to train people for a job; such as; work forms, charts and samples of relevant course assignments, websites providing business letters, dialogues, instructions, telephone conversations, podcasts, etc. Subsequently, the largest part, 57 (95%) of the participants realised that the existing classroom resources (i.e. white-board) were not sufficient. In answer to the last question of the questionnaire, nearly all the learners, 58 (96.6%) agreed that the course should be taught in the early hours (8-10am) of the morning, and not hot afternoons (2-4pm) when they were tired.

From the results of the study, a number of important facts were found. The learners had an average level of proficiency in the target language, i.e. General English. So they needed to learn effective communication skills for use in their future professions. For instance, they needed proficiency for writing business correspondences and reports. The key content areas of Communication in English (GNS 302) for these learners should be related to Science Laboratory Technology profession because in future they would work as laboratory technicians and managers. Though many of them could speak fairly correctly, they still needed to be taught effective speaking skills. They could not produce analytical, coherent and cohesive writing and often failed to create well-organised paragraphs. None of them could speak in context, with fluency and intonation. Therefore, enhancement of writing and speaking skills are very urgent for them. They had previous background knowledge in communication in English; but they lacked the skill of writing business correspondence. Their past language learning experiences were deficient hence, the need for development of professional communication in writing and speaking was a great necessity for them. The study also revealed that instructional materials should be delivered not only face to face, but internet, mobile apps, and PowerPoint presentations should be introduced. In addition, attendance in the course classes should be compulsory and should be made an integral part of course evaluation. The course materials should be chosen from different sources like textbooks, instruction equipment manuals, course content to train people for a job; materials used on a job, such as work forms, charts and samples of relevant course assignments and student papers; as well as materials from websites, like business letters, dialogues, instructions, telephone conversations, and pod-casts. Also, the course classes should be held in the early hours of the morning (8am- 12noon).

Conclusion

The learners had previous experiences in the learning of General English for over twelve years. Still, their level of proficiency in English needed to be developed. Therefore, focus should be on both writing business correspondence and speaking skills development. Hence, they should be exposed to extensive writing and speaking practices in and outside the classroom. Accordingly, Task Based Instructions (TBI), pair and group work, mandatory use of a target language in the classroom, prompt and

preparatory class presentations, dialogues, instructions, telephone conversations, procedures description and writing business correspondence should be introduced. For selection of course materials, the teacher should consult different sources like textbooks, instruction/ equipment manuals, work forms, charts, and business communication related websites which provide business letters, dialogues, instructions, telephone conversations, and pod-casts. Since there is time constraint, the design of course materials will depend on the teacher's discretion on the basis of learners' needs. And the summative assessment of the course should include both writing and speaking proficiency. Moreover, attendance in the course classes should be declared compulsory and made a vital part of course evaluation. This is a key component of ESP.

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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Part One

Why are you interested in studying English Language?

1. Because it is a compulsory subject
2. Because I am interested in English Language as a course
3. Because I need it in order to obtain my degree
4. Because I will need it in my target(future) career
5. Because I need it to help me in my academic studies
6. Because it is interesting and I enjoy learning it
7. Because it will help me to be a successful professional
8. Because it is easy, therefore I can get good grades and upgrade my GPA
9. Because I need it for my daily life

Part Two

10. Please provide the following information: (a) Your age:18-21 22-25 26-29 30+
11. Your sex: Male or Female
12. What is your current level of English in writing and speaking?
13. How do you want to be taught?
14. What time of the day do you want to be taught?
15. What methods of teaching do you prefer?
16. Is the Whiteboard adequate for lectures?
17. Can you spell correctly?
18. Can you write grammatically correct letters/correspondences
19. Rate your past language classes
20. Should class attendance be made compulsory for your English class?

COMEDY PRAGMATIC ACT ANALYSIS OF SELECTED NIGERIAN STAND-UP COMEDIANS' PERFORMANCES IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND NIGERIA

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Abstract

Nigerian stand-up comedy genre has grown locally and internationally to become one of the highest gross earning part of the Nigerian entertainment sector. This success can be traced in part to the linguistic coding used by the comedians to express their intentions which are context-sensitive. This paper aims at studying the situated verbal acts used by Nigerian stand-up comedians in their performances in the United Kingdom (UK) and Nigeria and in order to achieve this aim, fifty purposively selected Nigerian stand-up comedians' performances in the UK and Nigeria from AY Live comedy shows were transcribed and subsequently, analysed using the combination of Bach and Harnish's (1979) speech act taxonomy and Osuolale-Ajayi's (2019) adapted comedy pragmatic act theory. The analysis of the data reveals that constatives, directive and acknowledgements acts are preponderantly used by the comedians to perform the comedy pragmatic acts of informing, requesting and eliciting laughter, among others. The study concludes that there is a considerable overlap in the comedy acts of the Nigerian stand-up comedians in their performances in the UK and Nigeria. This means that irrespective of the actual situational context of their performances, their intentions are almost the same.

Keywords: Stand-up, Comedy, Speech, Acts, Context

Introduction

It is a fact that people do not speak in a void and that language serves the purpose of communicating intentions and/or transacting meanings and maintaining relationships. Over the years, studies have shown that language is a property of the society and thus, the meanings of words cannot be studied in isolation. This view is in consonance with Bloor and Bloor (2007) who submit that "language can properly construct meaning only when it is part of a wider social event, and it both needs context and helps create context at the same time".

Language is employed by individuals in different speech communities to perform diverse functions. Crystal (1987) opines that "language in communication is

used, not only to get information about the weather but also to establish phatic communion, which could be emotional expression or social interaction; the latter acting as a purpose of maintaining rapport between people. Crystal's definition above, establishes that language is a social phenomenon. A social function of language is to create humour. Humour, which is the expected end product of comedy, is defined by Ross (1980, p. 20) as "a widely attested and intuitively grasped aspect of human social communication. Since the point of language is initially to communicate successfully with other speakers, it is evident that the ability to appreciate and engage in humour is part and parcel of behaviour." Creating a humorous discourse is the main intention of stand-up comedians. This study seeks to uncover the verbal acts performed by Nigerian stand-up comedians in their routines in the UK and Nigeria in order to achieve their purpose of entertaining their audiences.

Theoretical Consideration

Speech Act

The speech act theory is one of the theories propounded as an enhanced search in the discovery of the meaning of meaning. Since its postulation, it has been incorporated into the field of pragmatics. The speech act theory, according to Lyons (1977, p. 725), was put forward by J. L. Austin in 1962 as a reaction to the submission of logical positivists such as: G. E. Moore, L. Wittgenstein, and B. Russel who assert that the meaning of a proposition is based on its truthfulness or falsity in relation to what exists in the world. Austin (1962) believes that statements are spoken to accomplish certain acts in a language. Yule (1996, p. 47) corroborates Austin's submission above by stating that "in attempting to express themselves, people do not only produce utterances containing grammatical structures and words, they also perform actions via those utterances". Building on the earlier submissions on speech acts, Bach and Harnish (1979) propose an intention and inference approach to literal and non-literal speech acts. Bach and Harnish (1979, p. 4) assert that "illocutionary acts are performed with the intention that the hearer identifies the very act being performed". Bach and Harnish believe that linguistic communication is basically an inferential process. That is, the hearer arrives at the speaker's illocutionary act through inference. This means that to Bach and Harnish, communication or speech act is successful when a speaker's illocutionary intention is recognised by the hearer.

According to Bach and Harnish (1979, p. 5), the inference the hearer makes or takes is based not just on what the speaker says but also on Mutual Contextual Beliefs (MCBs) which refers to the previously known or shared information possessed by discourse interactants in a conversation. Bach and Harnish (1979) posit that the contextual beliefs that feature in the speaker's intention and hearer's inference must be mutual if communication is to take place and they agree with Searle in the classification of their taxonomy, that a scheme of classification should be principled and its categories should not overlap (at least not beyond what can be expected from the nature of the subject) and the entries in each category should satisfy the criteria for belonging to that category. Bach and Harnish's 1979 taxonomy of speech acts are as follows:

- i. **Constatives:** They are expressions of beliefs, together with the expression of an intention that the hearer forms or similar beliefs she/he continues to hold. Examples are assertive, descriptive and ascriptive.
- ii. **Directives:** They express the speaker's attitude towards some prospective action by the hearer. They also express the speaker's intention that his utterance or the attitude it expresses be taken as a reason for the hearer to act. Examples include: command, beseech, demand, request, inquire, etc.
- iii. **Commissives:** They are acts of obligating oneself or of proposing to obligate one to do something specified in the propositional content, which may also specify conditions under which the deed is to be done or does not have to be done. Examples are promise, swear, vow, etc.
- iv. **Acknowledgments:** They express perfunctorily, if not genuinely, certain feelings toward the hearer. These feelings and their expression are appropriate to particular sorts of occasions. For example: greeting expresses gratitude; apology, expresses regret, etc. (Bach and Harnish, 1979, pp. 41-54).

Bach and Harnish's theory has been criticised for not including non-verbal aspects of communication in the discovery of the interlocutors' intentions. However, this present study finds it a very useful tool in analysing stand-up comedy performances as it brings to the fore the importance of common knowledge/mutual contextual beliefs between interactants in discourse. This common knowledge/mutual contextual belief, is related to Common Ground which refers to the assumed or background information relied on by discourse participants; and also the new shared knowledge created in the on-going discourse. Kecskes (2014) states that in communication, the discourse participants do not only rely on shared or background information, but they also create new ones by transforming the background information. A peculiar setting where common ground is constantly transformed is in comedy-related discourses such as, stand-up comedy performances. The comedians' utterances are speech acts that are built on common ground that is peculiar to the context of comedy. Raskin (1985) states that there are two basic modes or context of human interactions: bona fide and non-bona fide. The bona fide (BF) refers to genuine discourses while the non-bona fide (NBF) modes are conversations not bonded by the speaker's sincerity and it is an imitation of real-life discourses. Stand-up comedy belongs to the NBF context and there is, thus, the need to situate the speech acts of the comedians in the non-bona fide context of their usages. The following section explains the concept of situated acts in the humorous discourses of Nigerian stand-up comedians' performances.

Comedy Pragmatic Act (CPA)

The term 'Comedy Pragmatic Act' is adapted by Osuolale-Ajayi (2019) to account for the situated acts in comedy discourse. CPA accounts for verbal, non-verbal and pictorial acts in the stand-up comedy discourse. It is a theory modeled after Mey's (2001) Pragmatic act model and it calls for the need to situate or contextualise speech acts in a context independent of convention.

Allan (2010) opines that pragmatic act theory emphasises the importance of context to the proper delivery and interpretation of speech acts. While Mey's theory is

mostly applicable to BF conversations and context, CPA considers the language use in NBF contexts. That is, CPA is different from other types of speech or pragmatic, pictorial act theories as it is aimed at investigating and identifying the acts performed in a non-bonafide context. It identifies what the speech acts of the comedians are doing literally and non-literally; in sync or independent of other semiotic resources used by the stand-up comedians in their performances. This means that CPA identifies the types and functions of intercultural pragmatic strategies used by the stand-up comedians or other comedy actors. It also encapsulates the types and functions of non-verbal cues used in the context of comedy. However, in this paper, the focus is on the verbal cues/speech acts. The speech acts will be situated in their context of use in order to reveal the intentions or practs of the comedians in their performances in the UK and Nigeria. The data for this study was drawn from two countries in order to examine the influence of the immediate context or actual situational context of the performances on the practicing of the comedians.

Situated Speech acts in the Data (CPA)

Nigerian stand-up comedians perform speech acts; when these speech acts are contextualised, they are comedy pragmatic acts. The data has been grouped into A and B. While group A includes the texts of the jokes from the UK, group B consists of the texts of the jokes from Nigeria. The analysis provides the quantitative or tabular analysis of the data and four content analyses of samples from the fifty purposively selected jokes. The following table shows the distribution of speech acts in the two groups using Bach and Harnish’s taxonomy and it is followed by the explanation of the functions of these speech acts in the context of the humorous discourse of the comedians:

		Group A		Group B	
		No. of occurrence	Percentage	No. of occurrence	Percentage
1	Constatives	25	54.3%	25	59.5%
2	Directives	12	26.1%	13	31.0%
3	Acknowledgements	9	19.6%	4	9.5%
4	Commissives	0	0%	0	0%
	Total	46	100%	42	100%

Table 1: Percentage Distribution of Speech Acts across the Data

The table above reveals that constative speech acts are abundant in both groups. Constatives in group A occur 25 times with 54.3% occurrence, while in group B, they also occurs 25 times with 59.5% occurrence. This shows that a constative speech act is in each joke. Constatives found in the data are: informatives, descriptives, assertives,

ascriptives, supportives and they basically perform comedy pragmatic acts of: informing, asserting, supporting, narrating, reinforcing stereotypes, character-footing (a situation where a single standing comedian plays several roles via voicing and other body acts with or without the use of props), educating, advising, illustrating, opinionating, and condemning comedy pragmatic acts. The instances of reported speeches/character-footing are descriptives and suppositives; the comedians use them to describe people or things in their narratives in order to support their prior/current claims or opinions. Opinionating comedy pragmatic act is the most frequently used by the comedians. The Nigerian stand-up comedians liberally express their opinions about government, people, ethnic groups, etc. Their opinions, at times, may be a reflection of what constitutes core common ground or collective salience but most times, their opinions are actually subjective and more of a distortion of what actually occurs in the real life. For instance, in the following extract, the comedian ascribes the cataclysms in the Northern parts of Nigeria and Africa to the Bible verses which state 'fear not'.

And, and people ask, why is all these happening in the North? Do we always have to quarrel about the North? And then I tell people, You didn't take note, even the Bible knows about the troubles in the North. Now check it out, in Africa, all the countries that are having problems are all in the North; Sudan, Egypt, Tunisia, are all in the North. Now you come to Nigeria, the states giving us problems are all in the North. Do you know why? The Bible says, 'Fear North!' (AL). The Bible did not say 'Fear South!'; it did not say 'Fear East!', it did not say 'Fear West', it said 'Fear... (AR 'North') (AL)

Here, the comedian employs the use of homophones (as realised in Nigerian English) of the expressions 'North' and 'not' to give the same impression. The high occurrence of constatives furthers the assertion on the nature of constatives that "they express a speaker's belief and his desire that the hearer forms a similar one" (Adeoti, 2015, p.183). Thus, it is evident that constatives are indispensable in the communication of intentions in any speech situation, and precisely, in the intercultural context of Nigerian stand-up comedy performances as this current analysis has revealed that constatives are better communicators of the intentions of Nigerian stand-up comedians.

Directive speech acts, in the two data groups, closely follow constatives with 26.1% in group A and 31.0% in group B. Directives are used to pract comedy acts of ordering, questioning, advising and warning. They are less face-sensitive as they constitute impoliteness according to Brown and Levinson's taxonomy. However, in the non-bonafide actual situational context of use, they are accommodated by the audience as being entertainment ridicule. Directive speech acts of ordering are used by the comedians as a strategy to involve the audience in the co-construction of humour/facilitation of interactional context of humour. Comedy pragmatic act of questioning used in the data are, at times, rhetorical in nature. The rhetorical questions are manipulated by the comedians to implicitly express the degree of their feelings and beliefs to what they are saying and to also reinforce their arguments. This is one of the strategies used by Nigerian stand-up comedians in ensuring that humour is co-constructed with their audience.

The comedy pragmatic acts of warning and advising reveal the educative and didactic aspects of Nigerian stand-up comedy. Although, the actual situational contexts

of and in the performances of the selected jokes are non-bonafide, salient messages are being passed to the audience. This reveals that Nigerian stand-up comedians perform the ‘edutainment’ function. The word ‘edutainment’ is coined from education and entertainment. This, thus, means that Nigerian stand-up comedy discourse is entertaining and also educating.

Acknowledgement acts in both groups are used to avoid what Allan (1986, p. 197) refers to as “positive face affronts” to the audience. Instances of acknowledgements in the two groups are used to pract comedy pragmatic acts of: greetings, appreciating and congratulating. A sizeable instance of acknowledgement acts in both groups is greeting. The comedians mostly use greeting comedy pragmatic act to commence their performances. Acknowledgement acts in the two groups occupy the third position with group A having 8 (19.6%) occurrence and group B: 4 (9.5%) instances of occurrence. These statistics reveal that acknowledgment acts are not as frequently used by Nigerian stand-up comedians in their routines in the UK and Nigeria. The few instances of acknowledgment acts of greeting go beyond the expected function of maintaining face rather, they are used incongruously as the comedians usually engage in deriding acts after using acknowledgement acts.

Commissive acts get the encoders committed to getting something done. The analysis reveals that in the performances of the selected jokes of Nigerian stand-up comedians in the UK and Nigeria, commissive acts are not used. This reveals that the comedy pragmatic acts of promising and offering in the actual situational context of the performances are not used. However, in the character-footing/narratives, that is, the actual situational context in the joke, there are sparsely-used commissives. Since this study is looking at how the comedians’ speech acts are used to perform comedy pragmatic acts with the audience, the analysis of speech act is restricted to the actual situational context of the comedy.

A sample content analysis of four jokes (two from each of the groups) is presented next, in order to reveal the acts being performed with the verbal pragmatic resources earlier identified in the chapter. The sample analysis shows the qualitative essence of the tabular analysis.

Content Analysis of Samples of Speech Act and Comedy Pragmatic Act

Sample 1 (A)

- 1. But Ladies and Gentlemen, I am proudly Igbo, morning, afternoon, night (speaks indistinct Igbo),*
- 2. I stay for here shout che, che, che... Igbo kwenu (AR) (AL).*
- 3. I tell you the truth, there are always two sides to life, everything wey dey bless you fit dey curse another man you no go know. (Your blessing can be a curse to another person and you may not know).*
- 4. There is always a positive to the negative. I tell you how: the same rain wey farmer dey pray for, na that same rain nah in bricklayer dey pray against, negative to positive,(AL), the same Maryland wey dey America, that same Maryland e dey Nigeria, negative.....(audience complete expression and laugh),*

the same sun wey dey harden clay, that same sun nah him dey melt ice, negative to (audience complete expression), the same apple wey open Adam eye, na that same apple close Abacha own, I rest my case (AL) (There is always a positive to the negative. I tell you how: the same rain that the farmer prays for, it's the same rain that the bricklayer prays against, negative to positive (AL); the same Maryland in America, that same Maryland is in Nigeria, negative.....(AR and AL); the same sun that hardens the clay, that same sun melts ice, negative to (AR), the same apple that opened Adam's eye, that same apple shut Abacha's, I rest my case) (AL)

In the first sentence, the comedian performs an acknowledgment act of greeting. This is a face-saving act which is aimed at appealing to the positive face of the audience. The acknowledgment act is used to perform a comedy pragmatic act of salutation/commencement as it is used by the comedian to start his performance. The second sentence starts with an informative constative act and it is used to start the comedy pragmatic act of saluting and greeting. This informative constative act is also used as a redressive strategy by the comedian as he had earlier engaged in shared ridicule. He, thus, used the celebratory chant 'Igbo kwenu' to correct his earlier impolite act. From the analysis of the data, it is discovered that there is no obligation on the comedians to perform redressive acts as the context of the joke permits them to perform impolite acts without mitigation.

An informative constative act is performed in number '3' above. This constative act is used to enact the comedy pragmatic act of informing/opinionating. The comedian supports or underpins his claim/opinion by reinforcing stereotypes on places and persons mentioned in the joke which act as the core common ground between the comedian and his audience. In the last sentence, comparing comedy pragmatic acts is employed to achieve incongruity. The comedian places two incongruous elements side by side to buttress his point. He compared how farmers need or pray for rain to fall so they can have bountiful harvests and how bricklayers pray against rain so that it does not disturb their work; the Maryland in America against the one in Lagos, Nigeria; the sun that dries clay and the same that melts ice; the apple that Adam ate which opened his eyes, closed Abacha's. There is a core common ground between the comedian and his audience on the referent expressions used in the joke. That is, ice, farmers, Maryland, and Adam constitute universal core common ground. The definite reference of the person 'Abacha' (and the cause of his death) may constitute emergent common ground to members of the audience that are not aware of the fact that he was once a Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. However, the comedian has created an affordance for this with the catch phrase 'positive to negative' which he used a lot in the joke and also, by placing what he considers to be negative connotations as the last of each pair. Thus, Adam in the Bible would attract a positive connotation since it comes first, while Abacha which comes last in the pair would attract a negative connotation since that has been the layout of the preceding pairs of the referent expressions in the joke. The members of the audience, who have these referent expressions as part of their core common ground, would understand that the euphemism/non-literal expression 'closed his eyes' means 'killed' based on the Nigerian collective salience on how Abacha died. The speech acts

used are employed to perform the comedy pragmatic act of eliciting laughter from the audience. That is, these acts are engaged in fulfilling the aim of the comedians of ensuring that they do not only get the audience entertained but also get a feedback from them via laughter, which acts as an evaluative measure of the success of their routines.

Sample 2 (A)

1. *I'm still in the business of asking or trying to enquire.*
2. *Music back in the days and music now, which do you still prefer? (AR).*
3. *A lot of respect to the artist we have now in Nigeria and all over the world,*
4. *A few of them they are doing very fine, but some of them don't just get it. I try to understand how a young man wakes up, thinks of something to write and when you ask them they are free to tell you 'I'm a singer, songwriter' (AL), and you walk into the studio majestically, come out and begin to sing to me 'who born me, who born me, (AL), na my mama born me' (AL) (My mother gave birth to me).*
5. *Na my mama go born you before? (AL) (Is my mother expected to birth you?)*

The comedian, in sentence 1, performs an informative constative speech act which is used to practice the comedy act of informing. The comedian, in the second sentence, employs a directive speech act to practice a questioning comedy pragmatic act. The comedy pragmatic act of questioning is used to include the audience in the build-up of the joke. The third sentence is an acknowledgement speech act which performs the comedy pragmatic act of reverencing. The comedian adulates both old and contemporary musicians in order to mitigate the impolite act he performed immediately after the acknowledgement act.

The next expression is a constative speech act which is used to perform the comedy pragmatic act of opinionating, illustrating and ridiculing. Via the opinionating comedy pragmatic act, the comedian expresses his displeasure about the lyrics of contemporary Nigerian songs. This act reveals that stand-up comedy jokes are instructive in nature. By performing an illustrating/exemplifying comedy pragmatic act, the comedian is able to give an example (by singing one of the songs that he believes belongs to the class) of songs without any instructive message. The comedians, by performing these acts, reinforce the stereotype of contemporary Nigerian songs as being uninformative. This stereotype constitutes a core common ground/collective salience to the comedian and his Nigerian audience or anyone familiar with the Nigerian situational context. The comedy pragmatic act of illustrating/singing one of the songs the comedian has tagged as being uninformative, would afford members of the audience who are not familiar with the Nigerian context the opportunity to accommodate and co-construct humour from what may be emergent (Nigerian music world) to them. The last sentence in the joke is a directive speech act which performs a comedy pragmatic act of questioning. The question in the last sentence is rhetorical and it is used to perform the comedy act of ridiculing the singer/composer of the songs. All the acts in this datum are used to perform the comedy pragmatic act of eliciting laughter from the audience.

Sample 3 (B)

1. *And, you know this thing wey they dey talk about gay and the rest for this country wey be like say yes, a lot of people never still put themselves together to stop am. (And, you know this talk about gays in this country, it seems a lot of people have not decided to come together to stop it.*
2. *I think it is a bad thing. Yes! Even God no approve am. (God does not approve of it).*
3. *How una go imagine man to man? That is hammer to hammer (AL), imagine hammer to hammer dey knack each other (...) how? (AL). (How do you imagine a man with another man? That is, hammer to hammer (AL). Imagine hammer to hammer, hitting against each other (...) How? (AL).)*

The comedian starts his joke by relying/reinforcing the collective salience on the increase of homosexuality in Nigeria. He performs a constative speech act to practise the asserting comedy pragmatic act. The comedian based his assertion on his belief that the audience knows what he is referring to as 'this thing'. He however provides clarity by using a definite reference 'gay'. The comedian, in the first sentence in number 2 above, performs an opinionating comedy pragmatic act. The comedian emphatically expresses his feelings towards gay people and, thereby, performs a criticising and condemning comedy pragmatic act. While engaging in opinionating and condemning acts, the comedian makes use of a referencing act to 'God'. He does this through his belief or egocentric assumption that his audience are believers of the spiritual being called 'God' and/or his knowledge that Nigerians are generally believed to be spiritual. In number 3, the first sentence is a directive speech act which practises a questioning act. The question asked the audience is rhetorical and it is used to emphasise the point the comedian is making. The metaphor, 'that is hammer to hammer' is incongruous but it evokes a mental frame of an aroused male having sexual intercourse with an equally aroused male. The last question is used as a tag or a tagline, that is, an extra punch-line immediately following a punch-line that does not require a new set-up. The speech acts are used to practise the comedy pragmatic act of eliciting laughter from the audience.

Sample 4 (B)

1. *Ladies and Gentlemen, let me be realistic: for every man in this place, it's almost impossible for you to have been with just one woman all your life (AL).*
2. *If you are a man in this building and you know that all your life you have been with just one woman all your life, stand up (AL),*
3. *Whether you will not die tonight (AL). Hello, madam, if your husband no stand, na so, some of these our husband are fairly used (AL). (Hello Madam, if your husband did not stand, know that some men are fairly used.)*
4. *In fact, they are very used (AL).*

In number 1, the comedian starts the joke with an acknowledgement speech act of greeting/saluting. The acknowledgement act is used to commence the joke. It signals the face consideration of the audience as it is a positive politeness marker. The

constative speech act is used to perform a comedy pragmatic act of asserting/opinionating in the second sentence in number 1. The comedian makes a directive speech act while performing the comedy act of opinionating. The comedian, while carrying out this act, reinforces the stereotype/collective salience that African/Nigerian men are randy/ promiscuous. In '2', the comedian performs a directive speech act of ordering. He uses this speech act to perform the comedy pragmatic act of commanding the audience to stand. This act is further used to strengthen the argument of the comedian. He uses a constative act to perform the comedy pragmatic act of predicting in the third sentence. The comedy pragmatic act of reinforcing is used to support the argument/assertion of the comedian that the male audience is promiscuous. The fact that the comedian threatens any male member who stands them with death via his predicting act and the ensuing laughter of the audience reveals that a sensitive matter such as death is handled flippantly as a result of the actual situational context of the joke. He also performs an informative constative act by informing the women in the audience that their husbands are fairly used. The adjective 'fairly used', (i.e. opposed to being 'brand new') is incongruous as it is usually used to describe things or materials and not human beings. The usage of the adjective aids the realisations of several tags in the joke. In number '4', the comedian performs the comedy act of emphasising. He further reinforced his opinion by emphatically stating that all the men in the audience are philanderers. All the acts considered in the foregoing are craftily used to elicit laughter from the audience. Although, the main intention of the comedians is to create a humorous discourse, they also overtly and covertly aim to instill moral values.

Findings

The analysis of speech acts revealed that constatives had the highest percentage of occurrences in the two groups with 54.3% in group A and 59.5% in group B. Directive speech acts closely followed constative speech acts with 26.1% and 31.0% in groups A and B respectively. Acknowledgement acts had 19.6% and 9.5% in groups A and B respectively. Constative acts in the two groups are mostly used to perform opinionating and asserting comedy pragmatic acts. Assertion, in the data, are sometimes started with the utterance 'you know' and they are used to signal common ground or to express collective salience. Directive speech acts are engaged to achieve an interactional context of humour. Questioning and ordering CPAs are the most preponderantly used types of directives in the data. Their usages are triggered as a result of what the comedian has taken to be core common ground based on the analysis of his/her audience's design. These acts are geared towards ensuring that the comedian does not only speak to his audience but also, speaks with them. Acknowledgement acts are used to perform CPAs of greeting/saluting, congratulating and appreciating. There were zero instances of commissive acts in both groups. This means the acts of promising may not be part of the generic potential structure of the acts performed by the comedians. The overlap in the acts performed by the comedians reveal that their intentions are not affected by the immediate situational context of their performances and also that, they exploit Nigerian and universal common grounds incongruously while expressing their acts which are usually bound to NBF contexts.

Conclusion

The acts performed by Nigerian stand-up comedians in their performances in the UK and Nigeria as accounted for in the foregoing have considerable overlaps, although, the analysis revealed that the frequency of some of the resources used in the UK are more than the ones used in Nigeria. These instances do not affect the fact that the comedians perform similar verbal comedy acts in their performances. These speech acts were situated in the context of comedy, which is a context that provides affordances for utterances conventionally considered as off-limits. The paper reveals that the utterances of the comedians are speech acts used to perform several comedy acts such as deriding, eliciting laughter and criticising, among others.

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Transcription Convention

AL: Audience laugh

AR: Audience respond

... : pause

ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN LITERATURE IN NORTHERN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Northern Nigeria has a long history of writings in the areas of fiction and nonfiction prior to colonisation. This was facilitated by contact with the Arab traders and evangelists; consequently, the acceptance and adoption of Arabic language, autography and Islam. So, Ajami, a system of writing vernacular using the Arabic script was adopted for all forms of writings: fiction and nonfiction. The English language was consequential to the colonial policies in the North fused into colonial education policy which later found expression in public life, including creative writing. The North has, until in the recent decades, maintained its Islamic and Arabic disposition and cultural identity in the context of the new currents. This paper seeks to discuss the role of English: both as language, culture and ideology in the development of modern creative writings in English in northern Nigeria. It adapts New Historicism both as theory and method in the illumination of its set object; how English, both as language, culture and ideology influenced the development of modern literature in English as sociocultural product in northern Nigeria.

Keywords: Modern Literature, Ajami, Arabic script, Roman script and Creative discourse

Introduction

Perhaps, the most productive of all discourses devoted to investigation into the nature, development and value of imaginative literature in English and in Northern Nigeria may be likened to the Aristotelian poetic of the fourth century before Christ and, even though we have it in its fragments, is still essential to any discussion of the question. Aristotle's definition of literature brings out its particular, differentiating qualities, demonstrates its function and assesses its value in terms of that function, and vindicates it against those who consider it to be of no significant social value.

Literature therefore, includes any kind of composition in prose or verse which has for its purpose not the communication of fact but narrating a story which is either entirely invented or given new life through invention or the giving of pleasure through some use of the inventive imagination in the employment of both the written and spoken words. Finnegan holds that:

Africa possesses both written and unwritten literature. The former is relatively well known – at any rate the recent writings in European languages (much work remains to be publicised on earlier Arabic and local written literature in Africa). The unwritten forms, however, are far less widely known and appreciated. Such forms do not fit neatly into the familiar categories of literate cultures, they are harder to record and present, and for a superficial observer at least, they are easier overlooked than the corresponding written material. (1)

This scholarly attitude is illustrative of Eurocentricism in the evaluation and appreciation of the nature and value of oral literature in Africa and indeed, reminiscent of colonial relegation of human essence, cultural value and intrinsic literary convention. Literacy and literature evolve with the people's social evolution in time and space. In spite of this colonial attitude, one basic fact still remains; that literature, in whatever crude form, existed in its peculiar African oral style or form. This form attained the status of writing, using the "Arabic script", language, and the Vernacular languages before the fateful colonisation of Africa and the resulting cultural imperialism. Orthodox scholars: East (1936); Sani (1997), Adamu (2006), have traced evidences of literacy in Northern Nigeria to as far back as the 15th century. It suffices to say that, prior to colonisation of Africa, literacy, numeracy and literary tradition existed in the continent through the use of Arabic language and the Arabic scripts, (qtd in Sani, "The beginning of Literature" 13). In the context of this development, Northern Nigeria, an area which had embraced Islam and its entire culture; including literacy, had an established tradition of writing. However, this tradition was either in Arabic or the adopted Arabic script, which gave vent to "Ajami": a system of writing the vernacular using the Arabic script. For the purposes of safeguarding the Islamic faith, the North resisted the Roman art of writing for a very long period.

Therefore, the aim of this discourse is to look closely at what seems to be the eclipse of an old orthodoxy that paves the way for the emergence of a new literature in new medium of expression in Northern Nigeria. It will briefly glance at the evolutionary history of Northern Nigerian literature in an effort to define major literary development and see how English: as culture, language and ideology influenced Northern Nigerian literature and how it (literature) responded or reacted to the tide of cultural imperialism, and social change in its resistance to cultural identity shift.

Theoretical Frame Work

Barry (175) defines new historicism as a theory which is "based on the parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually of the same historical period". Leitch (21) suggests that this is to build a bridge between literary and non-literary texts and forms, so as to evaluate the literary work as "a product of specific political, cultural and social context". This theory is only relevant to this discourse as it juxtaposition basic historical elements and inherent relations of differing, yet interrelated and valuable facts in the illumination of cause and effect relation as historical antecedent.

English Language in The Development of Modern Literature in Northern Nigeria

In the context of Islamic intellectualism in which it was nurtured, classical Arabic literary theory was defined by definite Islamic values by which Arabic literature was dominated for centuries. However, this was strongly inclined to Aristotelian conventions; the idea of literature was reduced to mere craft to be learnt through grammar, prosody and rhetoric which became incorporated into the Islamic scholarship tradition. Sani believed that this was the situation when Islam spread to Nigeria between the 11th and 14th century (13).

The late 1920s witnessed the epoch of acculturation policy as the British colonial administration ventured towards the realisation of their idea of imposing an alien literary culture amongst the peoples of Northern Nigeria. Disdainful towards the available level of cultural erudition evident in the literate traditions of Arabic and Ajami scripts, chiefly amid the Muslim Hausa and Fulani peoples; the missionary subdivision of the colonial administration supported and promoted the espousal of English, as opposed to Arabic or Hausa, as the official language in the North. This, as a consequence, reduced the region into replicated western literature and inestimable heritage of Christian thought, rather than the hitherto Muslim literature and the religion of Islam. However, the main aim of inculcating the western literacy or literary culture was to provide for the necessary reading pre-requirements in English. To complement this need, translations of various manuscripts were to be made from select Northern Nigerian languages for use as reference text materials for the established colonial schools. It thus became the imperative responsibility of the colonial education department to spread the western type of literacy and literature. Indeed, it was this same department which metamorphosed into the translation Bureau in 1929, with Kano as its headquarters.

The literary history of Northern Nigeria is not only multifaceted but compounding due to the diversity of cultures, languages, religions and social groups that have developed in the area. As a result, the constantly intermingling literary developments and artistic features, produced in Hausa, Ajami, Arabic and English. In the 19th century, the Jihad of Usman Dan Fodio consolidated the Arabic literature in the region. Mahmud writes that “a cultural blossoming occurred which prepared the path for full bloom of Arabic literature under the leadership of the Sokoto revivalists” (41). By the end of that century, Arabic literature was entrenched in Hausa speaking parts of Northern Nigeria.

However, literary development remained “essentially Islamic and writing was thus modeled on classical Arabic prototypes” (Scharfe and Yahaya, 36). To this end, Usman Dan Fodio's son- Muhammad Bello (who reigned from 1817 until 1837) translated poems from Arabic into Hausa while his sister, Asma'u, translated their father's poems from fulfulde into Hausa. Before the 20th century, literary creativity was the preserve of Muslim clerics. Eventually, men of other professions began practicing the art especially those who acquired higher western education: prominent among them was Sa'adu Zungur. Others were Na'ibi Sulaiman Wali and Mu'azu Hadeja. Zungur, who made tremendous efforts at enlightening and educating his society and people (Abdulkadir, 239 – 261; Scharfe and Yahaya, 239).

After abandoning his studies at the Yaba College, Lagos, Zungur formed the Zaria literary circle. Its members were drawn from the educated elite. He also initiated the Bauchi discussion circle: a radical formation which opposed the native authority instituted by the colonial policy. This discussion circle expanded its concerns and horizons to include “modern life...Social conditions, education, politics and even wars” (Scharfe and Yahaya, 240). The Roman script which characterised the western education met an already established form of literacy and literary composition in existence. Therefore, this new form of writing met with stiffer resistance. Skinner (163) remarks that there were poems written around 1900, titled “On the Christian” by Umar Salaga, a Hausa poet, as protest to British occupation. Aliyu Dan Sidi, Emir of Zaria also wrote a long poem as a protest verse to British occupation after the military invasion of the North by Lugard.

With Ajami as the established literary form via Arabic script, resistance to western type of writing (use of Roman scripts) can be evaluated against the view that colonialism meant the relegation or outright destruction of African “oral and other performing art”, the undermining of “... other signifying practices such as sculpture, painting, carving, weaving and ceramics” (Scharfe and Yahaya, 240). Colonial interference in indigenous cultural value system and practice resulted in what has been referred to as “patronage system”; a kind of colonisation policy that rejects some aspects of a culture and accepts others for the reason that they serve well with the colonial master’s plan of administering the “colonies”. For example, fictional narratives were encouraged among creative writers. This was to promote the acquisition of literacy to help nurture a class of educated elite to function as personnel in the colonial system. They were to serve as clerks, typists, and teachers for the colonial administration. Forceful pressure from the colonial administration, supported by the actions of the media, contributed to the relative discrimination of the Roman script in the Hausa speaking areas. The genres of poetry and prose were the most promoted forms of artistic writing (240). Yerima adds that traditional performances suffered; Muslim clerics view theatrical performances as deep-sated in paganism. Therefore, early literature in Northern Nigeria was inspired by religious beliefs. Consequently, drama is conspicuously absent in Arabic literature in Northern Nigeria. Poetic epics and long narratives are the “core genres of Arabic literature”. He observed that between prose and poetry, poetry stands out as the most developed genre. Yerima concludes that between 1939 and 1953, poetic expression from the indigenes was made popular as they serve the “Patronage system” function (17). Poetry is said to serve the colonial interest. Poems were directed against racist Germany or written in support of British colonial economic activities in respect of tin mining and agricultural production. Shortly afterwards, poems began to address the political and ethnic problems that arose as a result of impending political independence from the British (Muhammad, 193).

Therefore, colonialism met Northern Nigeria already established in Islamic culture and education. So it needed to establish a structure that would enable the empire to perpetrate colonial dominance, subjugation and control. First, it established schools for the sons of the Emirs in about 1911. Educational structures were followed by technology in the form of the printing press. Therefore, in Northern Nigeria, literature found itself published by the same medium and serving the same purpose of producing educated elites to serve the British interest in the establishment of schools and in

administration as clerks. It has been argued that it is not coincidence that western styled scholarship and the publishing outfit were instituted at the same time (Skinner 1964; Scharfe and Yahaya 1980). Sani writes that the main goal was to transform a “predominantly oral and Arabic-Islamic script into a Christian, western and bourgeois written culture”. The colonial system insisted on creating literature among those it viewed as “conquered natives in dire need” of a literary culture. To this end, the colonial language was considered as the medium of civilisation. The same English language was used for the translation of indigenous materials. The purpose was to produce literature that would enhance literacy in the newly established colonial schools as replication of the colonial value (286).

Dr. Rupert East exclusively supervised the transformation of the vernacular section of the adult education, first, into translation Bureau in 1929 with its headquarters in Kano, later to be moved to Zaria. Its name is indeed a reflection of the responsibility of that office. Its duties were to officially translate story books from Arabic and English into the various local languages in the northern region. Colonial authority particularly guarded and restricted the materials to be translated for public consumption. Hausa became the language of note into which translations were made. This “influenced the precise course of the dominant literate culture in Northern Nigeria” (Sani, 287). It was also the dominant language of communication in Northern Nigeria in the midst of other minor languages; Fulfulde, Kanuri, Nupe, Tiv, Birom and others. These were submerged into the linguistic dominance of the Hausa language; thus, creating another form of linguistic, cultural and literary domestication and dominance.

In creative writing activities therefore, Hausa was the linguistic medium of choice. When the translation Bureau was transformed to Zaria literature Bureau in 1934, its literary activities had an already established indigenous medium. Sani argues that the main function of the Bureau was to “encourage cultural dependence on the west by writing the literate population away from their pre-colonial culture” (288); thus, creating a significant cultural deficiency with devastating and perpetual economic consequences. The Bureau's overall aims went beyond the translation of Arabic script into Hausa Roman script. It planned and executed the writing competition of 1939. Commenting on the development of literature in Northern Nigeria, Skinner (60) opined that the bureau “was already in fact if not in name, fostering local authorship”. Pre-Islamic and Islamic Northern society has engaged in narratives, religious and moral poems and other didactic writings. But, the genre of their creative output was not of the nature that colonial literary culture through the writing competition aimed to produce. Colonial administration set out to produce indigenous literary authorship of a secular nature. The stories were to be written in the manner of western fiction (61). This situation has created cultural resource dependence among the Hausa people.

Writing competitions were organised to unearth the hidden talent of the imaginative abilities amongst the “native”. This development was received with misgivings by the Ulama for whom Islam was a complete way of life. However, exploring secular imagination and creativity meant reversion to the non-Islamic pagan way of life. The local writers should have been allowed to give free rein to their imaginative and creative abilities, as they were previously rendered. As colonialism was a well sought out plan of domination; the slave trade, political and cultural domination

was only one of its many phases. Therefore, the disdain expressed by the Ulama did not deter East in his attempt to create a Roman script in Hausa literary culture to counter and consequently subdue the existing Arabic and religious literary culture (63).

It has been noted that, the art of story-telling was prevalent in Hausa society. Indeed, Hausa literature has an established tradition of literary forms, categorised into such genres: “fables” (tatsuniyoyi), traditions (labaru), praise (kirari), plays (wasanni), proverbs (karin Magana), songs (wakoki), poetic fiction (labaran hira). Other prose forms are (zube), riddles (kacici-kacici), epithets, (kirari) and tongue twisters (Skinner, 51). Sani (149-156) in a gender-based study, highlights the creative handling of “tatsuniyoyi” (fables) by Hausa women story-tellers. The dominant art form in traditional society was the verbal/oral form (Finnegan, 2). “And women were pivotal to the rendition of imaginative narratives” (Sani, 150). The proselytes were made up of a reasonable number of the young and old alike. These and other literary forms were popular. However, especially prior to colonisation, the fictional genre in the form of the novel had little or no acceptance in literate Northern society.

The writing competition produced the works of Tafawa Balewa’s (1934) *Shehu Umar*. Bello Kagara’s (1965) *Gandoki*; Abubakar Imam's (1978) *Ruwan Bagaja* and Muhammadu Gwarzo's *Idon Matambayi*, co-authored by M. Tafida and Rupert East. The major contribution that Imam made to the development of literature in Northern Nigeria was the production of trilogy- *Magana Jarice*. The main object of the competition was to produce the replicas of the English Novel in Hausa language with the intention “to undermine the pre-colonial culture of the North by creating a written tradition of literature” in Roman script (Sani, 290). In terms of style and content, submissions for the competition were drawn from the residue of pre-Islamic oral narrative trends and the content was “unfortunately mute about colonial violence and repression” (Sani 289). This repression and violence have derailed literary cultural reflection of any significant value until recently, when postcolonial trends produced cultural return in the works of Professor Aliyu Kamal and few others.

Accordingly, writers who enrolled for the competition were urged to produce novellas that were not influenced by religion or the oral tradition. In essence, they were coerced into imitating Western literary traditions. It has been observed that East himself acknowledged that the manuscripts were substandard. Sani noted that Constantino (1982) expatiates that, East “suggested grafting onto a culture with adequate forms of expression, an alien genre with no literary, social and intellectual basis”. Constantino, (qtd in Sani, 290) argues further that:

Literary forms are born out of specific cultural and social matrices. They are freely created, not prescribed. There is nothing inevitable about the novel. It is not the final flowering of a literary tradition, nor the end product of artistic evolutions. It may be that Hausa society will never create novelists, but will instead concern itself with other literary forms more relevant to its world view. (290)

However, Constantino (1982) in his remarks failed to acknowledge that the scheme of British colonialism was to foister Western literary techniques on indigenous

creativity. The ultimate aim of prescribing what should be written in a genre like the novel, with free forms of expression was to entrench the values of one culture on the other. Barry alludes to the incompatibility of this Eurocentric universalism in the words, “This universalism is rejected by postcolonialism: whether a universal signification is claimed for a work, then, while Eurocentric norms and practices are being promoted by a sleight of hand to this elevated status and all others correspondingly relegated to subsidiary, marginalised roles” (186). Thus, raising significant historical question which is responsible for what he called “historical void”.

The attempts at Western-styled writing only incorporate Northern Nigeria into the cultural milieu of the West. Consequently, Northern Nigerian and the entire African creative products were judged by the standard of Western literary values or modes. However, to ascribe the beginning of writing or the written culture in Northern Nigeria to colonial presence in the region is tantamount to historical fallacy. Abubakar, while commenting on the state of creative writing in Northern Nigeria, affirmed that colonial activities had long initiated the “commodification of literary creativity” (31). It produces effects that spill to what he describes as “a degenerate, barren outpost of global capitalism that the Nigerian economy is” (31). Literary works in Northern Nigeria is generally multilingual; Arabic, Hausa, other vernacular languages and the English language. The 1980s marked the romantic period of the Hausa novel: the “soyayya” (love) novel is literarily significant in molding and defining the Hausa novel. Abubakar laments that the path of literary development in Northern Nigeria is “thorny” (32). Therefore, colonial literary activities thwarted the natural course of creativity in Northern Nigeria and set the stage for a difficult terrain to be encountered by subsequent writers in the region. Similar situation was evident in Turkey, Iran, India, and the Maghreb as in Northern Nigeria where Hausa literature has emerged to supplant the original Arabic literary tradition.

Conclusion

A glance at the place of English (as language, culture and ideology) in the evolution and development of modern literature in English and in Northern Nigeria is synonymous to looking at the acculturation of the colonised people and their pre-colonial heritage.

Northern Nigeria, unlike other parts of the country, had a strongly based and established form of literacy and literary tradition prior to colonial adventure. This was achieved through the adoptive use of Arabic script and the creation of “Ajami”; a system of writing the vernacular using the Arabic Script. The English language and its culture especially succeeded only in implanting onto a culture with adequate forms of expression, an alien mode with no literary, social and intellectual relevance to the realities of its existence. Literary forms result from a specific cultural and social matrix. Therefore, the end result of the imposed Eurocentric literary universalism is to foister Western literary forms and values on indigenous creativity; thus, entrenching the cultural values of one culture on another. The attempt at Western-styled writing via the activities of the Literature Bureau only quickened the process of forceful integration of Northern Nigeria into the cultural milieu of the west, consequently thwarting historical evidence about literacy and literature in Northern Nigeria.

The secularisation of literary creativity is a further attempt at global capitalism initiated by colonial imperialism which negates the spiritual and moral basis of literary creativity in Northern Nigeria. Colonial literary activities have successfully interpolated and thwarted the natural course of creativity in Northern Nigeria with significant cultural and economic consequences.

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DISEASES AND FEMALE GENDER SPACES IN NURUDDIN FARAH'S *LINKS*

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Abstract

This paper examines internal conflict as a disease to society and the roles women play within such communities. Relying on the sociological approach to literary criticism, this paper examines how clan or ethnic bigotry has snowballed into a civil war; fragmenting society and the lives of its inhabitants. It demonstrates that clan supremacy claims lead to social apartheid and creates contentions that may lead to a protracted civil strife: the outcome of the ensuing contention is a destruction of the values that hold society together. Women encounter great hardships when society begins to fall apart and they are not reckoned to have a significant role to play in a deteriorating society, this paper shows otherwise, that, women can indeed be a stabilising force in society.

Keywords: Conflict, Society, Gender, Disease, Clan

Introduction

Nuruddin Farah's *Links* is a fictional narration of the brutal Somali civil war. It examines from various conversational perspectives, the devastating consequences of internal conflicts and how conflicts generally erode the values of society, and debase humanity. Farah mirrors Somalia as a "country in exile" from its own soul; a country overridden by avarice and clan supremacy tussles.

Somalia devolved into an intractable internal conflict as a result of the violent overthrow of the ruling dictator- General Said Barre, who ruled the country for over three decades. This led to various clans competing with each other, claiming autonomy and supremacy and, resulting in an intractable civil war. Not even international peace keeping efforts led by the UN and USA have been able to restore normalcy to the country. The enemy in the Somali civil war is not well defined. It is not a war of government versus a separatist group or militia, it is rather a clan war; a war of attrition between people who once considered themselves as brothers/neighbours. This non clear cut delineation of the enemy makes it more worrisome because combatants, on a whim, can decide who an enemy is and merely by holding a different view, one can be tagged an enemy and a bullet unceremoniously wedged in the supposed enemy's body.

This paper examines the war in Somalia from the perspective of a disease and the role of the female gender amidst the chaos. Wars and internal acts of aggression (conflicts) leave indelible scars on both their victims and actors. War is better avoided because of the destruction of lives and properties that it leaves in its wake. Social conflicts encourage anti-social behaviours that cause social and psychological dislocations to those who should be in the forefront of advancing society's goals.

Diseases can be classified as any state of being or condition that causes discomfiture to the human body or mind. Diseases can be stretched to encapsulate actions and behaviours that are harmful to the values or continued peaceful co-existence of society. Thus, wars, internal acts of aggression or conflicts of attrition and other anti-social behaviours will be regarded as diseases to society. H.O. Okolocha posits that society's values should supersede individual goals. She says "individuals must fulfill their responsibilities to society before the self, and that any attempt to put society last is inevitably tragic" (96). Strife and conflicts are the products of placing individual ambitions over society and it leads to a disregard of the sanctity of the strands that bind society together.

Literature Review

Nurudin Farah has published a quite a number of literary works which thematically examine the plight of the people of Somalia. From *A Crooked Rib* (1974), to his most recent work, *Hiding in Plain Sight* (2014), Farah has established a niche for himself as a socially committed writer who seeks for credible leadership and the betterment of Somalia as a whole. His oeuvre has been examined by several researchers and critics, and a few have focused on the interest of this study, *Links*. This paper contributes to the available literature on the criticism of *Links*.

Divanze Carbonieri posits that *Links* is Farah's way of interrogating a nation in disarticulation, stemming from clannism and misconceptions about the state of Somalia especially by foreign powers and international aid. Somalia was never a homogenous country; the unification by the colonial powers of British-led Somalia and Italy-led Somalia, led to a preponderance of clannism within Somalia. The unification was not preceded by a referendum and as such, seeds of mutual suspicion were sown into the minds of the people. International aid stifles the growth of local industries, forcing Somalis to be dependent on outside help and not look within themselves for growth. Carbonieri sees no future for Somalia if it remains steeped in its clannishness as clans are an impediment to the hope of achieving lasting peace and unity. Ousmane Ngom also comments on the daunting fratricidal competition in *Links*; the complexity of clan ties results in the willful desecration of human life and in the destruction of society itself. Ngom posits that the irony of the fratricide becomes glaring with clan leaders as in the midst of the pogrom, are more interested in personal aggrandisement than in the prosperity of the society. This clannish ideology is advanced by communal 'leaders' who have devised means of benefitting from the conflict.

Dustin Crowley examines *Links* from the roles 'place' and 'identity' play in protracting the Somali conflict. He argues that identity and the perceived rights that may be accorded to it should be subjected to the greater interest of society. The claims and

rights accorded to the individual in *Links* that have given room for the desecration of human life is at best primitive and should hold no appeal for contemporary society.

Mzali Ines interrogates Farah's *Maps* and *Links* as a counter to western media sensationalising the peace-keeping efforts of the UN and USA in the Somali conflict. Mzali asserts that these novels provide an alternative un-sensationalised narration of the events as the true state of Somalia. Western media has often used the 'big brother' image in depicting the participation of the UN and USA in the conflict, but through *Links*, Farah has shown that the participation of the west has worsened the conflict and has in no way restored peace.

It is clear that Farah's authorial vision is to interrogate the failings of Somalia especially as it relates to the civil war; the actors, reasons for its protracted nature and the consequences to society.

Theoretical Framework

M. H. Abrams and Geoffery A. Harpham assert that Sociology of Literature (social criticism) is applied by critics whose interest is in the ways that society affects literature (334). Sociological criticism involves how well a writer is able to reflect his social conditionings and circumstances in a literary work. A literary work is unavoidably influenced by the society a writer lives and he must of necessity reflect these influences in his work(s). The subject matter must be drawn from society; its socio-political, cultural and economic developments must be informed by the age in which the text(s) is situated. Sociological criticism is then connected to the existence of man in society; it seeks to make readers aware of the social conditions of their existence.

Social Disease

Upon arriving Somalia, Jeebleh is greeted by commotion in the ramshackle airport of Mogadishu. Child soldiers, buoyed by their guns and qats, take the life of a child in public glare without fear of confrontation or consequences. This disregard for human life reduces the intelligibility of man far below those of animals that he claims superiority over. Acts of mindless killings are orchestrated with a total disregard for constituted authority, a situation that makes every man a law unto himself. Jeebleh rightly observes that Somalis do not have regard for people in uniform, but only to the brute force of a gun (*Links*, 8). This may be owing to the legitimacy question most Africans (Somalis in particular) place on the authority of those who are supposed to enforce the law. The African psyche is also scarred by its unfortunate experiences of colonisation and military/civilian dictatorships that it looks upon what the uniform symbolises with great suspicion.

Farah through the character of Af-Laawe notes that "we will have you taken to a hotel in the North, where we think you will feel safe! ... in these trouble times, many people stay in the territories to which their clan families have ancestral claims, where they feel comfortable and can move about unhindered, unafraid" (*Links*, 12). No society can survive when there is mutual suspicion among its inhabitants. Societies are designed to accommodate varying interests that contribute to the overall purpose of society. Mutual suspicion breeds fear and creates an "otherness" mentality, which often creeps in

when individuals see themselves as better than others in class or ethnicity, and that kind of feeling never allows for cohesion in society. The clannish mindset of only according people who share in one's clan heritage(s) certain rights and privileges should be jettisoned as this thinking necessarily leads to a debasement of society and a devaluation of its goals.

The Somali term for civil war "Dagaalka Sokeeye" translates to mean 'the killing of an intimate' (*Links*, 138). This term mirrors the tragedy of the conflict; that society is on a negative trajectory of self-immolation. "Dagaalka Sokeeye" mirrors Somalia as a country divided against itself; the conflict has torn homes, families, friends and acquaintances straight down the middle along clan bonds, resulting in a near total fragmentation of society. One major casualty of the war is the identity of its citizens; the Somali is now so fragmented that he only recognises himself and others by clan heritage, you are tagged an enemy if you do not share the same blood heritage. The question, 'who are you,' in Somali, "Yaa Fahay" (*Links*, 119) (meaning 'which is your blood link') reveals the level of fragmentation in the Somali society. The essence of the individual has become subsumed in communal identity; he then loses his sense of self, direction, respect, hope and is all by himself to face the viciousness of life if he accidentally finds himself in another clan. With a loss of self respect, the Somali in the midst of the conflict looks on the world with a damaged sense of self; damaged by his loss of identity which the clannish mentality has imposed upon him.

The emotion- hate, fuels the civil conflict in Somalia; it has been given a life of its own by the clannishness of communal elders and funded by the two major warlords, Strongman South and Strongman North. The average youth is indoctrinated and joins or is forcefully co-opted into the militia of Strongman South or Strongman North in a quest for vengeance, to shed the blood of perceived enemies. This leads to an endless turn of bloodshed, sexual assault, decapitation and desecration of human life. The dead in Somalia only enjoys the luxury of a fairly decent burial if such body is found in the vicinity of those who once knew them or those who they shared the same clan heritage with. The dead who have no one to claim them are left to be feasted on by carrion birds and other animal scavengers. The ominous presence of vultures on almost every street reflects the rate at which lives are unceremoniously taken and how human carcasses litter the streets. With hate as a weapon in the conflict, Farah sees the conflict on a steady path of progression and as a vicious cycle with no end in sight. "It grieved Jeebleh to note that many of the militiamen laying down their lives in the service of the madness raging all around were mere children ... were so full of adult-inspired venom, their every third word alluding to vengeance, to death, and to shedding more enemy blood" (*Links*, 31-2). These young men are emboldened by clan/culture/religious supremacy indoctrination and by the drug; qat, a plant native to Somalia and the Arabian Peninsula. The culture of gun-running and a proliferation of small arms and light weapons further ensures that violence is perpetually furnished. This violence is a trap that soon sucks in every Somali into its vortex. Jeebleh, who has had 20 years of exposure to western non-violent ideals, is also sucked into this vortex. He admires a gun and ends up acquiring it, after which he goes ahead to use the gun to settle a communal dispute. His reliance on the gun for personal protection negates the communal principle of everybody being one's brother's keeper (*Links*, 280-1). The gun gives him a false sense of confidence and superiority above those who do not own guns, and, equality

with those who draw authority from their guns and become a menace to society. His innocence has been corrupted by the war and he has become like the Somalis he detests. Dajaal is another unwilling participant in the war; he is co-opted into participating in the conflict because of the losses to his family which invariably propels his hatred for the warlords. Dajaal justifies his involvement because he believes he is in the war to protect his family name, but he, like Jeebleh, soon becomes like the very people he loathes (*Links*, 72-3). Caloosha, a major participant in the war, understands an unfortunate aspect of the war; that the killing of a warlord does not necessarily bring an end to the war (*Links*, 315). When a warlord dies, his lieutenants spring up to continue in his place, some become deadlier and heighten the conflict. Bullets and bombs do not always lead to a cessation of hostilities in war; a round-table negotiation may be needed to address the root cause(s) of the conflict so as to attain lasting peace.

War is one of the largest industries on earth. Wars drive the sale of military hardware, the price of oil in the international market and the hiring of mercenaries for the prosecution of the war. There are always vested interests who profit from the prosecution of a war; interests who engage in the supply of military hardware or humanitarian needs. These beneficiaries will defiantly not want the war to end; they will rather openly or discreetly sponsor one of the factions in the war so that their profiteering continues. There is need for a political will by leaders of society to counter the selfish interests of warlords and war profiteers so that society can regain its pride of place.

African societies cannot afford to leave their continued existence in the hands of foreign actors. In *Links*, we see that foreign actors who have tried to mediate or enforce 'peace' also came with clandestine intentions that will only be of benefit to them in the long run. This sums up the reasons foreign armies have always contributed to the polarisation of the Somali conflict. Several foreign missions to Somalia have had to be abruptly cancelled without these missions achieving their initial aims of peace building and restoration; they leave when they suffer a heavy blow to their contingents or when their efforts are becoming increasingly more burdensome to their home country.

There are many significations in the return of Jeebleh to his home country. His exposure to western realities makes him believe that he is more intellectually advanced than those he left in Somalia. He forgets that the basic nature of man is unruly, but societal laws and norms make a man seem refined. Jeebleh's return to Somalia reveals to us that he is not different from those that engage in prolonging the social anomie as his ultimate purpose is to avenge the death of his mother and the ill treatment he suffers in the hands of Caloosha. The craze for revenge overpowers the supposed refinement his exposure accorded him. In his return, we see Jeebleh re-establishing a link with his mother and his country, Somalia. This link is part of the reason the anomic situation in Somalia continues; he has not come to negotiate for peace, but to avenge the wrong done to him. The notion of revenge becomes the source of the continuous and contagious form of clan and kinship violence in a country deeply engaged in a war of attrition. Through his evolving emotion of hate, Jeebleh gets drawn into the cycle of violence from which he initially tries to keep away. Though the details of the death of Caloosha are deliberately left sketchy by the author, salient textual insinuations suggest Jeebleh plays a major role in taking revenge on Caloosha and having him murdered. Upon his

arrival in Mogadishu, Jeebleh condemns violence but towards his departure, he comes to accept violence as a necessary means of ending the protracted season of anomie in Somalia. Violence will only breed further violence in a country where hate/vengeance rather than ideology fuels the civil war.

War leaves a psychological scar on the mind of the victims; the eerie silence, and the tell-tale signs of war on buildings and other landmarks that now accompany war-ravaged communities can be very unnerving, leaving the remaining inhabitants or returnees feeling hapless. "What Jeebleh had seen in the city so far marked it as a place of sorrow. Many houses had no roofs, and bullets scarred nearly every wall... The streets were eerily, ominously quiet. They saw no pedestrians on the roads, and met no other vehicles" (*Links*, 70). The eerie quietness cast a gloomy shadow over Jeebleh, he becomes extremely cautious and aware of his environment. This feeling will go ahead to make him a prisoner in his mind and suspicious of every movement around him. His chauffer's tactics also unnerves him; drivers take a different route every time they make a trip to avoid being monitored and murdered. Nobody feels safe and trusts anybody in a country at war. The psychological trauma that war brings extends to other aspects of life and even domestic animals. "...the cattle terrorized, ran off mad, the donkeys brayed and brayed, and the hen didn't lay eggs for several weeks. Our women noted a change in their monthly cycles and their psyches were irreparably damaged. No time to mourn, our dead were buried in the same day" (*Links*, 72-3). Everyone switches to a survival mode, every other emotion or capacity is side tracked for the ability to survive.

Gender Spaces

The Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict as adopted by the United Nation's Assembly in 1974 (Article 3 of the Geneva Convention), seeks to protect women and children from being exploited and victimized during armed conflicts. However, the reality of women and children trapped in social unrest is far from what the Geneva Convention stipulates. Women and children are the major victims of social unrest. Women suffer the participation of the male figures (husbands, brothers and sons) in the war. Women also suffer as they are expected to provide support services that help to prolong the conflict. Such support services include (but not limited to) providing sexual pleasures and taking care of other domestic needs of the man. Nuruddin Farah projects himself as a novelist who is sympathetic to the handling and projection of the female character in a phallo-centric world. The female character in most African literary depictions is often treated with so much disdain; her identity is subsumed in that of the man. Aduke Adebayo views and questions the depiction (in literary texts) of the mother (women) as a facilitator of the patriarchal oppression of the female (8). *Links* corrects the wrongful depiction of the woman as a willful participant in the despoliation of society; she is mirrored rather as one who is more concerned about the psychosocial well being of those around her. Farah consciously seeks to redraw the image of the woman from that of an object to a subject in society. Gender roles in society are not encoded in the genetic make-up of human beings. The way gender is described is dependent on the social interpretations and limitations placed on one's sex at birth; outside biological roles, no role is encoded into the genetic makeup of the individual. Society should refrain from restricting the woman

to only child bearing and other domestic responsibilities. The roles apportioned to members of society should not be determined by their gender, but by their ability to fulfill the tasks assigned to them. Restricting the woman to certain domestic roles denies her of her right to self-realisation and her contributions to society. When the woman is restricted to certain roles in society, she becomes a voiceless and invisible (non-entity) part of society.

Farah gives a voice to the women with his depiction of the three major female characters in his work. The major female characters in *Links*, Shanta, Haggar and Raasta share a strong sense of independence and self. Haggar, the mother of Caloosha, Bile and Shanta, quests for happiness and self-fulfillment when she undertakes a marital pilgrimage by marrying three men before her death. She refuses the idea of polygamy and chooses to live independently because she is able to take care of herself and her son, Caloosha. Haggar re-affirms her independence when she refuses to give up her job, choosing not to depend on her husband's wealth. She only 'contracts' a second marriage for the sake of her son, Caloosha, whom she feels needs a male presence. Shanta is described as having a "civic consciousness" (*Links*, 175) because of her moral stance in society. We see a woman who constantly tries to broker peace between her husband, Faahiye, and her brother, Bile, though without any success. Women constantly try to prevail on the men in society not to go to war; they also question the men's penchant for war (*Links*, 211). Shanta exerts her independence in marriage and constantly denies her husband sex to show ownership of her body. She defies tradition by maintaining a cordial relationship with Bile who is accused of having touched her inappropriately while delivering her baby, Raasta. To Shanta, sustenance of human life is more important than cultural norms. Faahiye and Shanta's child, Raasta is a symbol of peace in war-torn Somalia and a channel to harmonious co-existence. Raasta's natural curls (dread locks) endears her to those around her who come to accept her as a sign that their lives will be better someday. Her presence brings calmness to those who come in contact with her. People feel safer around her; she is an oasis in times of trouble. Raasta is believed to be wiser than her age; this makes people believe that she has supernatural powers.

These three females play a significant part in Farah's posturing of women. Haggar symbolises financially independent women who prove that women can have a voice through financial independence. Shanta represents women as the moral conscience of society; they tend to sue for peace in the home and society, cleaning up the mess made by male folks. Peace can only return to Somalia if the women are permitted larger roles in society. Raasta represents hope for the future; her innocence combined with her supernatural essence makes people believe that Somalia will come out of the civil war.

It is worthy to note the way a patriarchal society like Somalia attempts to silence the female voice; women are made to receive the blame for the failings of men in society because they do not have a voice to defend themselves. Haggar is blamed for being "lax" which Caloosha capitalises on by killing her second husband. The leaders of Haggar's clan come within an inch of pinning her husband's death on her when the real culprit is known to all. Shanta receives flaks for the emotional separation she experiences with her husband because of Bile's taboo. Her moral stance against the war is threatened when Raasta is kidnapped; she almost begins to think of resorting to any

means necessary to secure the release of her daughter. The hope that is reposed in Raasta is dimmed while she is held in captivity. The female gender in *Links* is seen as the glue that holds society together; they operate from behind the curtains to ensure cohesion in the home and society. Other females who play major roles in the text but are scantily mentioned include Jeebleh's mother, his wife and two daughters; these women help shape Jeebleh into a man who has a strong sense of integrity and a moral outlook to life.

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated that the presence of social diseases hinder the proper functioning of society and may lead to its eventual extinction. Societies need to regenerate themselves by adhering to their core values and holding the dignity of human life as supreme. The identity of an individual should be subsumed in his contributions to society and not in religious or ethnic affiliations; every individual should be given the right to contribute towards the progress of society. Individuals and groups who choose to unleash chaos on society in furtherance of personal aspirations should not be given room to fester and this can only be achieved if society has a moral code that it complies with. The female gender spaces examined in this paper have shown that women can act as the stabilising force of society if given the room to do so. Female gender apartheid has far reaching consequences beyond just dampening the spirit of women; men and society at large are denied the contributions of women to the progress of society, by that, they also suffer when women are not accorded their due place in society.

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LE THÈME DU TRAFIC D'ENFANTS À TRAVERS *MERCHANTS OF FLESH* DE CHINWUBA IFEOMA

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Résumé

Le trafic d'êtres humains reste, quoi qu'on en pense, en ce début de XXI^e siècle, un problème d'actualité auquel n'échappe aucune partie du monde. Forme moderne de l'esclavage, (Parisot, 2002), il connaît bien des variantes. Au Nigeria, le trafic d'enfants est plus fréquent entre les états d'Edo et d'Imo. Selon Ifeoma Chinwunba (2003): The trafficking of young girls, sometimes under-aged [...] where they are lured to the red light districts to operate as prostitutes. The arrival of an ex-undergraduate girl to the hustling joints sparks off a crusade for freedom and justice for the oppressed and exposes corruption in high places (MOF: 32). Certes, cette position prise par Chinwuba fait partie des raisons pour lesquelles l'auteur nigérian se préoccupe du sort des enfants à travers ses écrits, particulièrement dans son *Merchants of flesh*. On remarque qu'il y a des personnes qui pratiquent le trafic d'enfants à cause de la mauvaise condition familiale, la quête d'un meilleur avenir, le divorce parmi d'autres. A vrai dire, il y a ceux qui se livrent au trafic d'enfants contre leur gré, mais il y en a d'autres qui le pratiquent sans être forcés. Ici au Nigeria, l'État le plus touché c'est celui d'Edo. On remarque que dans ce côté du Nigeria, certains parents encouragent leurs enfants à pratiquer ce fléau avec pour but de s'enrichir. Alors, dans ce travail, on choisit de se pencher sur la théorie de la sociocritique, fondée par Claude Duchet, car cette théorie se concentre sur l'étude narrative, stylistique et thématique de l'œuvre.

Mots-clés : trafic, sociologie littéraire, phénomène, enfants, sociocritique, merchant

Introduction

Le trafic d'enfants est l'un des produits des effets de l'esclavage et de la colonisation qui ont ravagé et traumatisé l'Afrique et ses îles pour ne laisser que des marques de pauvreté et de souffrance. Aujourd'hui, le trafic d'enfants est devenu populaire dans le monde entier. Il est considéré comme l'esclavagisme moderne qui est devenu un business fleurissant car les hommes, les femmes et surtout les enfants sont victimes dans les cités et dans quelques pays du monde. D'ailleurs, les enfants, victimes du trafic peuvent être exploités comme enfants-soldats, travailleurs agricoles et domestiques dans des réseaux de mendicité organisée, envoyés pour des raisons d'adoptions illégales ou pour les mariages forcés. Le trafic d'enfants s'opère bien à l'intérieur des pays aussi qu'à

l'échelle mondiale. Ceci dit que les réseaux sont à la fois locaux, nationaux ou internationaux.

Néanmoins, le but du trafic dépend de l'âge et du sexe des enfants. Les garçons sont généralement trafiqués pour du travail forcé dans de grandes plantations, le trafic de drogue et recrutement dans la guerre, parmi d'autres. Les filles alors sont plutôt destinées à l'exploitation sexuelle ou domestique. L'exploitation sexuelle peut être liée à d'autres formes d'exploitation : les fabriques indiennes de tapis citées plus haut sont connues pour servir des centres de recrutement pour des 'maisons closes'. Les enfants prostitués sont exposés aux maladies sexuellement transmissibles, aux grossesses non désirées. Ils souffrent également de stigmatisation dans le reste de la société, et sont parfois même considérés comme illégaux et traités comme tels par les forces de l'ordre ; par exemple quand le racolage est interdit.

En plus, l'analyse de ce phénomène conduit les auteurs à s'interroger à propos de l'économie informelle et des cultures de rente, mais aussi de l'évolution du statut des femmes. En effet, on constate que les mutations socio-économiques dans les zones étudiées alourdissent les charges de travail des femmes, surtout celles qui accèdent à l'économie monétaire. Elles sont donc obligées de confier une partie de leurs tâches à d'autres qu'elles recrutent et mettent à leur service. Il s'agit donc souvent des personnes les plus vulnérables de la société, celles qui sont au plus bas de l'échelle sociale. Les enfants des familles vivant dans la précarité sont alors les cibles désignées.

Le trafic d'enfants dans *Merchants of Flesh* de Chinwuba Ifeoma

À travers ce que l'auteur de *Merchants of Flesh*, 'Les marchands de chair' (Notre traduction), a mis en place, on remarque que le trafic d'enfants se manifeste à plusieurs reprises dans son œuvre. Par exemple, dans le premier chapitre, Ufot, l'un des personnages principaux de l'œuvre nous révèle le fait que la société est devenue une place où on encourage la prostitution au nom de diversifier l'économie du pays. Selon Ufot, un diplomate du Nigeria en Italie, l'exploitation des êtres humains en Italie est une affaire gênante. Il s'exprime ainsi: « How are the mighty fallen in the field of battle. To think that our country could be reduced to supplying prostitutes to Europe. Is this what our people understand by diversifying the export market? Exporting human beings? This is slavery all over. It is disgusting, to say the least. » (*MOF* : 6) « Comment est-ce que les grands sont tombés dans le terrain de bataille. À penser que notre pays pourrait être relégué à l'arrière-plan ? Ceci est un esclavage total. C'est gênant pour ainsi dire. » (Notre traduction)

Dans le même chapitre cinq, on constate que Faith, l'une des filles trafiquées de Benin (au Nigeria) en Italie au nom d'être enrichie, est initiée dans le mauvais business du trafic par Lizzy- une trafiquante. Et puis, la narratrice nous révèle la pensée des parents envers leurs enfants qui sont les filles. Elle dit alors: "People now wished pregnant women to born females, baby girls that would go to Italy." (*MOF* : 73)

« Actuellement, les gens souhaitent que les femmes enceintes donnent naissance aux femelles, aux filles qui pourraient aller en Italie. » (Notre traduction)

Nous voyons clairement ici que les parents aussi font partie des causes du trafic d'enfants dans la société. Elle continue en disant: "Go and make money for me, my

dear. Good daughter. Good pikin...’’ (MOF : 73) « Vas gagner de l’argent pour moi, ma chérie. Bonne fille. Bon bébé. » (Notre traduction)

Ceci nous dit que, pour les parents dans ce côté du pays, une belle femme est instrument du trafic vu qu’elle soit capable de gagner assez d’argent pour nourrir ou enrichir la famille. En plus, la narratrice nous fait savoir que même les pères critiquent leurs filles en disant qu’elles sont stupides car elles suivent des copains pauvres du pays au lieu de suivre les Blancs d’où l’on peut toucher assez d’argent. La narratrice dévoile ainsi :

Stupid girl. You are here entertaining your boyfriend for free. Foolish girl Follow your mates to Italy. Go and meet the white man and make money. Foolish girl. Stupid fool. You want to bring disgrace to me? Don’t you see my mates sent by their children? You are here befriending men for free. You say you want to marry. If I hear “marry” from you again, I will slap okra seeds from your smelly mouth. (MOF : 73)

Une fille stupide. Tu te donnes à ton copain gratuitement. Suis tes camarades en Italie. Pars pour rencontrer le Blanc avec pour but de gagner de l’argent. Une fille folle. Une fille stupide. Veux-tu me déshonorer ? Ne voyez-vous pas mes camarades envoyés par leurs enfants?

? Tu dis que tu veux te marier. Tu es ici offrant tes amitiés gratuitement aux hommes. Tu dis que tu veux te marier. Si j’entends ‘marier’ encore, je ferai sortir les graines de gombo de ta bouche odorante. (Notre traduction)

En outre, nous savons à travers la narration la façon dont les filles vierges, sont niquées par le Blanc lorsqu’elles arrivent en Italie au nom de les payer quatre millions du lira et plus. Selon la narratrice: “The virgins among them would be disvergined on arrival by a white man who would pay four million lira and above.” (MOF : 74) « Les vierges d’entre elles se font violer en arrivant en Italie par le Blanc qui paierait quatre millions lira et plus. » (Notre traduction)

D’ailleurs, le pire c’est que, on constate pitoyablement qu’au fur et à mesure, c’est mieux de les vendre dès qu’elles arrivent en Italie ou bien on les laisse travailler pour gagner vingt millions lira pendant quelques mois ou plus. La narratrice ne laisse rien cacher en disant encore à ce niveau que : “ In the long run, it was more profitable to sell them off as they arrived. Or after a few months when they had paid back about twenty million lira or so...” (MOF : 74-75) « Enfin du compte, il serait préférable de les vendre dès leur arrivée. Ou après quelques mois qu’elles rembourseraient environ vingt millions lira ou quelque chose de la sorte. » (Notre traduction)

Selon cette citation, nous voyons que les filles trafiquées sont devenues comme des objets à vendre. Certes, cet acte de considérer les filles comme des objets est au diapason avec la notion de la chosification, (le fait de traiter les êtres humains comme des objets), postulée par Aimé Césaire dans son *Discours sur le colonialisme* (1950).

En outre, ce qui est aussi frappant dans l’œuvre de Chinwuba c’est que Tina, l’une des filles trafiquées en Italie par sa tante et finalement vendue à Lizzy se montre différente car elle est vraiment têtue envers Lizzy-sa Madame. D’après la narratrice: “ When Lizzy asked her why she was still coming home empty-handed, Tina said it was

that time of the month and would not be able to go to work.” « Quand Lizzy lui a demandé pourquoi elle rentrait toujours les mains vides, Tina a répondu que c'était à cette époque du mois et qu'elle ne pourrait pas aller travailler. » (Notre traduction)

Ceci nous montre que bien que cette fille soit trafiquée en Italie, elle n'a pas accepté de se donner à la prostitution comme d'autres filles. En guise de rappel, on remarque que tout acte de trafic a tant de conséquences car 'le mauvais comportement' de Tina lui amène des peines graves, la raison pour laquelle elle est d'abord niquée par Innocent (vendeur de la drogue), comme punition et puis, elle est enfermée par sa maîtresse, Lizzy pendant deux ans. Elle est aussi infligée d'une grave maladie par Ali (victime d'une maladie mortelle). Selon la narratrice: "Lizzy had hired a drug-dealer-turned-drug-addict, named Innocent to deflower Tina forcefully." (MOF : 78) « Et puis Lizzy avait employé le service d'un vendeur de drogue, un toxicomane nommé Innocent pour violer Tina forcément. » (Notre traduction).

Après avoir fait l'analyse succincte du sort subi par l'enfant dans *Merchants of flesh* de Chinwuba, avère constater que, ce fléau s'est débuté depuis l'antiquité. Par exemple, dans *Les Misérables* (1862) de Victor Hugo, l'auteur, à travers le portrait de Jean Valjean, le héros de son roman, dépeint le fait que l'enfant est toujours victime du trafic dans sa société. Pour se faire, Hugo laisse voir à tout lecteur que Jean est condamné dès à l'âge précoce.

Ensuite, en emboitant les parts de Hugo, Émile Zola, évoque par le biais de *Germinal* (1885) la misère que souffrent les mineurs.

D'ailleurs, pour supporter la voix des auteurs ci-dessus, Charles Dickens dépeint aussi le fait que les enfants sont exploités. Par extension, Dickens laisse voir à tout lecteur que les malfrats obligent les enfants à voler dans son œuvre, *Oliver Twist* (1837).

Gross modo, on avère mettre à nu le fait que la voix de ces auteurs a beaucoup influencé la pensée du public de leur époque.

Les causes du trafic d'enfants dans *Merchants of flesh*

La pauvreté

Dans la plupart des œuvres littéraires qui traitent le mal traitement des personnes et surtout des enfants, on remarque que la cause principale du trafic d'enfants est toujours la pauvreté car un bon nombre de pays africains, antillais et européens sont corrompus à cause du comportement de leurs leaders. Les leaders africains, antillais ainsi qu'européens ne se voient pas comme des personnes élues pour protéger l'intérêt de la masse populaire que constituent les pauvres. Alors, les parents, surtout ceux qui sont pauvres se livrent au trafic d'enfants dans le but de prendre soin de leurs familles. Certains parents font cela en encourageant leurs enfants de voyager ailleurs pour gagner la vie.

D'emblée, tout au long de la narration, surtout dans le premier chapitre, Ufot, l'un des personnages principaux de *Merchants of flesh* nous révèle le fait que la société est devenue une place où on encourage la prostitution au nom de diversifier l'économie du pays. Il s'exprime ainsi:

How are the mighty fallen in the field of battle. To think that our country could be reduced to supplying prostitutes to Europe. Is this what our people understand by diversifying the export market? Exporting human beings? This is slavery all over. It is disgusting, to say the least. (*MOF* : 6)

Comment les puissants sont-ils tombés sur le champ de bataille? Penser que notre pays pourrait être réduit à fournir des prostituées à l'Europe. Est-ce ce que nos gens comprennent en diversifiant le marché d'exportation? Exporter des êtres humains? C'est de l'esclavage partout. C'est pour le moins répugnant. (Notre traduction)

Selon Ufot, un diplomate du Nigeria en Italie, l'exploitation des êtres humains en Italie est une affaire gênante pratiquée à cause de l'économie nigériane. Du coup, dans certains de ces pays, ce sont les enfants qui sont les causes eux-mêmes car ils pensent trouver un meilleur avenir à l'étranger ou hors de leur village natal.

Alors, on peut relier cette expérience néfaste des victimes du trafic d'enfants abordée par Chinwuba à celle de Zétou–l'héroïne dans *Le Quimboiseur l'avait dit...*, (1981), parce que la pauvreté est l'une des causes principales du trafic d'enfants vu que d'abord, Zétou, l'héroïne, est violée par Roger, le mari blanc de sa mère lorsqu'elle refuse de se marier à un vieux. Voilà aussi pourquoi Rosemonde, la mère de Zétou et son mari blanc décident de proposer un mariage forcé pour Zétou, aussi appelée Suzette. Roger déclare : "Tu sais, je ne te cache pas que cela arrangerait bien nos affaires. Joseph va m'associer à la création de sa nouvelle usine de pâte de goyaves [...] Un gendre qui a les poches pleines et la main généreuse, cela ne court pas les rues..." (*LQLD*: 113-114)

Ensuite, dans le texte, la narratrice nous fait savoir que lorsque sa mère rentre à Cocotier pour obtenir sa permission de divorce, elle décide de rejeter toute la richesse de son mari noir non pas à cause de générosité mais parce qu'elle n'a que faire d'un canot de pêche et d'une case en bois, toute la richesse du père de Zétou. L'héroïne dit:

Ma mère ne revint pas nous voir comme elle avait promis. Néanmoins, elle voyait grand-mère au marché de la ville chaque samedi. Six semaines après sa visite à Cocotier, elle obtint sans peines son divorce et dans les conditions qu'elle voulait: maniée sous le régime de la communauté, elle laissait tout à mon père, non par générosité, mais parce qu'elle n'avait que faire d'un canot de pêche et d'une case en bois, toute la richesse de notre père. (*LQLD*: 77)

D'après la narration de Zétou, on constate que la mère de Zétou divorce son man noir car il est pauvre. Et puis, nous pensons que la collaboration entre Rosemonde, la mère de Zétou et Roger, son mari blanc pour donner Zétou à un vieux au mariage est fait car ils veulent s'enrichir. Roger témoigne: "Ta mère a déjà donné son accord" (*LQLD*: 114).

La négligence parentale

Bien sûr, ce mauvais comportement parental se manifeste dans *Merchants of flesh*. La narratrice en dévoile ainsi:

Stupid girl. You are here entertaining your boyfriend for free. Foolish girl Follow your mates to Italy. Go and meet the white man and make money. Foolish girl. Stupid fool. You want to bring disgrace to me ? Don't you see my mates sent by their children? You are here befriending men for free. You say you want to marry. If I hear "marry" from you again, I will slap okra seeds from your smelly mouth. (MOF: 73)

Fille stupide. Vous êtes ici pour divertir votre petit ami gratuitement. Fille stupide Suivez vos amis en Italie. Allez rencontrer l'homme blanc et gagnez de l'argent. Fille naïve. Imbécile. Tu veux me faire honte? Ne voyez-vous pas mes camarades envoyés par leurs enfants? Vous êtes ici en train de vous lier d'amitié avec des hommes gratuitement. Vous dites que vous voulez vous marier. Si j'entends à nouveau «te marier », je vais gifler les graines de gombo de ta bouche malodorante. (Notre traduction)

Cette citation de notre narratrice nous laisse voir que ce mauvais comportement parental se manifeste dans *Merchants of flesh*. D'après la narratrice, les pères critiquent leurs filles en disant qu'elles sont stupides car elles suivent des copains pauvres du pays au lieu de suivre les Blancs d'où l'on peut toucher assez d'argent.

La quête pour un meilleur avenir

Cette cause du trafic d'enfants peut être le fruit de la mauvaise condition de l'éducation en Afrique en général. Donc, les jeunes gens, comme Tina—l'une des héroïnes de *Merchants of flesh* se livrent à rêver d'étudier à l'étranger. Cette mauvaise condition est souvent provoquée par des différents facteurs ; à savoir : le manque de professeurs qualifiés, un mauvais environnement d'apprentissage, la politique gouvernementale d'un pays donné, et plus souvent, la mentalité d'être plus respecté pour avoir obtenu un certificat d'une université dite étrangère.

Assurément, cette quête pour un meilleur avenir se voit aussi dans *Merchants of flesh*. Par exemple, la narratrice nous dévoile que : "Stupid girl. You are here entertaining your boyfriend for free. Foolish girl Follow your mates to Italy. Go and meet the white man and make money. Foolish girl." « Fille stupide. Vous êtes ici pour divertir votre petit ami gratuitement. Fille stupide Suivez vos amis en Italie. Allez rencontrer l'homme blanc et gagnez de l'argent. Fille naïve. » (Notre traduction)

C'est ainsi que la plupart des parents des victimes du trafic d'enfants encouragent leurs enfants à partir en Europe avec pour but de se s'arranger vu qu'ils ne fassent pas confiance en l'économie du Nigeria.

Les conséquences du trafic d'enfants

La solitude et la souffrance

Apparemment, à travers *Merchants of flesh*, on constate que Faith, l'une des filles trafiquées de Benin (au Nigeria) en Italie au nom d'être enrichie, est initiée dans le mauvais business du trafic par Lizzy- une trafiquante. La narratrice affirme que "People now wished pregnant women to born females, baby girls that would go to Italy." (MOF: 73). « Les gens souhaitaient maintenant que les femmes enceintes deviennent des femelles nées, des bébés filles qui iraient en Italie. » (Notre traduction)

D'après ces mots de la narratrice, on est amené à cerner la mauvaise pensée des parents envers leurs enfants qui sont les filles dans ce côté du continent d'Afrique de l'Ouest.

Le viol

En fait, dans *Merchants of flesh*, la plupart des victimes du trafic en Italie sont violées. Sachons que même Tina qui a révolté a été maltraitée par Liza-sa Madame. Selon la narratrice: "Lizzy had hired a drug-dealer-turned-drug-addict, named Innocent to deflower Tina forcefully." (MOF : 78) « Lizzy avait engagé un trafiquant de drogue devenu toxicomane, nommé Innocent, pour déflorer Tina avec force. » (Notre traduction)

Donc, on remarque avec amertume que 'le mauvais comportement' de Tina lui amène des peines graves, la raison pour laquelle elle est d'abord niquée par Innocent (vendeur de la drogue), comme punition et puis, elle est enfermée par sa maîtresse, Lizzy pendant deux ans. Elle est aussi infligée d'une grave maladie par Ali (victime d'une maladie mortelle).

Ensuite, la trahison qui frappe gravement notre héroïne c'est le moment où Roger veut la violer au passage de la maison. Elle dit : "Après un bref coup d'œil à sa montre, Roger enfila sa veste et sortit rapidement en me bousculant au passage. Pendant deux jours, je ne pas voir Roger en tête à tête et ma mère ne fit aucune allusion à Joseph de la Pierre, ou à Charles." (LQLD : 114-115).

Selon cette citation, Zétou est gravement surprise par les actions de Roger car elle lui a assez parlé de son ami d'enfance Charles qu'elle aime de tout son cœur avant son déplacement à Paris.

Sans doute, dans *Merchants of flesh*, toutes les filles trafiquées en Italie se voient trahies par non seulement Lizzy- leur Madame mais aussi leurs parents car c'était avec le propre gré de ces derniers qu'elles sont parties en Italie.

La trahison

Selon le récit, on constate que, bien que Zétou n'aime pas rester au village pour s'occuper des travaux domestiques, elle n'a pas atteint son but d'être éduquée par sa mère en France car sa confiance en sa mère pour l'éducation est gravement trahie. Zétou est vraiment déçue par l'action de sa mère car celle-ci n'arrive pas à l'inscrire à une école en France comme elle a promis. Zétou déclare :

Un jour où je lui demandais après maintes fois où en étaient les démarches pour mon inscription dans une école, elle me répondit : “Ma petite Zétou, je suis désolée, nous sommes arrivés en pleines année scolaire, il n’y a pas de place ; je vais t’inscrire à un cours par correspondance ; je t’aiderai à faire tes devoirs et tu pourras passer ton certificat d’études pour adultes, car tu vas avoir treize ans.” C’est à partir de ce jour que j’ai commencé à me décourager. Tant que j’espérais aller à l’école, cela m’était égal de faire toutes les corvées. Savoir que je devrais continuer les travaux ménagers indéfiniment me fit perdre beaucoup de mon assurance. (LQLD : 109-110)

Nous voyons clairement d’après cette citation que sans doute Zétou se voit trahie par sa mère en France. Elle finit par nous faire savoir la magnitude de son découragement et le fait qu’elle perd aussi son assurance pour continuer son éducation en France malgré le fait que sa mère lui a promis des cours par correspondance.

Conclusion

Apparemment, à travers *Merchants of flesh* de Chinwuba, c’est l’enfant qui est à la base de notre compte rendu du fléau du trafic au Nigeria. Apparemment, beaucoup d’enfants ont été bafoués, traumatisés et ravagés par les adultes mais ce qui nous frappe le plus c’est que la plupart du temps, c’est avec le gré des parents des victimes que ce phénomène est perpétué dans ces zones.

Sans doute, Chinwuba, par le biais de Tina, l’une des filles trafiquées en Italie par sa tante et finalement vendue à Lizzy-sa Madame représente les victimes du trafic qui se révoltent à tout prix même au détriment de leur vie.

En matière de sensibilisation, cette communication recommande la mise en place d’un comité de chaque district, comité, qui va à son tour établir des comités locaux de proximité capables de mener des actions de sensibilisation et d’information au niveau des différentes communautés. Des rencontres seront organisées à une fréquence régulière par les comités de proximité dans le but de favoriser le débat et la discussion et de tenir la population en éveil et conduire à une élaboration d’un plan d’action à tous les niveaux du contrôle du trafic d’enfants.

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THE ROLE OF SHUWA ARAB WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT OF BORNO STATE

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Abstract

Shuwa Arab women have played very significant roles towards the development of the nation as a whole and Borno State in particular, Borno women were engaged in economic activities such as trading, milking cows, grazing the land for Agricultural purpose, mat weaving and cap sewing, which have taken the top priorities in economic activities of the state. They also uplifted the political and administrative sector of the state by giving their best as contributors towards the development of the state. The historical development of Borno state will be incomplete without mentioning the achievements of Borno Women. Primary data were obtained through oral interviews and focus group discussions with some prominent Shuwa Arab Women, while secondary sources of data were obtained by analysing text book, journals; both hard and online materials were also analysed for the purpose of this research study.

Keywords: Shuwa Arab, Women, Development, Borno

Introduction

According to Mohammed (2012), national development could be referred to as development in all ramifications as a spiral growth in the ethnic, social and political life of any nation at a particular period of time. National development can be influenced by the socio-cultural setting of the people and as a measure of improvement, such as an increase in the gross domestic product, or social, like literacy rate and availability of health care.

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According to Sa'ad Hadi, development can simply be put as the rate of growth of a given country. This is usually measured by a country's gross domestic product (GDP) and the ability to use available resources to solve human, economic, education, political and other problems. The issue of development is a global one. This prompts

every government to put in place policies that will help create necessary condition that can activate and sustain development in the contemporary rapidly changing world. In recent times, there has been a shift on what constitutes development due to multi-faceted nature of man's well-being and the realities of the efforts of development in most developing countries. The new approach to development is that it is a multi-dimensional process. National development is seen by Awolokun (1995) as a minimum socio and political development as well as economic development in the building of national identity. The ability of a country to improve the social welfare of the people by providing social amenities like quality education, water, good roads, access to health facilities etc., accounts for the development of any nation.

Going by the aforementioned definitions by different scholars as regard to national development, it could be summarily stated that the contributions made by the Shuwa Arab women towards nation building is reflected in both socio-political and economic growth of the nation; ranging from the rural economic activities by the Shuwa Arab women who were not opportuned to attend western education down to the western educated Shuwa Arab women who contributed immensely in various spheres of life that comprises of the civil services and administration, social and educational, media and entertainment, political and economic sectors of the nation will be discussed extensively.

Shuwa Arab Women in National development: Women and Education

In 1935, female education commenced in Maiduguri and Dikwa. Girls' classes were attached to the elementary schools at Maiduguri and Dikwa. The class at Maiduguri started with twenty girls. By 1947, Borno middle school had twenty female pupils, though Shuwa Arab women at first were not willing to enroll into the western school. According to Hajja Halita Aliyu, religion, culture, value system, and economic considerations were the main reasons for preventing the Shuwa Arab women from going to school. She also maintained that education is something to be sought after, which was why parents changed their attitude and started sending their children to school. Shuwa Arab women in Borno State contributed greatly to the development of the state socially. They played vital roles in the lives of their families, they also participated in household chores, including the socialisation of the young ones.

Women's education leads to significant educational development which is considered important in itself and because it ensures equal rights and opportunities for the people regardless of gender. Women's education has cognitive benefits for the women as well. Improved cognitive abilities increase the quality of life for women and also lead to other benefits. One example of this, is the fact that educated women are better able to make decisions related to health, both for themselves and their children. Cognitive abilities also translate to increased political participation among women. Educated women are more likely to engage in civic participation and attend political meetings, and there are several instances in which educated women of Shuwa Arab in the developing world were able to secure benefits for themselves through political movements. Evidence also points to an increased likelihood of democratic governance in countries with well-educated women.

Additionally, while investing in women's education has a higher overall return when looking at all levels of education, socially, societal gender roles may stifle the ability for women. This is particularly the case when education for women is only seen culturally as a tool for making women a strong tool for development which the Shuwa Arab women played significantly.

Shuwa Arab Women in Health Services

Traditional medicine practices are very much a part of the health care delivery system in Nigeria today. Health care during the period of independence was oriented primarily to curative rather than preventive care. For example, as a result of the poor attempt to establish preventive programmes, measles remained the greatest killer of children. By 1960 the World Health Organisation (WHO) had proven beyond reasonable doubt that proper execution of preventive programmes can eradicate deadly diseases, and indeed small pox was almost non-existent in Nigeria at this time.

In the field of health, Shuwa Arab women have made contributions and are still contributing to the development of the sector, as doctors, nurses, midwives, health technologists etc. It is estimated that there are more female nurses and midwives working in hospitals and clinics across the state than their male counterpart. The reason for this is that women are considered more humane. As Hajo rightly observed:

Women are reputed to be very compassionate and this might be one of the reasons for dominance in this field. A holder of ordinary level general certificate of education can undertake a three year course in general nursing, biology and clinical studies. One year course in midwifery and their specialised areas like surgery, dentistry and pediatrics nursing gives additional qualification.

A lot of Shuwa Arab women have contributed to the development of the state as nurses, midwives, doctors etc. under the health sector.

Shuwa Arab Women in Medical Services

Dr. Hajara Asheikh Jarma, was born into the family of the former civilian governor of Borno State, Alhaji Asheikh Jarma on January 24, 1979. She started her education at Shehu Garbai Primary School in 1985 and obtained her first school leaving certificate in 1991. She proceeded to Capital School in Maiduguri, for her secondary education. Hajara was at the University of Maiduguri where she read general medicine; she is presently at the retainership department at the University of Maiduguri Teaching Hospital as a Doctor.

Another Shuwa Arab woman to reckon with in the health sector is Sister Maryam Ahmad Ramadan, she is a midwifery specialist. She has been with the former nursing home Maiduguri now known as Mamman Shuwa hospital, old GRA. She has been in the health sector for over twelve years. She has contributed immensely towards the development of health care services and delivery as far as women delivery is concerned. She resides in Jiddari polo in Maiduguri. Her contributions towards the health sector cannot be over emphasised in as much as she is always at service to save babies and mothers' life. Her door is always open to pregnant women and nursing

mothers that need her assistance round the clock and never charges a single kobo for such services being rendered to the patients. She is considered as godsent from above by all that know her.

Kaltum Jidda is a staff nurse with the state specialist hospital. She is a Shuwa Arab by tribe and had been in the health sector for over seven years. She has distinguished herself in the assisting of life, immediately after completing her studies from the school of nursing in 2007. She contributes her quota to the services of humanity and thereby uplifts the standard of life health wise. As a nurse, she never declines to render a helping hand be it in the hospital or at home. She has been considered by all around her as a generous health worker who assists anyone that comes for assistance which relates to her field of work.

Shuwa Arab Women in Media and Entertainment Industry

The Nigerian mass media has been described as a product of nationalist struggle. Tador however classifies the development of the Nigerian media into three phases as follows:- the early press (1800-1920), nationalist press (1929-1960) and contemporary press (1960-till date). In the opinion of Ogunsiyi, the history of the Nigerian media can be classified into four eras. These are the era of missionary journalism (1846-1863), the era of Galien dominated press (1863-1914), the emergence of indigenous press (1914-1960) and the new era (1960-till date).

A lot of Shuwa Arab women are not left behind, in the media industry. They have been making great contributions to the development of the state through radio, newspapers and telecommunication. For example, Shuwa Arab women like Hajja Hadiza Abdulkarim, Hajja Hadiza Ali Shuwa, Hajja Mahsin Mohammed and Fatime Idriss, to mention but a few, have made impressive impact in this sector.

A Shuwa Arab woman worthy to mention here is Hadiza Abdulkarim, born 42 years ago, and hails from Khaddmari in Jere local government area of Borno State. She joined the media industry in 2005 as a casual staff for 3 years, later got permanent appointment in 2008 and later rose to the rank of head of programmes in 2013. Some of the programmes she produced include, Dandali-meaning platform, Mata Iyayen Gida-meaning women head of the home, listeners choice – in Shuwa Arab, and today's wellbeing also in Shuwa Arab.

The four above mentioned programmes, entertained and served as a guide to most of the daily activities which educate the youth and even the elders sometimes. It also serves as a reminder in some day to day activities in taking the right decision in life. The programme- women head of the house, gives an insight towards the commitment of women in overseeing the affairs of the house as regards to the child's upbringing and other related family matters. Hajja Hadiza Abdulkarim is married with children.

Another Shuwa Arab woman in the entertainment industry is Fatime Idris Bultu born in 1973 in Maiduguri Borno State to Shuwa parents. After completing her primary education, she attended the famous Government Girls College (GGC) Maiduguri and later University of Maiduguri: she holds a B.Sc. in Food Science and Technology.

She joined the media industry in 2011 as a programe presenter. Among the programmes she presented includes:

1. *Hankalinka Jarinka* – your ideas, your assets
2. Women's world
3. *Dada Ido* – wish you have eyes

These are all programmes that enlightened the society towards social, educational and economic development of both the young and the elderly. Women and men benefit immensely from such programmes and thereby serve as an upliftment towards societal development.

Mahsin Mohammed a Shuwa Arab woman was born 44 years ago in Kerenowa Marte local government area of Borno State. She presents a programme named “*Filin Yara*” meaning children's forum. It is a programme that brings together children from various schools to come and express their future expectations which clearly arouses the interest of the children towards what they have in mind as per developing their society in later years to come, or what they intend to become in future. *Filin Yara* is an inspirational children programme which assists parents in counseling the children as to what they intend to become in future. She is married with children.

Hadiza Ali Shuwa, also a Shuwa Arab woman hails from Kala Balge local government area of Borno State and joined the media industry over 10 years ago, and has been a programme presenter in the radio section of BRTV, Maiduguri. Born 43 years ago to Shuwa parents, she is married to Bulama Yerima who is also in the media industry. They are married with children.

Shuwa Arab Women in Arts and Crafts

Borno is reputed to have the best woven caps in the whole country. The Shuwa Arab women participate in the cap weaving business. In fact, people come from far away and nearby countries like Chad and Cameroon to purchase woven caps from Borno. The Shuwa Arab women engage in the art of weaving caps which has to do with a white cloth that has been cut into a form of cap and a design made on the white cloth which will be followed by hand sewing using a cotton thread and a small needle. The design made on the cap will guide the sewer to follow the steps which will ultimately make the cap to be in a form appreciated by all because of the various designs made on it and the colours used will also make the cap to be beautifully seen. It takes about four to six weeks to finish a single cap, and can be sold between two to ten thousand depending on the cap design and the quality of the thread being used.

According to Ibrahim Modu, Shuwa Arab women also engage in mats weaving, such mats also find their way to markets not only within the state but also to other parts of the country. The mats are made from bamboo leaves which will be soaked in colour. It will be weaved with various colours so that it can give a nice and good look in order to arouse the interest of the buyer. The women of Shuwa Arab also engaged in weaving bed sheets with thread of various colours in those days, and even went beyond thread and needle but also excelled in weaving hand fans made from rubber items or materials in various forms which you find along the streets being sold by little boys and girls.

Pot making is another craft in which the Shuwa Arab women partake in. Pot is made from earthen clay, after making the pot it is heated in an oven in order to make it strong. The pots can either be for cooking or for water storage. Cloth weaving is another activity which the Shuwa Arab women engage in and serves as means of revenue generating activities amongst them.

In fact, the Shuwa Arab women are very industrious and impacted a lot to the developmental aspects of the nation towards their various activities in order to sustain themselves and improve the living standard of the common man by engaging in various forms of activities that would benefit their immediate society and the nation in general.

Shuwa Arab Women and Agriculture in Borno

Agriculture is one of the oldest heritage of humanity. As pointed out by A.G. Hopkins “that it was not necessary to give up farming in order to enter other specialised occupation such as trade which for the most part was carried out on seasonal time basis because, it is possible to finance other type of productive activities”.

Until the industrial revolution, the vast majority of the human population laboured in agriculture. Pre-industrial agriculture was typically subsistence agriculture, in which farmers raised most of their own consumption, instead of trade. In Nigeria, agriculture is a major branch of economy and development, providing employment for about 70% of the population. Major crops cultivated in the country includes, beans, sesame, cassava, groundnuts, maize, millet, palm kernels, rice, soyabeans, yam and sorghum among others, which processing and storage is mostly carried out by women farmers.

The agricultural sector is one of the main sectors of the economy where Shuwa Arab women make some notable contributions. The traditional roles played by Shuwa Arab women particularly in the rural areas, center on economic development. Irrespective of their tribal background or religious learning, they are active in agricultural operations. They have their own farms and are responsible for growing certain crops. The Shuwa Arab women undertake all farming operations; clearing, burning, ploughing (occasionally hiring male labour) sowing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and transporting crops. They also weed, harvest and thresh on their husbands’ farms although unlike the hired labour, they are not remunerated for it. Men sometimes reciprocate by working on their wives’ plots. They also grow groundnuts, beans, bambara nuts, sorrel (*yakwa*) spinach (*alaiyaho*) and other vegetables for consumption. The women consider proceeds of their own farm to be separately their own. This is so because Islam approves of women’s ownership of property and wealth. The farm produces are later taken to the market as cash crops.

The Shuwa Arab women also assist the men in gathering the crop, but they alone thresh, winnow and store the grain. It is also the women who wash, dry and grind it and prepare it into food. They churn cheese or butter and ferment the milk (*Nono*) spin, build and keep the shelters tidy, fetch water, cook and take care of the children. They have the absolute right to the milk (and proceeds from milk products) of all cows in their herds. After milking the cow, the milk is allowed to boil on fire for like four to six hours in order to make what is known as *kindirmu* which is a popular delicacy from

milk which seems to look like yoghurt. It is well known fact that, milk is always in two forms, that is the fresh milk and the sleep milk which is being processed into sleep milk after a day. The milk itself has oil content which comes on top of the milk in the process of boiling the milk. The oil is called “*Dinal Bagar*”, a spoon is used to remove the oil on top of the milk, and the oil can be fried with onion in order to make it more appealing more especially when adding to soup, it makes the soup more appetizing in terms of aroma. From the proceeds, she buys soap and other items she wishes in order to assist the husband in the family upkeep. She therefore, contributed to the development of her family in particular and the nation in general.

Hajja Kaltum Wanzamari, was a prominent Shuwa Arab woman farmer in Gajiganna. She produced crops such as millet, guinea corn, and beans in commercial quantities. She sold most of her produce to retail traders. Another prominent Shuwa Arab woman farmer in Borno is Hajja Ashe Wakilbe, who engages in agricultural activities in a largescale way. She has an orchard along Maiduguri-Damboa road in which she engaged in producing guava, mango, cashew, orange and lemon in large quantity for commercial purposes. She has employed several people in the orchard who offer their services as labourers and are being paid for their labour.

Shuwa Arab Women in Animal Rearing and Husbandry

In the area of animal rearing, women are known to participate actively. Shuwa Arab women in Borno own cattle and sheep as part of their cultural, social and economic heritage. Rearing of animals is one of the most significant economic activities that are carried out in the state. A good number of the animals actually come from the women. A Shuwa Arab woman can own as many as 300 to 400 heads of cattle and a number of goats and sheep. These are often acquired from their fathers through inheritance, at the time of their marriage and sometimes from their husbands.

Hajja Inna Shuwa is a cattle owner in Gajiganna and at Nganzai respectively. Her sister Hajja Fanne is also in the same business. Cattle rearing is very significant in the lives of the Shuwa Arab. The animals provide both milk and meat. The Shuwa Arab women then process and sell dairy products, such as milk, butter and cheese. The profits gained from the sales of such animal products are used to acquire other basic needs for the woman’s family. The milk or butter are processed and marketed by Shuwa women in various village markets in the states. Through the processing and selling of these products one can no doubt say the Shuwa Arab women are contributing to national development.

Shuwa Arab Women in Development of Local Industries

The 1994 world survey on the role of women in development, states categorically that “where women have advanced economic power, growth has usually been steady, where women have been restricted, there has been stagnation”. Traditionally, Borno like in other parts of Africa, women have been making contributions to the development of the society. These are principally the triple role of production, reproduction and communal activities. According to Maryam Babangida, women work as mothers, wives doing domestic chores, as breadwinners doing farming and trading, and they see to the nursing

of their children against the backdrop of polygamous settings. The issue is no longer whether they contribute to the nation's development efforts, rather, it is now how effective and efficient their contributions are.

Women in rural Borno participate actively in the weekly markets. Middle aged and elderly Shuwa women are seen in the Monday Market and Customs Market selling goods such as maize flour, rice, sorrel (*Yakua*) and spinach (*Alaiyaho*), garlic, vegetables etc. However, the majority of them carry on their trade from within the confines of their homes. They turn their homes into individual markets that are in continuous session.

In Customs Market, Hajja Innaya, aged 60 is well known maize flour seller, who sells to everyone that requires it. The process through which maize flour is produced is by getting the maize pounded and the offal removed from the maize and kept inside water for about six hours or more, washed and kept to dry before grinding and sieved; thereby getting the maize flour ready for sale to those who require it. In Monday market, Hajja Danna, age 55 is well known Shuwa Arab woman who sells dry pepper. The dry pepper is in two forms: there is the raw pepper and the dried grinded pepper in form of dried pepper flour which was grinded and sieved before making it available for buyers. In Maiduguri, Fatime Usman is a known Shuwa woman who weaves hair for women. From the weaving, she was able to buy a house of her own and train her children to acquire western knowledge.

No doubt then, that the predominance of Shuwa Arab women in small scale industries is linked to their limited access to critical resources like formal education, credit facilities and technology. In real terms, small-scale industry encompasses all production activities like domestic production of arts, which means that even in their homes, Shuwa Arab women are contributing to the economy.

Conclusion

The Shuwa Arab women are commercially oriented people with well- developed internal trade, they engaged in trading activities such as selling dates and cow milk, and engaged in mat knitting. The roles of the Shuwa Arab women and men were different. The women were responsible for milking the cows; they sell the raw cow milk to factories and processed milk either at the market place or through a door to door marketing system. They keep the earnings for themselves, in order to use it to buy house hold items. Hajja Ramada is a Shuwa Arab woman who engages herself in the trading of dates and *Kurnaka* (*balanite egyptiacus*). The *Kurnaka* is usually sold in company of dates as it makes a good combination and it is believed to be medicinal because in traditional medicine and beliefs *Acacia Nilotica* (*kurnaka*) is said to be a cure for almost twenty sicknesses or more. It is easily seen with the Shuwa Arab women where ever they go. It is like a traditional business that can only be within the women of Shuwa Arab and no other group else.

Another source of trading by the women of Shuwa Arab is mat knitting. Hajja Fannei a Shuwa Arab woman who specialises in mat knitting, says it is a very lucrative trading, because it fetches the women a means of livelihood from the income generated. The mats are of various sizes and colours. There are mats used for sittings, some used for praying and there are others used for decoration on the walls of a room. The Shuwa

Arab women are very industrious in the sense that they never folded their arms waiting for their husbands to provide everything in the home. They always strive hard to assist their husbands in the family up-keep that is why they engaged in petty trading in order to contribute their own quota towards the development of the household in particular and the nation at large.

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THE STATE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS: CONCEPTS, PROCESSES AND FUNCTIONS

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Abstract

The term 'State' occupies the highest place and central theme in the study of history, political science and international relations. The modern term “state” is derived from the word “status” earlier used by the German tribe 'Teutons'. The Greeks used the word 'Polis' to denote the 'city-state' and Romans used the term 'Civitas' which means state. It was the Italian scholar, Machiavelli who used the term 'state' in political science in the modern sense. In politics, the term 'state' means an association of people who live within a geographical area under an organised government and subject to no outside control. According to the Realists school of thought, state is the main unit in the interactions occurring in the international system, while to the Liberalists, International Organisations and Transnational Corporations are two other key actors in the interactions occurring in the international system. This paper is an attempt to explain the intricacy in the study of state with desire to structure and explain the processes which led to the birth of modern state, the purpose, functions and the entire concept in the hope of developing a device for imposing order and meaning on the complexities of international affairs.

Keywords: International politics, State, Leaders of states, Transnationals, Substate actors

Introduction

Before the development of the modern state system, people were organised into more mixed and overlapping political units, such as city-states, empires, and feudal fiefs.¹ The modern state system arose in Europe, beginning after about A.D. 1500, when France and Austria emerged as powerful nations. The system grew to encompass the European continent over several centuries, although it long coexisted with other

¹ H.J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, Sixth, edition, New Delhi, Kalyani Publishers, 2012, p. 61.

systems such as the Holy Roman Empire. With the colonisation of much of the rest of the world by European nations, the European idea of nations was exported globally.²

State is the main unit in the interactions occurring in the international system, although static, occupying immovable geographical regions, the safety of the state depends on the behaviour of its people, particularly those holding political office, as well as those involved in major international transactions such as international trade.³ This is especially important because the international system lacks institutions that can give some order to the interactions that occur within it. At times, these interactions have resulted in costly conflicts.⁴

State and Nation

A State is a distinct set of political institutions whose specific concern is with the organisation of domination, in the name of the common interest, within a delimited territory. The State is arguably the most central concept in the study of politics and its definition is therefore the object of intense scholarly contestation.⁵

Marxists, political sociologists, and political anthropologists usually favour a broad definition, which draws attention to the role of coercion-wielding organisations that exercise clear priority in decision-making and claim paramountcy in the application of naked force to social problems within territorial boundaries. By this standard, archaeological remains signal the existence of states from 6000 BC, with written or pictorial records testifying to their presence from 4000 BC.⁶

The word nation is from the Latin *nasci*, meaning ‘to be born’ and is a complex phenomenon that is shaped by a collection of cultural, political and psychological factors. Culturally, a nation is a group of people bound together by a common language, religion, history and traditions, although nations exhibit various levels of cultural heterogeneity.⁷ Politically, a nation is a group of people who regard themselves as a natural political community. Although this is classically expressed in the form of a desire to establish or maintain statehood, it can also take the form of civic consciousness.

² J.S. Goldstein & J.C. Pevehouse, *International Relations, Eighth Edition*, New York, Pearson International, 2009, p. 49.

³ K.A. Mingst, *Essential of International Relations*, London, Norton & Company Inc., 1999, p. 9.

⁴ R.A. Alkali, *Issues in International Relations and Nigeria's Foreign Policy*, Kaduna, Northpoint Publishers Ltd., 2003, p. 13.

⁵ P.A. Reynolds, *An Introduction to International Relations for African Universities*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1980, p. 1.

⁶ E.H. Carr, *The Twenty Years Crisis, 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1980, p. 224.

⁷ M. Donelan (ed.), *The Reason of States: A Study in International Political Theory*, London: George Allen and Unwin Publishers, 1978, p. 117.

Modern State

The development of the modern form of the state, as a public power separate from the monarch and the ruled, and constituting the supreme political authority within a defined authority, is associated with the slow institutional differentiation of the ‘political’ and the ‘economic’ related to the growth of the centralised absolutist state and the spread of commodity production.⁸ Absolutist states arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Western Europe under the Tudors in England, the Habsburgs in Spain, and the Bourbons in France. These European dynastic states exhibited many of the institutional features which characterised modern states.⁹

The introduction of a standing army, a centralised bureaucracy, a central taxation system, diplomatic relations with permanent embassies, and the development of the economic doctrine of mercantilism informing state trade policy, all date from this period. It is at this point that the term ‘the state’ is first introduced into political discourse. Although its derivation is disputed, Machiavelli is often credited with first using the concept of state to refer to a territorial sovereign government in a widely circulated manuscript of the ‘*Prince*’ completed in 1513 and published in 1532.¹⁰ It is not, however, until the time of Bodin and Sir Thomas Smith that a full account of the ‘marks of sovereignty’ is produced, and later modified by Sir Walter Raleigh, Hobbes, and Locke.¹¹

Purpose

“The purpose of the State is always the same: to limit the individual, to tame him, to subordinate him, to subjugate him.” Max Stirner, *The Ego and his Own* (1845).¹²

According to Aristotle, ‘Man is by nature a political animal.’¹³ This means, first, that the social instinct is implanted in all men by nature, and that man can rise to his full stature only through the state. The state, said Aristotle, originated for the sake of life, continues ‘for the sake of the best life’. The end of the state is, therefore, ethical. The ideal state is that which adds to adequate material advantages, the noblest gifts of intellect and character and the will to live for their exercise in every relation of life, and whose education, institutions and laws are such as to develop these gifts and to call them into play.¹⁴ Good life is life lived according to reason. The function of reason in ethics consists in the direction of conduct by a rule. In politics, reason prescribes co-operation with ones fellow citizens in promoting the welfare of the state.

⁸ J. Donnelly, “Realism”, in S. Burchill et. al., *Theories of International Relations*, Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 29.

⁹ A.I. Yandaki, *The State in Africa: A Critical Study in Historiography and Political Philosophy*, Zaria, Gaskiya Corporation Ltd., 2015, p.237.

¹⁰ J. Donnelly, *Realism.....*, p.30.

¹¹ *ibid*

¹² A. Heywood, *Politics*, third edition, Palgrave Foundations, 2007, p. 408 .

¹³ *ibid*, p.410.

¹⁴ K.E. Margarate, *Activist Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Cornell. 1998, P. 105.

Locke, Adam Smith and Spencer agree that the state is a means to an end, the end being a better life for the individual, whether conceived in ethical terms or not, whether the state is to interfere more or less. The opposite view that the state is an end in itself has had its exponents too, and is perhaps best illustrated by the school of thinkers known as Idealists, especially by Hegel. Hegel's argument is as follows: Men want to be free; they are free only when they do what their reason recommends. Individual reason is not, however, trustworthy, because it is particularistic and moved by temporary and irrelevant considerations.¹⁵

The existence of some entity, whose will is universal and as acceptable to individuals as the voice of reason itself, is necessary. Such an entity is the State. It is a person and has a will of its own. It has ends of its own divorced from, and superior to, those of the individual human beings subjected to its authority. It carries out the dictates of universal reason and is therefore impelled by its own nature and destiny to seek its own perfection. 'The State, being an end in itself, is provided with the maximum of rights over and/or against the individual citizens, whose highest duty it is to be members of the state.'¹⁶

Function

Contrasting interpretations of state power have clear implications for the desirable role or responsibilities of the state. What should states do? What functions or responsibilities should the state fulfil, and which ones should be left in the hands of private individuals? In many respects, these are the questions around which electoral politics and party competition revolve. There is thus, profound disagreement about the exact role the state should play, and therefore about the proper balance between the state and civil society. Among the different state forms that have developed are the following: the minimal state, the developmental state, the social-democratic state, the collectivised state and the totalitarian state.

The minimal state is the ideal of classical liberals, whose aim is to ensure that individuals enjoy the widest possible realm of freedom. This view is rooted in social contract theory, but it nevertheless advances an essentially negative view of the state. The best historical examples of minimal states were those countries such as the UK and the defunct USA during the period of early industrialisation in the nineteenth century.¹⁷

A developmental state is one that intervenes in economic life with the specific purpose of promoting industrial growth and economic development. This does not amount to an attempt to replace the market with a 'socialist' system of planning and control, but rather, an attempt to construct a partnership between the state and major economic interests, often underpinned by conservative and nationalist priorities. Japan is the classic example of a developmental state.¹⁸

¹⁵ H. Bull, *The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics*, Chichester: Columbia University Press, 3rd edition, 2002, pp. 22-5.

¹⁶ K.A. Mingst, *Essential of International Relations*....., p. 29.

¹⁷ A. Heywood, *Politics*..... p.408,

¹⁸ A. Heywood, *Politics*..... p.409

Social-Democratic states intervene with a view to bringing about broader social restructuring, usually in accordance with principles such as fairness, equality and social justice. The social-democratic state is an active participant, helping in particular to rectify the imbalances and injustices of a market economy. It therefore, tends to focus less upon the generation of wealth and more upon what is seen as the equitable or just distribution of wealth. In countries such as Austria and Sweden, state intervention has been guided by both developmental and social-democratic priorities.¹⁹

Collectivised states bring the entirety of economic life under state control. The best examples of such states were in orthodox communist countries such as the USSR and throughout Eastern Europe. They sought to abolish private enterprise altogether, and set up centrally planned economies administered by a network of economic ministries and planning committees. The justification for state collectivisation stems from a fundamental socialist preference for common ownership over private property.²⁰

Totalitarian states: the essence of totalitarianism is the construction of an all embracing state, the influence of which penetrates every aspect of existence. Here, the state brings not only economy but education, culture, religion, family life and so on under direct state control. The best example of this is Hitler's Germany.²¹

States as Major Actors in International Politics

States or national governments are the most important actors in international relations. A state is a territory with a defined border and a government that answers to no higher authority than its own. All or part of the population in a state shares a group identity, often based on a combination of common ancestry, language, or culture. States vary in size and power, and these size and power are two important variables in determining a state's relationships with other countries and its influence in international affairs. The handfuls of the most powerful states that control most of the world's military and economic strength are called great powers.²² The great powers include the United States, Great Britain, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), France, China, Germany, and Japan. These powers are the most important actors in international politics today.

Leaders of States

The most important individual actor within a state is the top leader of that country. The top leader is the person who has the primary political power or authority in country. For example, the top leader in Nigeria is the president, who is the head of the executive government and has the most political power, even though the legislature and judicial arms are to check the excesses of the executives.

¹⁹ *ibid*

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.410

²¹ *ibid*

²² M. Mike, *The Nature of the state*, DOI: 10.1093/obo/9780199756223-0151, 2016, p. 51.

Transnationals

Another segment which plays an important role in states interactions is the function of the non-state actors. There is no doubt, that national governments are the most important actors in international relations, but they are strongly influenced by a variety of non-state actors. Among them are transnational actors which operate across international borders.²³ First, states often take actions through, within or in the context of intergovernmental organisations (IGOs), organisations whose members are national governments. IGOs fulfil a variety of functions and vary in size from just a few states to virtually the whole UN membership. The Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), military alliances such as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and political groupings such as the African Union (AU) are all IGOs.²⁴

Another type of transnational actor, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), are private organisations, some of considerable size and resources. Increasingly NGOs are being recognised, in the UN and other forums, as legitimate actors along with states, though not equal to them. Some of these groups have a political purpose, some a humanitarian one, some an economic or technical one. Sometimes, NGOs combine efforts through transnational advocacy networks.²⁵ Together, IGOs and NGOs are referred to as international organisations (IOs). By one count, there are more than 25,000 NGOs and 5,000 IGOs. Others are the Multinational Corporations i.e. companies that span borders individuals, cities, or constituencies, etc.²⁶ Example is ExxonMobil, Patterson Zochonis, Lever Brothers and others.

Substate Actors

Others are the domestic actors, called *substate actors*, and include particular industries with distinct interests in foreign policy (such as the automobile or tobacco industry) and ethnic constituencies with ties to foreign countries, as well as labour unions, cities, and regions. All of these actors may be affected by international events differently from each other or the country where they operate. These groups can influence a nation's foreign policy in several ways, such as by lobbying political leaders, donating money to political candidates or parties, or swaying public opinion on certain issues.

Assessing the Actor's Influence

Scholars of international relations have divided the various influences on international events into different categories, or levels of analysis. There are three widely used levels of analysis: (1) individual actors, (2) domestic influences, and (3) interstate influences. Some scholars also study a fourth level of analysis, i.e. global influences.

²³ J.S. Goldstein & J.C. Pevehouse, *International Relations...*, op. cit. p.15

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ K.E. Margarate, *Activist Beyond Borders.....*, P. 105.

²⁶ *ibid*

At the individual level of analysis, scholars study the concerns, perceptions and choices of the individual people which involved great leaders, crazy leaders, activists, or individual citizens. For example, if the assassin of Archduke Francis Ferdinand in 1914 had bungled the job, World War I might not have broken out when it did.²⁷

At the domestic level of analysis, scholars look at how international relations is influenced by domestic actors, including special interest groups, political organisations, and government agencies. Scholars study how different kinds of societies and governments behave, such as democracies versus dictatorships. They also look at the politics of ethnic conflict and nationalism, both of which can lead to international conflict and war. The domestic level of analysis is also called the *state* or *societal* level.²⁸

At the interstate level of analysis, scholars focus on the interactions of states themselves, without regard to their internal makeup or the particular individuals who lead them. For realists, this is the most important level because it looks at how a nation's relative power compared with other nations affects its behaviour. The interstate level of analysis is also called the *international* or *systemic* level of analysis.²⁹

Some scholars also look at the global level of analysis. In this analysis, scholars study how global trends and forces, such as technological change and the global environment, affect international relations. They also study how the lingering effects of colonialism influence international relations.

Conclusion

The proponents of the view that state is the dominant international actor in international system are right to some given extent. However, in as much as attempts are made to expel the case espoused by this school of thought (the realist school) by stating that the state's position in the international system has been irrevocably eroded, is debatable and remains a contested terrain in international relations today. This, however, does not in any way negate the fact that the state still remains the primary focus of identity for an overwhelming majority of people in the world today. Although a case can be advanced that the autonomy and function of the state has been eroded by transnational trends, but yet, the world has not seen the emergence of an adequate substitute to replace it (the state) as the primary unit in responding to challenges and changes on the global level.

In the aftermath of the end of the era of the Cold War, the increasing dominance of the market economy in the context of globalisation economic regime and the internationalisation of human rights have led to a continued demand for a review of the Westphalia structure of the international system. Specifically, the eruption of internal violence in a number of states and consequent violations of human rights on a

²⁷ M.N. Rothbard, "Robert Nozick and the Immaculate Conception of the State". *Journal of Libertarian Studies*, Vol. 1, No.1, 1997, pp. 45-47.

²⁸ Yurdusev, A. "Thomas Hobbes and international relations: from realism to rationalism". *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 60, No.2, 2006, p. 305.

²⁹ *ibid*

grand scale that in some cases have been encouraged by and even executed by certain governments have led to serious questions on whether the sovereignty of the state is inviolable.

International Relations course started off by brushing up on the history of modern Europe beginning with the 14th century. The feudal structures which had survived for centuries slowly crumbled as kings centralised power in their hands at the expense of the dukes, counts and barons. Slowly, the concept of a unified territorial state emerged and its sovereignty was firmly established at the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. The concept of sovereignty is especially important because previously, the Church could interfere in the domestic affairs of states. However, from 1648, the State had sole authority within its territory, and no other power could interfere in its domestic arena. This created a system where all states were recognised to be legally equals, bringing order into a chaotic scenario. Such a model of an inter-state system was not the only one to emerge. The Chinese and Islamic civilisations had their own unique and alternative systems that regulated inter-state relations. However, because of colonialism, imperialism and the spread of European thought all over the world, the European model has been adopted all over the world and is the basis of the current inter-state system.

The policies of the State are binding on all its citizens even if they affect different sections of the populations in different ways. States are sovereign entities with ultimate authority over their territories and populations. Even though there are certain features of the international system that these theories have not explored yet, the importance and centrality of the state in international relations cannot be questioned, at least in the foreseeable future.

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THE PARABLE OF THE GOOD SAMARITAN (LUKE 10: 25 – 37): A RECIPE FOR ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS DISHARMONY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The fact that ethno-religious dissonance is a problem in Nigeria cannot be overemphasised. Nigeria, as a pluralistic state, has over two hundred and fifty (250) ethnic groups and it is one of the most religious countries in the world. Ironically, there is inhumanity and lack of love and brotherhood which negate the socio-spiritual essence of religion. Thus, a nation endowed with multi-dimensional resources as Nigeria fails to harness its potentials for development due to misplaced ethno-religious sentiments, fanaticism and violence. This paper examines the parable of the Good Samaritan in the Nigerian context. The purpose is to apply Jesus' teaching on concepts of love and neighbourhood as a recipe for solving the menace of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. The study employs historical, hermeneutical and sociological approaches. The finding of the paper is that ethno-religious discord stems largely from the lack of the principle of neighbourhood and the oneness of humanity among the various groups living in the society and this is largely due to defective theological education and wrong indoctrination. The paper opines that religion without humanity is nothing but hypocrisy. Thus, religious teachings, behaviour and actions must be humanitarian by appropriating the principle of neighbourhood for peaceful coexistence. Therefore, religious leaders, teachers and adherents present religion in terms of humanity and adherents in terms of neighbours rather than rivals.

Keywords: Ethno-Religious, Crises, Good Samaritan, Humanity, Love, Neighbourhood

Introduction

The parable of the Good Samaritan was the response of Jesus to a Jewish lawyer who sought to understand the concept of a neighbour in an ethno-religious setting. When

examined from its socio-ethnic and religious backdrop, it shows some significance for Nigeria as a multi-ethnic and multi-religious nation with the crises of pluralism. Nigeria is indisputably a country where millions of people who are multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-religious coexist. The conflicting truth claims of religions have been identified as a major cause of divisions among people (Onimhawa and Ottuh, 2007). As a result, there have been cases whereby the adherents of the most famous world religions, Islam and Christianity, have had violent clashes in some parts of the country. The cause in most cases is traced to and associated with religious extremism, as most people who fall under this category are wild and excessive about matters that concern their belief or faith. It is a threat in so far as it has produced tensions, persecutions, killings, from time to time. The mental apprehension of ethno-religious identity stems from the correspondence and the mutually reinforcing exchanges between ethnic and religious identities in socio-political processes. Sometimes, religious identity becomes part of an ethnic group's identity and vice versa, thereby presenting a volatile social matrix.

Religion and ethnicity are sensitive and volatile factors capable of plunging the country into a state of anarchy. Sometimes when religious issues come up, it creates some level of insecurity among settler communities resulting into exodus of people from crises areas back to their respective states of origin and other safer places. This is because religious tolerance has been undermined by the adherents of these religions and negative management of religious pluralism. Against this understanding, this paper examines the Parable of the Good Samaritan as told by Jesus with a view to exploring its inherent didactic value for humanity and communitarian living in a pluralistic environment such as Nigeria. Historical, hermeneutical and sociological methods were used in the study and the justification of the study is that it has contextualised the parable of the Good Samaritan within the purview of the Nigerian problem of ethno-religious disintegration.

A Brief Review of the Problem of Ethno-Religious Relation in Nigeria

The pattern of ethno-religious relations in Nigeria is distasteful. An ideal ethno-religious relation should be a harmonious and enriching co-existence within one political community of people with divergent, at times incompatible views, establishing and promoting their common good. It arises from the fact that while people differ from one another in many aspects, they relate with one another and forge a unity as citizens of the same political community. It is this understanding of common identity that characterises the interaction of peoples who are ethnically, politically and religiously diversified that makes for the pluralist society. Ideally, religious relations should be a situation where people of different religions and faith live together and interact at all levels without fear or prejudice. Nigeria is one of the most religiously diversified countries with the people practicing three main religions: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion.

The relationship between Islam and Christianity has been one of mistrust and suspicion. This has led to incessant religious crises. This is as a result of their different perceptions of the ideal society and the conflicting strategies of power and posturing

which have made reconciling the ideological gap impossible. Since the 1980's to the present, there have been more than 50 ethno-religious crises recorded in the northern part of Nigeria alone, these have left political, social, economic and psychological injuries and pain on the affected people and area (Abimboye, 2009).

The following examples according to Umejesi (2011) are illustrative of this trend: the Zaria crisis of 1980, the Maitatsine religious riots of Kano, in 1980, 1982, 1985, 1990 and 1994, the Ilorin crises of 1986, the Kafanchan crisis of 1987, the Shiite religious riots in Katsina in 1991, Bauchi crisis of 1991, Kaduna crises of 2000/2002, Maiduguri crisis of 2006, Jos crises of 2000/2009, Adamawa state riots in 2004, 2005 and 2006 and a host of others even in more recent times. A more challenging crisis is that of Boko Haram religious sect, a group that abhors the ills associated with Western education while advocating the full actualisation of the Sharia law and Islamic state.

Religious intolerance is both intra and inter. Familusi (2019) has copiously substantiated the fact that intra-religious dissonance is obvious in Nigeria. For example, some Muslims are opposed to other Muslim brothers whom they call infidels. Similar attitudes are shown by protestant, Pentecostal, Catholic and other churches against one another. Religious intolerance has become a monstrous obstacle to nation building in recent times.

Causes of Ethno-Religious Conflicts in Nigeria

In many respects, Nigeria is a pluralistic society. Of all the dimensions of pluralism, it is obvious that ethnicity and religion are the most dominant and problematic in Nigeria. Thus, ethnicity and religion have provided the pattern and potential for the protracted violent ethno-religious conflicts this country has experienced over the years. Scholars such as Ezeibe (2009) and Afolabi (2015) have attributed the causes of these conflicts to various factors such as struggle for land resources, traditional authority, economic and political struggle, clash of interests, values and ways of life, religion and political manipulations.

These violent conflicts are inbuilt in socio-economic and political management of post-colonial Nigeria. As Omosor (2013) pointed out, the nexus between religious fundamentalism and political terrorism is failed governance and anti-people leadership which manifests in poor living conditions, injustices and alienation. Political misadventure of politicians is contributive. The political nature of the transition processes and the unwillingness of the civilian administration to sincerely tackle the national problems, led to the resurgence of ethno-religious groups with various agitations. Isiramen (2010) also believes that poverty or deprivation of various dimensions catalyses religious violence. A situation where there are widespread social, economic and religious injustices, endemic corruption, inequality, youth unemployment and absence of good governance among states in the north could serve as catalyst for religious violence (Gbenga, Inusa, and Livinus, 2015). Extremely subjugated and deprived people can take to anything to survive. Thus, the poor youth (*Almajiris*) particularly in Northern Nigeria are engaged with little token of money to cause religious unrest. Unemployed youths especially the *Almajiris* are recruited as

machineries to perpetrate violence in the northern part of the country (Onovughe, 2017).

Apart from the socio-economic and political dimensions of the causes of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria, Omosor (2018) has also traced the cause to defective theological education in Nigeria. Adherents are indoctrinated differently under different religions. According to him, when adherents of the various faiths are taught with wrong approaches and with wrong motives, the consequence is usually fanatical religious fixation which invariably breeds violence. He argued that only humanistic theological education can salvage the ugly situation of incessant religious violence in Nigeria. The family, schools, the clerics and religious mentors have failed to present the sacred texts of the rival fundamentalist/particularistic religions in such a manner that common humanity and universal brotherhood would become the fulcrum of theological education that will yield integrative understanding of the holy writs. No doubt, all religions advance specific intellectual beliefs.

Each religion has its scripture, held exclusively as sacred, which embed historical traditions that validate the doctrines and also legitimises the patterns of propagation. This is however, not the case with African Traditional religion which does not have sacred scripture. As a result of not having in-depth understanding of the sacred texts due to ignorance or deliberate mischievous misreading, scriptures have been given impulsive and capricious interpretations towards premeditated objectives. Such actions have often triggered emotional outburst with attendant violence among the followers of the various faiths in Nigeria (Ekwenife, 1993). Majority of Nigerians have or belong to a belief system. But many of them are uneducated and since people often believe their religious leaders, illiterates are easily used to achieve their selfish aims because they are not critical and logical in their thinking. In spite of their vocation, many religious leaders live a life of selfishness. They use dirty means to cause religious violence expecting invitation by government to negotiate their interest. Meanwhile, religious bigots who do not understand their motive are created.

Religious bigotry is an undiscerning and obsessive mental and negative psychological orientation towards religious beliefs and practices that are not in tandem with one's treasured beliefs and practices. This leads to unpleasant and forceful approach to conversion and assertion of one's religious faith. This happens when some religious groups or zealous individuals within that group become determined to convert those adjudged to be infidels or 'pagans' to their own faith (Boer, 2005). Such negative disposition constantly becomes evident in violent effusions that smear the political and economic lives of the citizens. Thus, the tendency to not only reject but also denigrate the views and opinions of others is one of the main causes of religious clashes in Nigeria. Religious fanatics who display excessive irrational frenzy in defending their religions in Nigeria invariably become destructive tools in the society. Unless theological education becomes sincerely liberal and humanistic, this problem cannot be solved and the expectation of a harmonious ethno-religious relation in Nigeria will perpetually be a mirage.

There is mutual suspicion among Nigerians. While some people think that Christianity is an agent of American and European imperialism, others think that Muslims have close ties with Saudi Arabia. Both religious bodies are believed to often obtain financial support from their affiliations.

The Consequences of Ethno-religious Crises in Nigeria

The consequences of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria are adverse and always disastrous. It breeds mutual hatred, unpatriotism, impediments to democratic system as well as obstacle to national development.

i. Mutual Distrust and Unpatriotism

Conflict situations brew distrust and deep seated hatred. People live with the psychology of fear and mutual suspicion. Thus, ethno-religious crises in Nigeria have in no small measure brought mutual hatred and distrust among the adherents of the various religions, especially those of Christianity and Islam. This is inimical to patriotism. Ezeani (2009) explains patriotism as the love and commitment which a citizen expresses to his/her nation. He thus defines it in terms of nationalism. An individual who is nationalistic transcends ethnic boundaries in his thoughts and actions because he/she is not governed by the instincts of tribalism. But today, due to the elitist misadventure of the oligarchs who are misruling the nation, using ethnicity and religion as the vehicles to achieve their selfish aims, citizens are no longer patriotic because of the loss of faith in the gospel of unity and nationhood. This makes it difficult for those handling the governance of the state to deal openly and sincerely with each other. What this causes is regional sentiment and primordial ethnic commitment that defies the principles of nationhood. This affects negotiations and dialogue negatively; making it difficult for prevailing crises situations to be addressed with the policies that emanate from rigorous roundtable deliberations because they all pretend.

ii. Impediment to Democracy and Good Governance

Ethno-religious disharmony in Nigeria has done too much damage to the nation's democracy. The nascent democracy has not been without its challenges as the nation has become a permanent flashpoint of violent clashes; a recurring decimal. The effects are not just the genocidal violence, bombing, mutilation of many people, loss of business investments, and properties that cost several billions of naira; it also corrupts the conscience of the citizenry like a virus, such that the sense of a community is eroded as the sectarian and individualistic consciousness rules the mind of the people who become divided on every issue and interest along ethnic and religious lines. Chukwu and Madubuko (2009) maintain that democracy in Nigeria is impeded by violence. Although they were concerned about electoral violence, the fact is that electoral manipulation and violence in Nigeria since independence has a lot to do with ethno-religious polarity which sways and determines political affiliation to a large extent.

Ethnicity and religion when negatively exploited, work against democratic norms and principles. This is because there would not be consensus about core values and the methods of actualising them due to differentiated interests and therefore, sentiments. Government actions and legislative business in the national assembly take the line of ethno-religious polarity. Equity, fairness and justice are all sacrificed on the altar of ethno-religious commitment. This is evident in the ailing jurisprudence which has produced many questionable court judgements and the obvious ethno-religious biased appointments into sensitive positions in Nigerian government. These realities cannot make for effective democracy and the delivery of good governance.

iii. Obstacle to National Security and Development

The attendant effects of ethno-religious conflagration in Nigeria are enormous. It affects all facets of the economy. Generally, conflicts generate insecurity, disintegration, mutual mistrust and poor economic and educational advancement. This is the tale of Nigeria where there are horrendous killings and maiming of helpless masses, properties amounting to billions of naira have been destroyed. No doubt, these enormous losses have robbed the nation of the required manpower and services to drive the process of growth the development of the staggering economy. As Nwaomah (2010) notes, religious conflicts in Nigeria have also left its effect on investment options in the crises ridden areas. The political instability, arising from the insecurity and uncertainty that pervades the region, does not inspire the confidence of foreign investors and thereby deprives the nation of the economic gains.

In most cases, the business-minded Southerners who had established thriving businesses in the crisis-prone areas in the north have relocated to other safer places. Furthermore, religious conflicts in Nigeria have resulted in a broken society: communities that once lived together peacefully now treat each other with disdain. Resultantly, settlement patterns begin to follow the boundaries of religion in these areas so that adherents can be promptly coordinated in the event of future crises. The pulse of the truncated harmonious social order is sometimes felt in other environments other than the crisis areas and thus, precipitates the retaliatory violence experienced in other parts of the country. That is why Sani (2007) stated that:

The conflicts have impacted negatively on political, social and economic development. Religious fanaticism affects or limits social interaction and harmony... These have also affected the social components of associations as exemplified by the situation (p.43).

Religious crises no doubt have impeded security in the country. It has caused mayhem and rendered security measures ineffective. The prevailing socio-political atmosphere in Nigeria today is worrisome. The obviously insurmountable Boko Haram scourge and the menace of killer herdsmen, which cannot be reasonably divorced from ethno-religious realities, have so created fear and tension among Nigerian populace particularly in the south that many Nigerians are now thinking about self-help as the only way out. This is evident in the recent establishment of a formidable security force named *Amotekun* (Leopard) by the collaborative efforts of the six states in the

southwest region of the country. Other zones in the south will likely announce theirs soon. While the northern Moslems, particularly the pastoralists and fundamentalists who see it as a threat to their economic life are calling for its immediate proscription, the people of the southwest maintain that it is an expedient and irrevocable action taken to protect the lives and properties of the people of the region. Indeed, Nigeria is at the brinks of cleavage.

Contextualising the Parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37.)

Having discussed the problem of ethno-religious dissonance in Nigeria, this section analyses and applies the Parable of the Good Samaritan to the situation of ethno-religious relations in Nigeria. There are various approaches to the interpretation of the text such as the allegorical method which symbolically associates it with Christological, ecclesiological or eschatological discourse, and the apologetic approach which seeks to defend the priest and the Levite. But it is read and interpreted here in its plain literal sense for its didactic effect.

a. The Account of the Parable

The story of the Good Samaritan is found in Luke 10:30-37. But, perhaps, it is important to give a background to the parable as contained in verses 25-29. Jesus while sending out his disciples on evangelism had made reference to the Kingdom of God and a certain Jewish lawyer inquired to understand the concept of a neighbour since the Jewish law as given by Yahweh, makes loving one's neighbour a criterion for entering into the Kingdom of God. The Parable of the Good Samaritan was Jesus' response to the lawyer's inquiry. It is the story of a certain man who was en route Jericho from Jerusalem. Attacked by some thieves, he was badly wounded almost to the point of death. In his helpless condition, a Jewish priest and later a Levite passed by, saw him and went their ways without rescuing him. But a Samaritan who later passed by came to his assistance and rescued him, even bearing the cost of his treatment. The text reads:

³⁰Jesus replied, "A man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and he fell among robbers, who stripped him and beat him, and departed, leaving him half dead. ³¹Now by chance a priest was going down that road; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side. ³²So likewise a Levite, when he came to the place and saw him, passed by on the other side. ³³But a Samaritan, as he journeyed, came to where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion, ³⁴and went to him and bound him up, pouring on oil and wine; then he set him on his own beast and brought him to an inn, and took care of him. ³⁵And the next day he took out two denarii and gave them to the innkeeper, saying take care of him; and whatever more you spend, I will repay you when I come back. ³⁶Which of these three, do you think, proved neighbour to the man who fell among the robbers? ³⁷He said, "The one who had mercy on him." And Jesus said to him, "Go and do likewise." (RSV).

b. The Socio-Historical Context of the Parable

i. The Characters: The parable identifies five characters, namely, the man (victim of robbery attack), the robbers, the priest and the Levite, then the Samaritan. The victim of robbery is simply introduced as a certain man; hence his nativity is unknown. This actually gives him the identity of any common man in any environment or society who is equally a victim of the societal ills, irrespective of ethnicity and religion. The robbers were not identified too. They do not only represent those terrorising the society but also the troubles of man which transcends the boundaries of religion and ethnicity as well. The priest and the Levite were not fully identified. But the context and their appellation make them Jewish, particularly the Levite who is most certainly an Israelite. A priest is by status and function a cleric; and the term “Levite” does not only suggest an Israelite tribe but connotes religious significance, for Israelite priests were from among the Levites. However, not obviously mentioning their native affiliation makes it possible to apply their identities to any cleric or religious person in the society as it is not sacrosanct that those titles were only used of the Israelites. In fact, the Samaritans also claim to have priests from the line of Aaron/Levi. The last of the characters is the Samaritan, the protagonist, who is obviously a native of Samaria. The historical and socio-religious dimensions of the relationship between the Jews and the Samaritans give the parable its significance and relevance to this study. Hence, there is need for a brief discussion on that.

ii). Historical and Socio-Religious Significance of the Samaritans

The appellation “Samaritan” is an epithet that refers to a native of the city of Samaria. The city of Samaria was founded by Omri at about 875 B.C (1 Kings 16:24) on a hill (bought from Shemer, from whom the city derives its name) about seven miles northwest of Shechem and it became the capital of the northern kingdom which was generally known as Israel as the southern kingdom was known as Judah. In 722/21 B.C, Israel was invaded and captured by the Assyrians. The inhabitants were taken into exile and people from other conquered areas were brought in to dwell in the entire land, particularly Samaria which was the capital. These so-called aliens coexisted with the remnants of the land with whom they intermarried. By this time, the epithet “Samaritan” had become a description for the inhabitants of the entire religion of Israel due to the influence of its famous capital. It is important to note that with the invasion and exile of the northern kingdom (Israel), the name “Israel” was appropriated for the people of Southern Judah (Judeans) who became known as the Israelites, a name that later became synonymous with the name “Jews”. Thus, even the Samaritans were part of the people living in Judea.

According to Stephen L. Harris, quoted by Daley-Bailey (2012), the Samaritans occupied a portion of Judea in the Roman period as a religious sect that recognised and accepted only the Mosaic Torah (Pentateuch) but rejected the Prophetic books and the Hagiographa. The relationship between the Samaritans and the Jews was not cordial from the time of the return of the Jews from exile to the New Testament period. This is due to the claim by the Jews that the Samaritans were of mixed blood

and therefore not truly Israelites or Jews. Thus, the use of the term “Samaritans” by the so-called pure-blooded Jews was somewhat derogatory and socio-religiously discriminatory. They regarded the Samaritans as Mesopotamians whose forebears were brought in to settle in the area by their Assyrian captors in the eighth century B.C. They were believed to be half-castes who subverted and faked the Jewish religion and so do not merit to be called Jews. Apart from this, it is also probable that the Jews hated the Samaritans because the latter had desecrated the Jewish Temple by bringing human bones into it during the feast of Passover.

On their part, the so-called Samaritans strongly claimed that they were the original owners of the land because they were the remnants of the land who were not exiled and therefore, the true custodians of the Torah and the authentic religious traditions of Israel. For them, the Law of Yahweh must not be adulterated. The Law was the instrument that prescribed human actions and conduct. The Samaritans did not accept the oral Law which the Jews accepted. More so, the Samaritans accepted Mount Gerizim in rejection of Mount Zion as God’s holy place. Their version of the Torah, which was non-Masoretic but closer to the ancient Hebrew manuscripts and the text underlying the Septuagint, varied with that of the Jews which had been edited by the Jewish scribes and with the influence of the Sopherim and the Masorets who developed the vowels for the language.

Thus, people of diverse religious beliefs shared the same socio-political space. The Samaritan, therefore, did not enjoy a dignified regard from the Jews because they were racially or ethnically discriminated. Needless to say, that this must have affected them socio-politically. That there must have been some sort of physical violence against them is suggested by the fact that the Temple of the Samaritans at Mount Gerizim was destroyed by the Jews. There was deep-seated mutual hatred and animosity. This was the prevailing situation as at the time of Jesus. It is against this background that the parable is set.

c. The Parable in Nigerian Context

Just as it is in Nigeria, the environment in which Jesus preached and taught was multi-religious and multi-ethnic. Even among the Jews, there were sects with different religious and political inclinations. For example, the Pharisees and the Sadducees shared different religious opinions on some issues. This is equally evident in the religious differences among the Shiites, Sunnis, and other Muslim sects in Nigeria; and also among various Christian groups such as the Roman Catholics, Pentecostals, African Independent Churches and other Christian groups who share varied religious views. These differences have caused intra and inter religious crises which have often undermined the factor of neighbourhood. The problem which Jesus sought to solve with the Parable of the Good Samaritan was that inhumanity and lack of brotherhood orientation towards others who are probably not from your ethnic, religious or ideological group. The relation between the Samaritans and the Jews was strained due to fanatical commitment to their respective religious claims and their socio-historical antecedents. In Nigeria, beyond the factors of religion and ethnicity which have soured Christian-Muslim relations even though there is facade dialogue and interaction

politically forged by the elites. More so, there is rivalry for political power and struggle for economic advantage. Consequently, people elevate their interests above the need to treat others as neighbours. Jesus' teaching is that whoever you can show compassion or that can show same to you is your neighbour, irrespective of race or religion. Therefore, a Samaritan showing compassion also indicates that being Godly has no boundary or limited to the Jews who claim to be the only people of God.

The Parable of the Good Samaritan revolves around the notion of common humanity, neighbourhood and unconditional love. The question "Who is my neighbour?" which the Jewish lawyer put to Jesus gives the parable its bearing. It is significant to note that Jesus was a Jew. He did not only read and teach from the Jewish scriptures but he celebrated the Jewish festivals such as the feast of Passover. Most of his disciples were Jews. That he made the Samaritan the protagonist of the parable is significant. The effect is to illustrate that he was detribalised and without religious jingoism. Jesus' attitude and disposition is that neighbourhood transcends ethnic proclivities or religious affiliation. The message is simply "humanity above religion". Religion without humanity is irreligious; and commitment to strict adherence to the written religious laws or orally transmitted religious traditions must not take priority over the natural obligation to be humane and support fellow humans.

Jesus was obviously not satisfied with the religious hypocrisy and the outward religiosity of the Jews which consisted in the ritual and legalistic observance of the Law without corresponding internal love for others; for except you were a circumcised Jew, you were undeserving of fellowship with the Jews. This is akin to the Muslim designation of people of other religions as infidels who could be justifiably annihilated to establish an Islamic state or society. In the same vein, Christians describe non-Christians as people of the "world" who they must not be equally yoked because they are not saved and therefor capable of corrupting their piety. Such segregative, discriminatory and disintegrative attitude is usually based on the perceived meaning of some verses in the sacred texts which the adherents of these religions study and use as the basis of their beliefs and practices.

This is the very significance of the Parable of the Good Samaritan, the very nuance of the concept of a neighbour. The response of Jesus "Go and do likewise" has the effect of collapsing the ethno-religious barrier erected in the mind of the Jews. Here, Jesus rids theological and religious education of the garbage of ethno-religious sentiments that characterise religious relations in Judea, as is the case in Nigeria by emphasising that humanity is the essence of religion. The emphasis is on the unconditional love that should bind people together irrespective of their diversities in religion, culture, status and interests, which derives from the universal love of God.

This is the recipe for the management of ethno-religious diversity. Embedded in this parable is the notion of the sacredness of life. In spite of the religious and racial differences with the Jews, the Samaritan considers the fact that his presumed ethnic and religious enemy is in danger of losing his life and he intervenes; meanwhile, the so-called "pious Jewish clerics" abandoned him probably on the ground of religious law. It is reasonable to conjecture that the priest and the Levite were Sadducees, a Jewish sect that accepted only the written Law and rejected the oral Law and thus, forbidden to

touch any corpse on the basis of Leviticus 21: 1. This is the same way people capitalise on the lines of religious texts to perpetrate inhumanities. The irony is that the same texts have numerous portions that teach humanity. Ethno-religious harmony does not undermine diversity and uniqueness; rather it is a proper demonstration of the principles of pluralism which Bidmos (2001) simply defines as the co-existence of people with diverse beliefs. It is the mutual understanding and cooperation between groups with divergent ethnicities, religions, political ideologies and economic statuses. It is seen as the premise for longer and deeper process of producing a peace-oriented culture; it is the minimal basic requirement for social relations that eradicate violence and compulsion. This simply confirms that tolerance is the means to harmonious life and community peace which is the prerequisite for the attainment of national development.

The problem with religion in Nigeria as in other places troubled by religious crises, is that some religious leaders teach and propagate fanatical views thereby indoctrinating their followers negatively. Jesus serves as an ideal theological educator or religious teacher. He did not only teach the Kingdom of God but also emphasised the humanitarian dimension of religiosity which embeds peace, mutual love, human welfare and the sanctity of life. For him, except you love your neighbour as yourself, your religion is vain. This is the central message of the parable. This is humanitarian theology or religious ethic. It is in line with this that Omosor (2018) canvassed the view that:

It is the religious obligation of various people and groups to use their religion to foster cohesion and weld the community into a stronger force for stability and human progress. Theological education must focus on these aspects and cultivate young ones in the principles of oneness of humanity. One other aspect that ought to have a pride of place and strongly emphasized in theological education is the fact that life is sacred and that it is the duty of man to protect and preserve it irrespective of ethnic, racial and religious backgrounds (p. 128).

Both Islam and Christianity can be used as tools to enhance harmonious inter-personal relation to stabilise the community. This is because both religions are founded on the principle of humanity. For example, Islam claims to be a religion of peace while Christianity is founded on the principle of love. In essence, both peace and love are mutually inclusive. Christian and Muslim leaders in Nigeria must continue to reach out and sustain dialogue processes, spearhead inter-religious education and seek every opportunity to educate their followers and others on the ills of violence. It is the duty of the Christian and Muslim communities to discontinue the manipulative acts of some political leaders, who constantly seek ways to set the nation ablaze with violence under the guise of ethnic and religious commitment, for their personal political gains.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that ethno-religious diversity and the consequent intra and inter-group animosity is not exclusive to the Nigerian experience. As it is in Nigeria, so it

was in Jesus' society. The disharmonious ethno-religious relation between the Jews and the Samaritans in the Bible parallels the realities in the Nigerian nation. Emphasis has been made that such crises are caused, among many other factors, by the tendency of elite leaders who, taking advantage of the socio-economic vulnerability of the poor masses, use ethnicity and religion to advance their own causes and achieve their selfish gains by indoctrinating their followers through negative interpretation of texts; such that the place of humanity and the sacredness of life are deemphasised and sacrificed on the altar of religious bigotry. Thus, religious leaders and the handlers of the text in terms of theological or religious education are culpable.

Jesus' approach to the issue of ethno-religious pluralism has universal value and implications, thus, it has general application. The parable of the Good Samaritan serves as a recipe for addressing the menace of ethno-religious crises in Nigeria. Just as Jesus demonstrated, religious adherents and ethnic stakeholders must demonstrate commitment to the course of social integration and care for fellow humans without any ethnic, racial or religious discrimination. Jesus epitomises a humanitarian teacher of religion by explaining the concept of neighbourhood parabolically to drive home the point that love for fellow humans should cut across the barriers of ethnicity and religion. Christian and Muslim leaders should endeavour to teach their followers the principles of the solidarity of humankind which hinges on the common teachings of the two religions that all humanity, despite religious and political inclinations and ideological variations, have common source of existence, the supreme creator God (Nwaomah, 2004). Taking cognisance of and effectively inculcating this principle of solidarity of universal humanity will foster regard for fellow human life, enhance tolerance and establish stability.

Recommendations

It is imperative that ethno-religious players should humanise religion and extol those principles and truths that bind humanity together more than the emphasis on the differences. Religious teachers and mentors should tread the part of Jesus as a model. Any occasion of religious teaching should be reconciliatory, integrative and humanistic in keeping with the principle of neighbourhood which derives from the philosophy of universal divine love. The government of Nigerian must initiate the process of curriculum review at all levels so as to include subjects or courses that will effectively orientate the people towards proper understanding and imbibing the principles of humanity and neighbourhood as the pathway to positive management of pluralism. This should be a compulsory part of all forms and facets of national orientation, particularly during National Youths Service Corps programmes, school matriculations/convocations and enlistment into the Nigerian forces and paramilitary organisations as well as recruitment into civil and public services. Sincerity is the only way this can be actualized.

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RELIGION AND THE ATTAINMENT OF SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

The relationship between religion and society in terms of socio-economic development has been the subject of speculation, historical analysis, and empirical research for several decades. The pioneering works of Weber and Throaltech are few examples. The guiding hypothesis is that religious values and beliefs interact differently with other variables to contribute through its functions, to the attainment of Socio-economic satisfaction in society. The problem of socio-economic development in Nigeria is a major focal point and challenge. The paper identifies some most serious issues that constitute socio-economic problems in Nigeria which constitutes barriers to sustainable development in terms of social and economic growth. The study revealed that past government plans and policies have failed to achieve sustainable social and economic growth in Nigeria. The political environment has not also helped matters. The study concludes that religious perspective will allow for human flourishing and the harnessing of a social and economic lifestyle in Nigeria if well annexed. It recommends that Nigeria and Nigerians should annex religion's positive functions and religious values and ethics aimed at creating enabling environment in all their economic quests in order to attain a sustainable socio-economic development in Nigeria.

Keywords: Roles, Religion, Socio-Economic, Development, Nigeria

Introduction

It is a known fact, that survival, stability and security cannot be guaranteed in any nation without adequate protection of environment and ecology. In recent times, due to worldwide degradation of environment and ecology, the concept of sustainable

development has been popularised. In 1972, the United Nations called on the first conference in Stockholm, but with little result (Upton 1996). A more influential work was done by Brundtland Commission on the subject through its report on environment and development in 1987. It pointed out that environmental degradation was not just a threat to development, but also a challenge to the security of individuals, nations and the planet as a whole (Brundland 1987). However, the most influential event was the conference on environment and development held in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro (the Earth Summit) with participation from 183 countries. For the first time, the concept of sustainable development became the theme of the United Nations conference, and an agenda (Agenda 21) for actions was agreed on by all participants. Agenda 21 was considered as world's most important soft law document ever made (Robinson 1993). The areas for actions included improving environment for land, mountains, ocean, atmosphere, endangered species, social security, human health, etc. It called on international co-operation to accelerate sustainable development in developing countries and to make progress on capacity building, i.e. developing a country's social, educational, human, scientific, technological, organisational, institutional and resource capabilities.

Nigeria as a nation has suffered a consistent decline in economic growth rate and economic fortunes since the years after independence in 1960. Analysts have traced pervasive downturn in national fortunes to the wholesome abandonment of some vital sectors of the economy like agriculture. According to Jike (2001), agriculture once occupied an exalted place in the Gross National Product (GNP) as the pre-eminent occupation of Nigerians in the years before and immediately after political independence in 1960. The discovery of crude oil in the Nigerian soil created paradoxical problematic consequences for the Nigerian economy (National Bureau of Statistics 2009). First, opportunities in crude oil exploration and related oil jobs or businesses uprooted several virile young men from rural agricultural activities to the urban centre in quest of oil related businesses. Consequently, the ensuring social distortions and adverse consequences reverberated across the entire Nigerian society, for which social insecurity, economic and political inconsistencies are by-products till date (Eme & Onyishi 2011; Achumba, Ighomereho & Akpor-Robaro 2013). All these also have their political, cultural and religious implications. The weak moral fiber of the family as a pre-eminent productive, reproductive and nurturing institution of the Nigerian society is a clear proof of the pervasive state of anomie in Nigeria.

How then, can the concept of development be explained in terms of and applied to religion and sustainability? This is the kind of question in which debate is likely to be particularly fruitless, because of the differences in basic assumptions about religion. From this point of view, this paper is of the view that the development of religion that seem to transcend the social systems from which they come, is the result of creative religious founders, struggling with the problems with which religion is basically concerned (Adagba, Ugwu, Eme & Okechukwu 2012). Social changes and culture contacts have made religious believers discontented with the traditional solutions. Religious believers propound or invent partially new interpretations of suffering and road to salvation through the preaching of 'social gospel.' Religious believers are likely to give their primary attention to the "new" elements. Yet the

founders of the universalistic religions must also be recognised as important turning points in the development of religions aimed at addressing vital national issues. Religious founders appear therefore, in settings where the social systems have been peculiarly unable to fill the needs with which religion deals.

Human suffering, not simply physical deprivation has been acute in human society, and the religious imagination leaps the bounds of the society which has caused that suffering. It is the opinion of this study, that religion is both a social and spiritual mechanism for national social and economic development of any nation particularly Nigeria where religion forms one of the major activities of the people. Its social mechanism is discoverable in its social functions which include peaceful coexistence, equity, justice, harmony, love, unity, tolerance among others.

Nigerian Socio-Economic Situation

In early 1990s, because of increasing gap between economic growth and social development, the issue of sustainable social development attracted great attention all over the world. Economic growth is the foundation for human life improvement. That is why the priority of economic policy is to keep continuous economic growth. As a matter of fact, there are two levels of inequality in the world today: global gap between rich and poor countries; and internal gap between rich and poor groups. A divided world and a divided society, while one raises the question of international justice and global stability, another poses the danger of a society and basic human rights and needs (Ewetan & Urhie 2014). Apart from the domestic problems, the major causes for the international inequality are related to dislocation of resources and irrational division of labour and production. The internal disparity is due, either to inappropriate economic policy, for example, too much growth oriented policy, or to a weak social policy.

The current impact of the Nigerian economic crisis is comprehensive though it directly stemmed from structural problems of the economic system. The severity of the financial crisis rapidly translated into considerable contractions in the whole economic activities with sharp GDP reduction and increase of unemployment (Stan 2004). In turn, these economic recessions soon resulted in adverse social consequences. The social impacts of the Nigerian economic crisis are reflected in many folds:

- i. Marked reduction of wealth due to the falling of asset prices;
- ii. Big loss of savings due to banking failure or asset values because of collapse of stock markets;
- iii. Higher unemployment or underemployment due to closing down of factories, failure of business, as a result, no earning or wage cut;
- iv. Lower government revenues, meaning contracted capability of government in providing social assistance;
- v. Sharp increase of the poor (Knowles 1999).

As a matter of fact, the above impacts do not just put onto low income or groups, but also to middle class, as well as many of the capitalist class because of

bankruptcy of the business or jobs losses. The question is why the social impacts of the economic crisis are so severe. It is recognised that the crisis provides a unique opportunity to learn how existing social systems function under duress (Jega 2002). Nigeria experienced high social cohesion and stability along with the economic miracle. The impacts of the current economic crisis, have shown that this social cohesion and stability are very fragile. Social hardships and suffering, social unrest and political instability, and religious upheavals, suddenly broke up the old social order.

Those who know the values of religion have shown the importance of the need for the repositioning of religion in the Nigerian national affairs for a good economic mechanism. It should also be noted, that the wrong use of religion in Nigeria by the elites has contributed to Nigeria's economic woes. The case of the current Boko Haram insurgency ravaging Nigeria, is a good example at hand (Adagba, *et al*, 2012; Jega 2002; Salawu 2010). As a result of this, Nigeria is bedeviled by the problems of development; including political and socio-economic challenges among others. In most cases, this is a result of bad leadership and weak economic planning.

Understanding Religion

The complexity involved in defining religion is not unconnected to its relatedness to the notions of "the sacred" and "the spiritual". Another point that makes the definition of religion difficult is the postulation of God or deities. It should also be noted that every religion is a product of culture. From the Western perspective, religion separates the world into two comprehensive domains, namely: the realm of the sacred and the realm of the profane (Onimhawa and Ottuh 2009). Every religion is a way of life. Every religion is a path or way to God or deities (gods). Hence, the focal point of every religion is God.

Sustainable Socio-Economic Development

Development is an idea that has to do with national and international policies especially after the Second World War (Homola 1987). The concept became more prominent and popularised by philosophers in the 19th century. Hence, there have been theories on the concept as well as popularised policies that have been followed all over the world. Remarkably, different scholars have defined the word "development" from multi-dimensional perspectives. For instance, development is described by Seers as the elimination or drastic reduction of three interrelated socio-economic problems namely: poverty, unemployment and inequality (Seers 1969). Others see development as a process by which a society's economy, political, and socio-cultural institutions are transformed in order to improve the standard of living of the members of the society. On the other hand, development is correlated to sustainability. What then is sustainable development?

Sustainable development is a compound word first popularised by the Brundtland Report of the 1992 earth summit in Rio (Anyiwe 2003). It is meant to describe the upward movement of the entire social system in such a manner that present needs are met without constraining the ability of future generations to meet their needs.

The entire social system here, embraces not social, economic, and political factors but also environmental factors. Hence, sustainable development could imply improvements in productivity, income, output, improved economy, social and gender equalities, improved education, modern knowledge and technology, improved human health, employment opportunities, and their likes. Sustainability on the other hand is a concept. It is also an ethos. Sustainable development therefore, has to do with the development that lasts, that does not impede the environment and the resources in it; both for the present and the future generations.

Sustainable development therefore, has to do with the development that lasts, that does not impede the environment and the resources in it; both for the present and the future generations. Sustainable development is the action that flows via sustainability ethos (Jega 2002). It is about shifting from economic growth to human development as the first priority. But economic development must always support the first priority, which is to develop boys and girls, men and women, to their full potential not only physically, but also intellectually, psychologically, and spiritually.

Using Religion to Achieve Sustainable Socio-Economic Development in Nigeria

The relationship that exists between economic contracts and the religious patterns can alone constitute basis for the continuous existence of a society. Each society follows certain values, among which are religious ideas and practices, and these are not subject to logico-empirical proof or disproof (Iyare 2008). These partly furnish the motivation to action for the members of that society. However, if a religious system was found, in which the individual merely manipulated the sacred forces for personal advantage, in a coolly shrewd and impersonal manner, that general contention would have to be modified basically.

In a society where agricultural production has been vastly improved, where ever-normal granaries and rapid transportation virtually eliminate the threat of starvation, rain-making becomes, not a matter of religio-magical ceremony, but of airplanes and silver iodide. Even in the societies that have achieved a great deal of technical efficiency, however, food production is sometimes threatened by drought. The welfare of a religion and the livelihood, if not the survival of thousands of families may be endangered. Religious beliefs and practices may then return as marginal, if not basic, activities in connection with massive food production.

The relationship between technology and religion is a complex one requiring attention of several qualifications. That is, some societies with fairly proficient connection with techniques of production nevertheless, have developed an intricate connection between their technology and religion; some religious beliefs and practices which are clearly antithetical to efficient production, are devoutly defended anyway, because they are religiously right; and many of the observances to assure productivity are more nearly magical than religious. These qualifications, which we will keep in mind as we discuss and illustrate the connections between religion and technology, should prevent us from taking any easy technological exploration of religion. They do not, however, eliminate the fact of a board pattern of relationship.

Societies with pantheistic religions like Nigeria and India generally are well supplied with gods and goddesses who are patrons of crops, crafts, protectors of flocks, guarantors of fertility and custodians of lives and properties of the people. In some societies, the relationship between religion and technology is exceedingly close even though they have developed a fairly abundant and stable source of food. This is true, for example, of the Todas of South India, whose economy is built around dairying activities (Gutierrez 2006). A large share of the work in caring for the cattle is carried on in accordance with the prescribed ceremonial forms by dairymen-priests. These are not desperate attempts to bolster a shaky technology by supernatural means, for the Todas have a fairly adequate and secure food supply.

Some may assume, that the intricate connection between religion and technology demonstrates the survival of beliefs and rites that originated in more difficult times; but this assumption requires more careful proof than the data now permit. It is possible, in fact, that the relationship was the other way around: the religiously prescribed value assigned to cattle and to their care may have helped to bolster the economy (Gutierrez 2006). Or the relationship may have been interactive. This qualification suggests further comment that religious requirements may be clearly opposed to the efficient production and use of economic goods. They may be recognised as such, and defended on religious grounds, or they may be held to be subtle aids to technology.

The actual effects would be, under such circumstances, latent days-functions. Taboos on the consumption of certain foods, ritualistic restriction on the use of totem animals of certain periods of the year, for example may sometimes help to protect a food supply; but at other times, taboos permanently remove an available food from human use. Ceremonial restrictions on techniques of production may prevent the development of efficient processes. The observance of holy days and festivals or the carrying out of the requirements of mourning rituals may prevent work for significant periods of time. These are in part strictly economic influences on production and services, determining how members of a society could use scarce goods or scarce time; but they are in part also technological influences which affect the work processes themselves.

On the other hand, religious observance may increase productivity because; the very co-operation expected by ritual conformity may actually increase efficiency at the time. Religious demands for particular care of gardens or animals may increase the supply of food. Craftsmen may be religiously motivated to develop a higher skill in their work. These are primarily technological effects. It is more likely, however, that the encouragement by religion on production will be economic, rather than technological. It is not so likely to affect the actual techniques of work as it is to influence the use of time and materials. Religious requirements may motivate the members of a society to productive activity rather than to some alternate use of time, just as they may do the opposite. Thrift may be religiously obligatory. For instance, in order to please the gods one must save or acquire enough food or wealth for the payments, gifts, or offerings that are needed. Weber (1966) once argued that the religious prescriptions of Calvinism have strongly influenced the productivity of capitalist societies. The relationship is perhaps more complicated than he made it out to

be, but freed of its exaggerations; his thesis is a clear demonstration of the significance of religion for technological and economic matters and growth.

Whether one concludes that religion basically contributes to or interferes with technological efficiency, it would seem that the latter is the predominant effect. It is a mistake to assume that members of a society, in following the religious norms, think of themselves simply as using an efficient process to increase production. The technological relevance of religion is distinctly secondary to the basic problems of group integration and individual salvation. There are implications for technology in religious belief and action, but seldom direct concern. The relationship is well analysed by Goode (Cholewka, Drzazga, Sieroń & Mitra 2008), in his discussion of the Manus, a society that stresses the importance of shrewd economic calculation.

Their religious life centers on a personal deity, but for some; the Manus do not regard their deities simply as powerful forces who can bring them food, prestige, health, and so on, if they are properly manipulated. Such a secular and rational attitude would deny the religious relationship. The strongly rationalistic element in the Manus economic systems displays itself in a cool calculation of the profits to be made from various enterprises, and the exploitation of one's kin in various ways. Since the religious system includes, as do other religions, requests for favours on the part of the worshippers, as well as giving favours to the spirits, one might expect a strong contractualistic bias in the Manus pattern of religious activity.

It is obvious that the ways in which scarce time, skills, and resources are used are often affected by religiously motivated decisions as they affect economic, social and political matters. It is truism, that the structure of work groups and situations may also be influenced by religion. For instance, the study of Hindu caste, or medieval manors, or some labour unions reveals that economic questions concerning the production of goods and services are conditioned by religious values. The way in which comparative values are ascribed to the products of society is also influenced, at least to a small degree, by religious consideration. Some goods and services are worth more, have higher economic values, because they have religious values, and others are worth less because religion places negative values upon them. A primitive man may invest a great deal of time and skills on economic decision maybe, to carve the appropriate symbol or design on a sacred drum, because they contribute to its religious efficacy. If not for their religious meaning, he would not value them so highly and would be unwilling to spend so much for them. Similarly, a church may invest a great deal of money, in a stained glass window, because of the meaning it has for the members. Thus, religion affects the demand side of the familiar supply-demand equation. On the other hand, it may influence the supply side, if the values it upholds encourage or discourage the production of various economic goods and services.

What roles does religion plays in the distribution of wealth in a society? It is in the influence on the distribution of wealth and income that religion has its most significant economic effects, it is also at this point that the economic consequences of religion are most important for society, culture, and personality. This is why the sociologist of religion must explore this question carefully. Remarkably stated, religious activities everywhere receive a fairly large share of the society. For instance,

groups that live on the edge of subsistence devote part of their incomes to the maintenance of religious places, sacrifices, rites, ceremonies, etc.

Perhaps, if there is any correlation between the amount of wealth of a society that is spent on religion, it may be an inverse one, which means that the poorer the society or group, the higher the proportion of its wealth that is spent on religious activities. It must be noted that part of this expenditure in societies where religious specialists exist, is used to support the priestly class. In this case, religious interest may then be combined with secular ambitions among the clergy, who in most cases have secular as well as religious interests, to bring them substantial incomes. Moreover, in such a case, if their religious authority is combined with egoistic interests, with the power of secular authorities, they may dominate in the ruling of the society and even acquire the society's substantial wealth for themselves.

The manner in which power is shared in a secular society is a contributory factor to wealth distribution. When economic and political power are highly concentrated in the hands of a few ruling group, the higher clergy are likely to occupy positions of influence and to share largely in the income of that society. In analysing the influence of religion and that of religious institutions on the distribution of wealth, it is however noted that the use of religion to hold or to acquire a greater share of the wealth by secular classes and groups from all levels of society, is the more fundamental phenomenon. The description of the use of religion by secular groups to hold or acquire scarce values is very closely related to the topic of religion and social stratification. In this wise, religion can affect equitable distribution of wealth in a society through its values, that is: certain personal traits, such as work ethics, thrift, honesty, compassion, and openness to people. These traits, in turn, may make people more or less economically productive as the case may be.

Government's role is crucial for Nigerian economy in its bid for successfulness. A religion-friendly approach of the government policy is one of the striking characters in realising this miracle. The equation of the structure here between government and religion is that: government should be friendly to religion and religion needs government's back up. In fact, the growth strategy of most developed countries in the world today includes substantial government involvement in religious matters resulting in government directed investments, and government guided bank lending, government subsidies and tax incentives, also including capital-friendly policies aiming at encouraging foreign direct investment with the indirect and direct contributions of religion. For most religions, hard work is a norm. Laziness and idleness make one unproductive hence, such actions amount to evil. If popularised, it is likely to increase sustainable productivity, social and economic growth in the society.

The government's role should be redefined in Nigerian socio-economic development in the future. The first option is to end the government directed development models which are retrogressive. Good governance by government should focus on regulation and supervision. These regulations should aim at providing rules for economic activities, rather than restricting them. To strengthen government supervisions here does not mean more government direct interventions, but calls for better implementation of rules. Government efforts should move from direct

investment or direct managing investment to providing institutional guarantees and opportunities for entrepreneurial innovations. Industrial policy, if necessary, should avoid misallocation of resources directed by government policy. Good governance of government does not narrow itself to a good policy, but implies that authority is based on the rule of law, its policies are transparent, and it is accountable to the society (Knowles 1999). As a matter of fact, the ending of government directed development model is not just a simple mind shift, but a whole set of institutional reform.

A stable social order gets its credit highly on a stable political order. In the social economic term, for most developing countries like Nigeria, a stable political order means a stable political regime and a powerful government. This stable political order used to play important role in promoting Nigerian economy with prosperity.

Growing economic and social disparity, corruption, mismanagement; all these may turn into a burning fire, a social unrest. Indonesia experienced fast economic growth under Suharto regime, but turned into long lasting social instability even after Suharto was forced to step down (Knowles 1999). The lesson from the Indonesian case is very clear: political compatibility to the economic and social development is crucial. Religion can enhance economic growth and development by promoting a positive attitude towards honesty.

Nevertheless, some basic principles should be well addressed, including: compatible political changes and reforms to improve administrative capacity, thus strengthening civil society and broadening social participation of political and economic activities. Religious rituals in this wise will also play a significant role in economic activities. This helps an economy to be more open in terms of trade, investments and skilled migration. Here, globalisation becomes a very important tool, because religion is one vehicle of globalisation.

Globalisation is mainly referred to as the phenomenon of rapid growing of the globalised economic activities, supported by increasing cross border movements of goods, money, technology and people. It has been driven by various factors including significant technological progress in transportation and communications, liberalisation and deregulation of economic activities, etc. With great progress of information technology (IT), like introduction of internet, international economic transactions have become much faster and cheaper. Like it or not, globalisation will continue and accelerate.

Globalisation may bring various benefits since it enables the countries to utilise the factors such as goods, service, capital, information, as well as human resources beyond the limits imposed by national boundaries. But at the same time, it may cause disturbances, or even crisis, either because of increasing gaps between the power and the weak, the rich and the poor, or as a result of sudden change of economic environment, contagion of the crisis.

There are at least two influential changes or a transformation which is needed to be noticed. Firstly, due to increasing cross border economic activities, globalisation tends to break up the traditional model of self designed and managed development strategy. Government control will find itself so ineffective or even counter-productive since real economic activities are undertaken through the market rather than the

government. So that, in order to maximize the benefits of globalisation, Nigeria has to be integrated to the regional and international market further by liberalising their internal market on the one hand, and strengthening capacity building of its own on the other hand.

Globalisation has made the change of traditional comparative advantage of the developing economies. New economy gains its comparative advantage from IT centered high technologies. The competitiveness of the high technologies is from knowledge, rather than labour, which will certainly reduce the Nigerian competitive edge based on cheap labour. But on the other hand, it is argued that unlike the mass production technology, IT may not require learning-by-doing accumulated process, which provides a better opportunity for later comers to take over the precedents (Knowles 1999). So that, it is important that the Nigerian nation must seize the opportunity in all industrial restructuring, corporate and financial reforms and to move up the technological ladder and invest a lot more in improving its institutional and human capacity to adapt and innovate.

It should be noted, that impact of the changes brought by globalisation does not only confine to economic activities, but also to societal areas. Globalisation is beneficial in general but it depends on the specifics of timing, sequencing and quality of domestic policies. As a matter of fact, losers may not just include those from the developing countries, but also from the developed countries. Demonstrations organised by the Americans in Seattle against WTO new round trade negotiation and Australians against World Economic Forum in Sydney meeting gave good examples to understand the complexity of globalisation. Facing uncertainties created by globalisation, human security has been increasingly emphasised. It is clear that the successful adaptation to globalisation should also include responsible social policies and compatible institutional development. Economic growth is a prerequisite of social progress and social stability. However, economic growth cannot be a full guarantee of social life and social stability. Nigeria as a country, does not have social security that could provide adequate safety net to the people. No wonder religion flourishes in Nigeria. Social stability requires a well-designed social safety net to protect people from suffering or insecurity.

As earlier mentioned, social safety network should be taken into consideration not only because of the current circumstances but also for likely future trends in terms of income growth, aging, urbanisation, formulation of the labour force, democracy, and governance. However, social safety net as a net should not only include allocating efficient, equitable, and adequate fund. Realistically, it seems impossible for developing economies like that of Nigeria, to establish a high level of social welfare system from the beginning. Thus, a social safety network in the country must be put on its foot on a comprehensive and coordinated system combined of several important mechanisms which includes:

- i. Sustaining economic growth by generating employment and income;
- ii. Cohesion of economic growth and social security establishment;
- iii. A dynamic employment market supported by education and training; and
- iv. Provision of public funds for social assistance to members of society.

In the past decades during the economic miracle time, Nigeria failed to establish a good safety network (Otto & Ukpere 2012; Agang 2009). The improvement of the people's life was mostly relied on the increase of income generating by high economic growth rate. So that, large number of people immediately plunged into poverty or hardship once the economic growth engine stopped.

In the above mechanisms, we give special emphasis on the cohesion of economic growth and social security establishment since it is too late and also too ineffective for the government to take response. A dynamic employment market relies on a dynamic economic condition, but labour must gain high capacity in order to take the opportunities and changes. Basic education and timely re-training are the most important capacity buildings of the people, and thus, the essential part of social safety net development. Religion is a major player in this respect. It is pertinent to note here, that religion exerts positive impact on human capital by enhancing educational level. Take for instance, individual believers are encouraged to be literate so as to be able to read scriptures and religious lessons. In most religious systems, one definition of God is knowledge and wisdom. Religious adherents are expected to read, listen and reflect on the word that epitomises knowledge and wisdom. Education and knowledge play an important role in securing employment. In many developing countries, education is seen as a social norm that is required for social networking which can promote economic growth through collective bargaining.

Conclusion

So far, this paper has been able to argue that the improvement of the well-being of Nigerians can come only from economic growth and social development. Unfortunately, domestic forces expected to promote standards of living in Nigeria are developing unfavourably or negatively. It is important therefore, that Nigeria should follow policies that promote development because development represents a priority tool for maintaining attitudinal changes, social stability, deepening democracy, and enhancing transparency and good governance. Development will enable the Nigerian nation to meet the daunting challenges of social and economic development, as well as integrating the country into the global economy rather than depending on industrialised international community.

A reliable and stable economic and social development is ideal for a sustainable model. But it does not just require change of traditional thoughts and policies, but also needs a deep reform of the systems. However, what we have analysed and stressed in this research are guidelines and principles. Religious perspective will allow for human flourishing and the harnessing of a social and economic lifestyle in Nigeria if well annexed. This lifestyle will foster God's reverence in every aspect of communal affairs.

Recommendations

In view of the identified gaps, the following recommendations are made:

1. Nigeria and Nigerians should employ vital religious values and ethics in all their economic quests and social development in order to attain a sustainable national socio-economic development. Vital religious values include: love, peace, peaceful coexistence, tolerance, faithfulness, kindness, sincerity, hospitality, harmony, equity, justice, prudence, hard work, etc.
2. Religion performs both positive and negative functions in human society, therefore; religion positive functions aimed at creating enabling environment for the Nigerian government and citizenry to make informed progress in their social and economic environment should be positively annexed.
3. Nigerian government's plans and policies towards achieving sustainable social and economic development should be religion friendly. Laudable ideas and inputs should be sought from religious leaders and scholars.
4. Analysts have traced pervasive downturn in national fortunes to the wholesome abandonment of agriculture. Government should go back to agriculture by empowering farmers and encouraging school leavers. All religious organisations in Nigeria should also invest in agriculture.
5. Religions and their leaders in Nigeria should contribute to economic growth by encouraging their adherents to ensure peace and avoid anti-social behaviour which are tantamount to attainment of sustainable socio-economic development.
6. Religions and their leaders in Nigeria should contribute to the equitable distribution of wealth, goods and services in the Nigerian society. This is another way of showing that religion supports and promotes social justice in society.
7. Government at all levels; religions and their leaders should discourage every form of laziness and idleness among citizens. For example, the present practice of 'yahoo yahoo' by Nigerian youths is alarming. This form of laziness poses a dangerous future to our national economy. The government, Mosque, Church and religious leaders as a matter of urgency should act now to curb the situation.

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FUTURISM AND DRAMATIC FANTASY IN EFFIONG JOHNSON'S *INSTALL THE PRINCESS*

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Abstract

Dramatic enactments begin with the playwright who conceives of the idea and builds it into a story using techniques. Playwrights employ dramatic techniques to express their thoughts, enhance creativity and achieve an appreciable level of aesthetics. Futurism is a dramatic technique which seeks to forecast what is to happen in the future. This takes the reader/audience from the present to the future using statements, actions or creative imagination. A lot of studies have been carried out on futurism in drama. However, little attention has been given to its application in Effiong Johnson's *Install the Princess*. This paper thus, interrogates the application of futurism as a dramatic technique in *Install the Princess* with a view to bringing out the playwright's craftsmanship in furthering the course of his drama. In arriving at its conclusion, the paper appropriates the literary methodology for data collection on the content of the select text for investigation on the subject-matter. The paper reveals that Effiong Johnson in his play, *Install the Princess*, has effectively utilised the futuristic device and dramatic fantasy to engender aesthetics, enrich his drama and demonstrate his mastery of the art of playwriting.

Keywords: Playwriting, Futurism and Dramatic Fantasy in Effiong Johnson's *Install the Princess*

Introduction

Modern drama and theatre in Africa and particularly Nigeria is one that can assertively be taken as being alive to the social realities of the time. This is due to the fact that social, cultural, economic, political and other issues are examined by playwrights with a sense of both philosophical and artistic commitment to bring about development of the societies in which the playwrights live. This places the playwright as a watchdog of

the society in which he carries out his craft. This is particularly common with new generation playwrights who see drama as a weapon for reflection and a vehicle for agitation for social change. Issues such as corruption, immorality, injustice, and female marginalisation that destroy the society have always featured prominently in African Drama and Theatre. It is along these lines, Maeterlinck (1974:731) describes modern drama as “a very pronounced desire to penetrate deeper and deeper into human consciousness, and place moral problems upon a high pedestal; and finally the search...for a kind of new beauty”.

Nigerian playwrights have also made some deliberate attempts to represent women in drama and on stage as well as the screen. Feminist dramatic writings cut across gender and involve both men and women. This is evident in the women’s solidarity in Zulu Sofola’s *Wedlock of the Gods* and Julie Okoh’s *Mask*. In Barclays Ayakoroma’s *Dance on His Grave*, women are pitched against men as in JP Clarks’ *The Wives Revolt* but the question of accommodation for feminism is upheld. This is even so in Ben Binebai’s *Beyond Nightmare* except that the play exposes the evil in women and presents them as a people who are equally as greedy and corrupt as the men they are fighting. Effiong Johnson’s *Install the Princess*, allays the fears of the women folk stating that they are capable of performing any assignment appropriated to them just like their male counterparts.

Playwrights on Playwriting

Playwriting in the theatre takes into cognisance the crafting of dialogue and construction/development of characters in a manner that makes sense to the audience. This can only be achieved when the playwright works in conjunction with other components and technicalities of the theatre which include a good understanding of the stage medium; scenic situations, speech, action, and character development. Yerima (2003:9) while bringing his experiences to bear as a director, seasoned playwright and actor, posits that “playwriting is the act of putting words together to form dialogue existing in its logic and reality”. It is an art that is dependent on style, aesthetics, pleasure and enjoyment. Writing a good play is thus an art and craft that could be learned by study and by practice through trials and errors. He goes further to intimate on the qualities of the playwright as one that:

Must learn to grapple with the issue of experiments with styles and ideologies...should guard against over-emphasizing the political ideology...must not abandon the source of original experience and inspiration...must understand his objectives. When he writes primarily for the stage, it is important that he cultivates his individuality without losing touch with humanity in general, with the currents of the life of his own times, with the characters of his medium, and the conditions of work and the means of communication the medium usually imposes on him (2003:11-12).

Wilson (2004:175-176) in analysing the function of the creator of any theatrical piece corroborates Yerima’s position and adds that:

Those who create a theatre piece have a responsibility to make clear to the audience its purpose and point of view. The intention may be to entertain, to raise timeless questions, as is often the case with tragedy, or to make political or social comments...Whether established by a playwright, director, or a performance artist, every theatre piece reflects choices as to subject matter, the focus of the work, and the worldview expressed.

This is to say that artistic creations by playwrights, directors, choreographers, should responsibly establish a point of view about their subjects and their characters which may vary from one artist/artiste to another.

Johnson (2001:208) while elucidating the fundamental tasks of the playwright agrees with the above assertions and opines that:

The word "Playwright" like shipwright connotes a certain degree of "construction" if not "engineering" on the part of the creator. It has been so spelt out to differentiate him from mere "writer" which every literate person could be. It means a play designer or maker or manufacturer, and that takes cognizance of tonnes of imagination, intuition and all the creative super-necessaries which the craft entails.

He goes further to highlight certain devices in playwriting which he refers to as, "the creative technicalities in the script". They include "the story-telling approach", "the End-is-the Beginning approach", "the Open-ended device", "the Futuristic style", and "the Flashback". The deployment of any of these devices as an aesthetic element according to him is "to beautify the script or thicken its interest-base," stating that "the injection of creative technicalities into a script aims primarily at beautifying the script and enriching the drama" (2004:93).

Samson-Akpan (2006:84) succinctly outlines some important functions of a playwright and unequivocally proclaims that:

The main ones include arranging selected events or episodes according to a plan of action known as the plot...(i) the presentation of a problem- the exposition; (ii) the conflictor collision or middle of a problem- the complication; (iii) the solving or end of the conflict or problem- the denouement or resolution. Some other literary element or devices that a playwright has to know and exploit include: (i) suspense; (ii) reversal of fortune; and (iii) dramatic irony in order to carry the reader or audience along.

In other words, the playwright in general, creates the situation, presents the problem, creates the characters and put words in their mouths. His dialogue construction should be clear and effective to convey information about the characters as revealed by their actions, and above all provides solution to the problems presented. It

is on the strength of the above that Effiong Johnson's play, *Install the Princess* (2009) is to be textually analysed and presented in this paper.

The Playwright

Effiong Johnson is a seasoned scholar, playwright, director, actor, poet and critic. He is a Professor of Theatre and Communication at the University of Uyo, Nigeria, where he pioneered the writing of professional texts in theatre studies. Also to his credit are a number of scholarly articles in journals and books, locally and internationally. His works in the area of creative writing, among others include; *Generous Donors* (1997), *The Fight Has Just Begun* (2001), *Frogs at Noon* (2001), *Not Without Bones* (2001), *The Stolen Manuscript* (2001) and *Install the Princess*; examined in this paper.

About the Play

In the Play, *Install the Princess*, Obong Nkenang Udo Idem Ekpenyong, king of Ekondo in Ibibio land is of the educated and privileged class in the society. He was born into a royal family, trained abroad and subsequently became the king of the community. He was second to none at the time when it came to wealth and affluence. With these antecedents, Obong Ekpenyong ruled his people successfully thereby bringing succor to the community. He introduced modules on governance that helped to broker peace between his community and neighbouring communities. This is evident from the speeches of Inin Emem Uyo, the praise singer and Obong Ekpenyong himself, in Circumstance Two, where the people came out in their numbers to celebrate his victory.

Inim: Children, dance to the one who incubates your future in a safety thank. Mothers, shout for joy for the price which has brought your respect...Men, embrace the specie which sells your pride to envious lands. Maidens, shake your flexible waists in the rhythm of freedom...Let the royal feet walk on this receptive ground. The land of welcome and applause; ululations of joy and victory. (14)

Obong: A king, my type is resplendent only when peace and joy adorn the faces of his people. When victory songs re-echo across the shores of Ekondo. Today, your king can display the royal steps in celebration of peace and brotherhood among his hitherto erstwhile brethren. Your king can dance because in the place of war and wastages, peace, preservation, hope, strong bonds of brotherliness and life have been re-created. (16-17)

At his demise to join his ancestors, his two sons, Ubokudom and Uko who were abroad for studies were summoned home to partake in their father's funeral and prepare (as tradition demands) as one of them would be made the successor of the throne. Amidst the confusion, death struck and the two sons were killed in a plane crash on their way from the United States.

The Ekondo community is thrown into more confusion as the only surviving children to the late king are a boy, Etiowo who is deaf and dumb and a daughter, Princess. Etiowo is physically challenged as he is deaf and dumb so should naturally not be vested with the responsibility to govern a people. Fate began to play itself out at this point as some started realising the only possible alternative would be the daughter, Princess, since a new king can only be enthroned from that lineage.

The question is, can a woman be made king especially in the African setting whereby belief systems, customs, and traditions are antithetical to the development of the girl-child? However, the daughter, Princess is finally enthroned as the new king of Ekondo amidst protests, argument and counter-arguments from traditionalists, elders, women groups, and youth groups.

In the same pedestal as the historian and the social commentator, the playwright succinctly records the unfolding events and critically comments on the socio-political and ideological realities of the Nigerian and African situations whereby women are perpetually rubbed of certain rights and privileges. However, in recent times Liberia has recorded a female president and Nigeria's President Jonathan has given women the opportunity to handle key sectors of the developing Nigerian economy. These include water resources, housing, petroleum, finance, education, defence and even coordination of the overall economy. Effiong Johnson's postulation in the crafting of *Install the Princess*, is thus very timely and with a view to bringing about social change. It brings to fore, the temperament and sensibility of the epoch and society.

Futurism and dramatic fantasy in *Install the Princess*

Futurism is an avant-garde movement that was founded in Milan in 1909 by the Italian poet, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. It is an artistic and social movement that originated in Italy in the early 20th century. Futurism emphasises and glorifies themes that are associated with contemporary concepts of the future. These include speed and time, technology, youthfulness and adulthood. The futurists practiced in every medium of art such as painting, sculpture, film, music, dance and drama. (www.wikipedia.com).

In literature, especially drama, the futurism aims at enabling the reader or viewer to apprehend the innermost feelings of what is being predicted. It is a postmodern literary device in which the plot goes ahead of time. That is, a scene in the sequence of events is devoted to interrupt and take the narrative forward in a story. Generally, it represents expected or imagined events in the main plot that is interjected in the main plot to reveal the important part of the story that is yet to happen. The interesting thing about this literary or dramatic device is that, it grabs the reader or audience's attention in the current events of the narrative to see how the story develops towards the future that has already been predicted or shown to them.

Fantasy on the other hand, and according to *The New International Webster's Dictionary*, is a fanciful notion or mental image...It is a form of representation that brings before the mind a sequence of images serving to fulfill a need not gratified in the real world; a daydream (2013:458). It is therefore, a pleasant mental picture someone paints that is unrealistic and impractical.

While furthering the course of the girl-child, and advocating for equal opportunities between both sexes, Effiong Johnson, in the play employed the futuristic approach using dramatic fantasy to dramatise the whole story from the beginning to the end. This is evident in Circumstance One (the opening scene), in the play text when the two sons of the king of Ekondo (Ubokudom and Uko) were to leave their homes in the Ekondo community for studies abroad. As the boys, in the company of their parents emerge from the inner room with their suit cases to say “goodbye”, the Princess joins them looking sad, dejected and marginalised. They try to console her and in the process narrated or acted out the plot which was to be unveiled later in the play. The whole family, in their imagination, played out what was unrealistic and impracticable. This is because it was impossible at that time for a woman to take the place of the king, in the history of the Ekondo kingdom.

Ubokudom: (*Carries Princess and locates her on the royal throne*) that’s my Princess. That’s my queen.

Uko: Hail, the Queen of Ekondo! (*The parents watch all these persuasive antics in admiration*) The crowned Princess of Ekondo. The world shall be different because you came...

Ubokudom: Because you ruled! The first and the only, to rule the entire breath of Ekondo.

Princess: (*Wants to step down from the throne*) Enough of your fun at my expense. How many women have ever ruled the land of Ekondo?

Ubokudom: (*Stops her from stepping down from the throne*) Not yet, Princess. Didn’t you hear Uko? He said you should change the world. You would change the status quo. Now listen, Princess, from now, take my place. Eat my portion. Drink my share. Give my opinion. Act my place. Does that make you happy?

Princess: No, because you forgot to add “and be as fat as a toad!”

Uko: Come on, Princess. Take the throne if it makes you happy. Your joy is my command. (*Extends his right hand*) Here, take it. Smile, doll, smile a while and set my world wild, my Princess. (*Princess for once, repositions herself comfortably on the throne, Smiles and relaxes*) That is good!

Ubokudom: Now you are doing it, girl. That’s my Princess. Now listen, We are merely going to prepare a place for you. It’s turn by Turn. Sometime ago, it was dad’s turn. Now it’s ours. Very Soon, it’ll be yours. So cheer up, queen...

Obong: Time to move, boys. You got a long ride to do (11-12).

This fantastic dramatisation which is a collective imagination of the whole family foretells the action that is yet to occur, with time in the play. It takes the reader or audience to the very expected or imagined plot. Typical of the futuristic literary/dramatic device, the above scene interrupts and takes the narrative forward in

time from the current time in the play when the plane conveying the boys home after the death of the king, crashed into the Atlantic Ocean thereby leaving the community with no other reasonable choice (as the only surviving male-child happens to be an imbecile) than to crown the Princess as the Queen of Ekondo.

Youthfulness and adulthood are keys to the materialisation of the technique of futurism in drama. This is so, as writers who employ this style predict a situation within a particular age (time) which will mature later. From the play, the enthroning of the princess in Ekondo is exposed first with the actions of the two princes as they were about to travel out for education. At this point, the whole royal family is only fantasizing about the princess taking the throne of Ekondo in place of the princes because from the inception of the kingdom none has even heard about making a princess the ruler of it not to talk of establishing it. The conversation in the palace on who will succeed the king between the remaining male prince that is physically challenged and the princess explicates the age long tradition of the people as Ukpotio clearly reminds Ufokiban:

Ukpotio: That was well-reasoned. Well-spoken Ufokiban but you did not remember that the throne of Ekondo is exclusively for kings and not for queens. All through the years, as far as we can remember, there was no time in the life of Ekondo that a woman ever ruled. This precedence must be continuously maintained. (62)

The need to dismantle these existing traditional cultural practices sets the culture of the people in motion. In essence, time, adulthood, youthfulness and technology help to achieve futurism as a dramatic style as it glorifies modernism.

The playwright succeeds in style as he clearly reveals a core African indigenous society where “tradition was still at its highest considerations and adherence to it was nearly inviolate” (Locale). This traditional heritage is forced to experience change through the unique characterisation and the effective plotting of the play. The playwright, amidst the high contestation (conflict) he introduced in the play in respect to installing the princess as the supreme ruler of Ekondo, favours the feminine gender. His position is laudable as he seems to hide under the character of Etiowo and the late king to state a stark truth about life— if a woman is found worthy of any leadership position, she should be given such privilege(s). The late King and his children are the characters that pushed the society from its hegemonic grip to a more democratic setting. This he did by voting for a woman to be part of the ruling elder’s council in Ekondo:

Obong: . . . From now on, one woman must be appointed to the elder’s forum. (35-36)

As if this is not enough, he went ahead to pronounce the Princess as his successor the night before his death:

Obong: . . . Come, my dear. Fulfill my wish, my craving desire . . .
(Takes her to the throne and help her sit. Steps backward in admiration)

Bring the royal wine and glasses. (Edima goes in and brings the wine glasses. Gives him a glass and pour him some. He takes it to Princess and does obeisance to the shock of everyone! Comes back and receives his glass with a wine full.) Pour some for yourself. (Edima – still skeptical of the entire scenario, puts a little quantity for herself. Wine in everyone's hand, he bellow:) Behold the glory and splendour of Ekondo. Behold the one whom the throne and the crown fit. The Princess of Ekondo has become the Queen of Ekondo. (42)

These are all efforts by the king to place the culture of his people in motion and to place it above the firm grip of existing status quo because nothing justifies his action of pronouncing the princess the heir apparent to the throne as he is fully aware of the customs and traditions of his people. To worsen the situation, he was not trying to keep the throne within his family by pronouncing the princess as his heir because he had three boys before his death. The king's pronouncement establishes the presence of dramatic fantasy in the play in relation to the realisation of futurism. Since the late king did not even know that his two sons would die in a crash, his promulgation is only intensifying his desire to expand the Ekondo culture so as to accommodate change. The creative ingenuity of the artist cannot be overemphasised as he plots the play to turn the misfortunes of the people of Ekondo, the death of the two princes on the plane crash, to be the avenue through which the woman liberates herself and takes over the leadership of the kingdom. This modernist approach which is manifest through the plot and characterisation of the play helps to establish the technique of futurism and fantasy.

Conclusion

Effiong Johnson's *Install the Princess* is a statement on the seemingly protracted and established marginalisation of the girl-child, especially in Africa. The play is political, ideological and profound. It is a clarion call to the government and non-governmental institutions, the traditional society, female chauvinists and even the women themselves (as they tend to be very envious of each other) to recognise the girl-child and provide the enabling environment for both the boy and girl to thrive. Effiong Johnson in the course of crafting his play, *Install the Princess*, effectively utilised the futuristic device and dramatic fantasy to engender aesthetics, enrich his drama and demonstrate his mastery of the art of playwriting. It is a positive and distinctive creative device in the theatre. The approach is quite sophisticated, thus, seems to rise above some other creative-technicalities of playwriting. However, it can also pose a problem to amateur playwrights because predicting the future, as we all know, is an onerous task that needs to be handled with lots of tact and professionalism.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POSTCOLONIAL DISCOURSE IN OLU OBAFEMI'S AND AHMED YERIMA'S PLAYS

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Abstract

Postcolonial discourse has become cross-current in dialoguing between the centre and the periphery, the located, the dislocated and the subaltern in accentuating the self against the other about the former colonial sites. The reason is that, history has been studied in its linear progression with its contradictions, because “only a properly historical perspective could give balance and objectivity to the postcolonial discourse” (Jeyifo, 2012). In this study, Olu Obafemi and Ahmed Yerima are diametrically opposed in their ideological perceptions as radical/critical realists respectively. These playwrights have not been subjected to more engaging critical and philosophical studies on their ideological, socio-political and individual encounter with the realities of life in their different perspectives in postcolonial discourse. It is noted that African writers cannot avoid relying on history, cultures and traditions, appropriation of language of the centre, socio-political and economic situations of their milieu. There is need, therefore, to diversify our studies on issues to bind humanity together without splitting hairs on the ideological differences, as this study unpacks.

Keywords: Postcolonial discourse, Comparative Analysis, Ideology, Critical and Radical Perspectives.

Introduction

The thrust of this paper is on the ideological positions and the question of ‘commitment’ in postcolonial experiences in the works of Olu Obafemi and Ahmed Yerima. It has become a truism that to have an ideological perspective, a creative writer, in Eagleton’s (1976, 84) position, is to have ‘ideas in any realm of existence’. We may be talking about a ‘committed’ and ‘non-committed’ writer in the social order through which he show-cases his art, but he cannot afford to shun social and political issues as thematic preoccupations. Without enmeshing oneself in the art-for-art-sake or art for philistine purposes, a writer must not only write from within, but also from without. That is, a creative writer should not only envision his mind alone, but should

create a melting point with happenings and his visions in either his immediate environment, or by and large, in the world.

In Africa, art does not exist without the intricate social purposes. A dramatist is aware that his works have roles to perform, because she/he is steeped in the social milieu of time. So, it is this ideological stance that makes a work of art relevant, committed and purposeful as Achebe (1975, 98) posits that:

An African creative writer who tries to avoid the big social and political issues of the contemporary Africa will end up being like that absurd man in the proverb who leaves his house burning to pursue a rat fleeing from the flames.

However, talking about ideology, Wole Soyinka, believes that a creative writer should envision his mind. He says if a writer should react without reflecting on the events around him, he stands the risk of facing tragic disillusionment. So, for a writer who is entangled in intricate socio-political distraction as in the case of Nigeria, Soyinka (1988, 17) says, “the distractions away from vision were, of course enormous, the distraction away from a vision clarified in human terms and not in dogma”. By ‘human terms’, Soyinka means that instead of cocooning an African writer in narrow shell of “ism” it may be better for him or her to engage in manifesto of a ‘clear conscience’ to stabilise his society. Hence, the intricate exploration of theory and practice as the bedrock of ideas in politics, socio-economic and cultural activities, influences Olu Obafemi and Ahmed Yerima. Also, to classify, analyse and evaluate creative writings by critics in Africa in general, and Nigeria in particular, prompts the Nigerian writers by responding to the societal impulse, to draw from the postcolonial theories within the matrix of history of colonial and post-colonial era. This paper examines how a radical/social realist and critical/liberal realist reacts to socio-political situations in the post-colonial Nigeria. Three plays from each playwright are used in this analysis. For Olu Obafemi, the plays are *Naira Has No Gender* (1993), *Suicide Syndrome* (2005) and *Nights of a Mystical Beasts* (2005), and Yerima’s *Yemoja* (2000), *Dry Leaves On Ukan Trees* (2001) and *Akuabata*.

Dialectics of Postcolonial Writers

Critical, historical and ideological perspectives in postcolonial discourse form the theoretical foundation for this study. These indicate perpetual motion of ideas as it seems that the world is merely and constantly revolving on the axis of time; time and its intrinsic dynamism. Man, therefore, acquainted with the realities and dictate of time, reacts in his creative ingenuity from within and without, to its dynamics in space. In this instance, therefore, the ambivalent nature of life draws a margin between “radical” and “critical”. The dialectical essence of this study may bring graphic explications to the relation between the traditions of the ruling class and ruled. Achebe (1985) says that life is in ambivalence. Things come in twos: nothing is absolute. However, from this bi-polar essence, there emerge multi-various ideas. This reality brings to bear the complexity in the nature and the experiences in the life of man. It signifies why an idea that holds sway at a time may be termed wrong; perhaps it would be seen as ‘a mistake’

or 'a wrong emphasis' or 'outdated' as Achebe asserts. For instance, the Plato's philistine constructions of the classical art of tragedy in the idealist strictures could be influential, but antithetical to 'imitation' or 'creative arts' that was termed 'false' - a contravention to his ideal society. Aristotle's critical theory of tragedy remains relevant and extant till date, but was not dialectical in his approach. Much of the formalistic and idealist conceptions had been discussed over times and ages which presented the idea of tragedy in a sublime and organic form of drama, as Jeyifo (1985, 23) observes:

Aristotle deduced the classical idea of tragedy; a spirit and A vision sublime from life into an 'organic' form which is eternally 'true' and indifferent to the unfolding of life history.

Classical tragedy, as defined by Aristotle, weaves story around a noble personage, whose will manifests the will of the gods. It engages on the abstruse metaphysics that is grounded in the ontology of being within the matrix of fatalism, of course without consideration for existential reality as found in modern tragedy. This is to say that the Aristotle idea does not mediate in ideological sense, between events of time and the environment; but it is important to note the essence of the dramatic action and the mimetic elements.

In order to come to term with modern trends, socio-political, and economic challenges of the post-war era, modern critics re-read Western writings about poetry, fiction, drama and genre of the imaginative texts from the pre-Socrates till date to create a history of literary criticism. As the result of this development, the formalist ideas are reconsidered, and the assumptions were undercut by the advent of Existentialism, Phenomenology, Hermeneutics, Structuralism and Marxism; grounding the critics to assert that the intention of a writer is not a priori to the meaning and understanding of his work. Derrida's deconstruction theory engages 'dominant interpretation' by alternating the reading of a work of art within prism of writer's intention and the text (Critchley and Mooney, 1994). Besides, structuralism reduces the strength of individualist perspectives by 'calling into question the power of individual subjects to craft such realities independent of external, objective, and impersonal forces inherent in social and linguistic systems' (*Encyclopaedia American*, 2003, 645).

The beginning of the postmodernist ideology began in the aftermath of the experiences of the Second World War which brought a fusion of various assumptions, by taking together, a political, economical, metaphysical, and socio-historical vision of the entire world, when the older realities were over taken by a number of the new realities. This article finds meaning in the assertion by Kelly (1994, 226), about cultural identity that "is tightly bound with the construction, by itself and others, of a historical narrative in which it figures as the subject", because, the philosophical and critical thought as a cultural form are based on the essence of national representative. The foundation of 'post' theories, especially postcolonialism, have arisen from Hegel's idea of philosophy of rationalism or reflections, to Karl Marx's position on historical and dialectical materialism. It can also be traced to Lucas' philosophy of alienation with subtle dialectics, and his idea of praxis as the basis for activism and political struggles, to Antonio Gramsci's idea of humanist question, and to Satre's philosophy of

existentialism. No stasis in life. In all, humanity is reflected in individual person, and consists of the individual, other people and nature. Such as Tejumola Olaniyan posits that human progress is made in the continuous interactions of kind and matter from past, present into future; in the way ultimate “perfection” is reached in time and space thus:

Human progress is determined by the continuous interactions of mind and matter and measured by endless and high-level refinements and thereby produced. This is the process that creates culture, civilisation, history but every successful step on the way is constituted by alienation, until the realm of ultimate perfection, Hegel’s “Absolute Idea”. (Olaniyan, 2019, 5)

The philosophical foundation of social revolutionary aesthetics is embedded in the Marxist ideology and philosophy of dialectical and historical materialism. A materialist philosopher tends towards basing his understanding of the trends of events, the explanation of the natural phenomena, the mythical, metaphysical and transcendental ontology on the recognition that matter is primary and the consciousness is secondary (Zotov, 1985). This position is in contradiction to what an idealist holds in his interpretations and understanding that “the world is ruled by ideas” (Zotov, 1985, 4). The colonialist positions had the myriad reflections on cultural, socio-political, religious and economic subjugation on the colonised; these became the basis for the nationalist’s reactions. Those reactions emanated with its attendant violent skirmishes across the continent of Africa. The struggles, as occasions demanded, witnessed the new dawn. The colonial era began to wind up; the nationalist began to demand ‘freedom’. Fanon (1963, 119) posits that:

For a very long time the native devotes his energy to ending certain definite abuses: forced labour, corporal punishment, inequality of salaries, limitation of political rights, etc. The fight for democracy against the oppression of mankind will slowly leave the confusion of neo-liberal universalism to emerge, sometimes laboriously, as a claim to nationhood.

In the struggle for the independence of nationhood in Africa, many countries began to be granted independence from 1957. However, the post-independent era witnessed the birth of the elitist cycle of negritudists and pan-Africanists, which worked and interpreted their understanding of the Marx-Engel’s philosophy of Marxism, came up with the version of “African Socialism”. Leopold Senghor, a leading light of the emerging African elites, asserts that:

African socialism is the ideological rupture with the treatises of the centre and the disengagement of the peripheral states from left and right imperialism. (Senghor, 1978, 81)

The resistance became necessary for the emancipation of the colonised people who were traumatized under the various imperial oppressions. The postcolonial

discourse as viewed by Lawson (1992, 156), as a “politically motivated, historical-analytical movement (which) engages with, resists, and seeks to dismantle the effects of colonialism”. Both the first generation and the second generation Nigerian dramatists are politically conscious, because they are being influenced by the struggles against colonial hegemony. However, the crops of the second generation playwrights are Femi Osofisan, Bode Sowande, Kole Omotoso, Tunde Fatunde, Segun Oyekunle, Akanji Nasiru, Tess Onwueme, and of course Olu Obafemi. They are politically conscious and with penchant for Marxist ideology in their works, especially, after the Nigeria Civil War. They pique their creative ingenuity against the issues on postcolonial experiences. In this regard, they show radical, social, ideological in radical approach, while the first generation writers like Wole Soyinka, J.P. Clark-Bekederemo, Ola Rotimi, Zulu Sofola, Wale Ogunyemi, etc., were noted by critics as sharp contrast to second generation playwrights for their ‘modernist’, ‘conformist’, ‘avant-garde’, ‘historic-traditionalist’, ‘mytho-poese’ and ‘animist’, for their iconoclast and liberal ideology. Some critics observe that the first generation of Nigerian playwrights espouse liberal ideology in their works, because they are being influenced by colonial aesthetics. This contrast was observed by Kameju (1973, 177), who says that the bifurcation of African literature is ‘the neo-colonial aesthetics of capitalism and subjugation versus the aesthetics of black pride, black affirmation, resistance and ultimate liberation’. Only that Kameju does not provide us with canons of principle for the writers to shun overtly the colonial influence in their works.

Postcolonial theorists postulate the issue of cultural diversity and cultural difference, among them are Bhabha (1988), Ashcroft, et’al (1989), Amuta, (1999), Beckett (Cited in Layiwola, 2001) and Tejumola Olaniyan (2007, 2019). Amuta especially, argues on cultural diversity in his critical perception of Fanon’s, Cabral’s and wa Thiongo’s positions. Fanon’s concept of a nation brings the justification of the efforts made by the society of its action through which people create and keep self - existence within the idiom of national culture. Yet, he notes the perceived blind alley within the mechanism of national culture which Fanon himself called national consciousness. While Cabral operated within an essentially materialist and libertarian notion of culture; based on this, he redefined the relationship between history and culture in dialectical terms. Bhabha, however, asserts that cultural diversity is a category of comparative ethics, aesthetics, and it is the recognition of pre-given cultural exchange or notion of multiculturalism. But cultural difference is a process of signification through which statements of culture or how culture differentiates or discriminates. This is understood in a clear term by this researcher that cultural diversity is an object of empirical knowledge; whereas, cultural difference is the process of the enunciation of cultural identification (Bhabha, 1988, 203).

In the study of African literature, language has become an issue among the theorists and critics of postcolonial discourse. Obi wali, as noted by Atai (2001), back in the mid-sixties, fired the first salvo in the on-going debate on how language expression ought to be used in African literature. Wali (1975) believes in his position that any foreign language expression is simply heading for a doom. Language of postcolonial writing, as a fundamental site of struggle (Griffiths, et’al (1989), while Ashcroft, (1989) conceives it as a medium of power that has two distinctive processes

in the manner the periphery has reacted to the centre. The first feature is the abrogation or denial of English; when the metropolitan controls power over the means of communication. The second feature is the 'appropriation and reconstitution' (38) of the language of the centre, which is the process of capturing and remoulding the language to new usages, marks a separation from the site of colonial. In this category, the adaptation of the colonial language to the local need is essentially a subversive intent which on its own, is a subtle rejection within its global relevance.

The ideological function of English is reflected and repeated in all postcolonial societies, with certain varied degrees in concept, nature and context. In Nigeria, critical realities have been noted for their 'conformism' (Obafemi and Yerima, 2004), in the manner of appropriating the traditions, history and culture in their creative process, and the centripetal and centrifugal criticism of the existing reality. Many critics have elaborately discussed the critical realism as a dominant attitude of Nigerian dramatists like Wole Soyinka, John Pepper Clark-Bekederemo, Ola Rotimi, Zulu Sofola, Wale Ogunyemi, who are accused of engaging their creative ingenuity in myth, animist, metaphysics, folklore, history, tradition and social realities as elements of their culture in various levels of linguistic mode to espouse their tragic visions. Some critics see them as such because they do not apparently espouse social aesthetics ideology. It is imperative, therefore, in this paper to establish that the concern is not to flog the debates between the critical realist who are termed 'conformists' or the radical realists who are termed 'ideologue'; but to espouse their individual encounter with reality of existence, the environment, history, culture, language and tradition, socio-political and economic situation and world view which will determine how and what he writes. Soyinka, (1985, 35), responding to Biodun Jeyifo, draws the summation of my position that:

What do I write? What sparks off or ignites the urge to write? I do not know. I refer to myself often as being basically lazy in the sense that I would rather not write. I suppose recollection sometimes, a sort of intense recollection trigger off the need to write. And of course there's the other kind of writing when writing is merely a medium for expressing that needs to be expressed, like an urgent political situation for instance. You address yourself to that instant and that one is plain enough, that's why journalist write, columnist write, that's why our troubadours sing. But in general, what ignites the creative spark, I honestly do not know.

Olu Obafemi belongs to the second generation of playwrights. This generation of writers and critics was 'antagonistic' to the first generation. Olu Obafemi, in his radical posture does not demonstrate Marxist cant, with penchant or "virulent attack" against the older generation in their critical views or bourgeois perceptions. He simply believes in the assertion of African self-discovery and the African values with the mind to remould a better society from the Blackman's misplacement and misuse of power against the powerless. While Ahmed Yerima, who neither belongs to the first generation or the second generation of Nigerian playwrights, because he became firmly established in the 1990s; by this, he became the leading light of the third generation of

the post independent writers in Nigeria. He is dubbed in this paper as a critical realist. This is so, because Ahmed Yerima, unlike Olu Obafemi, does not profess Marxist social realism. However, the fact remains that no one can throw away, either a radical writer or a critical writer's aspects of his personality: his experiences, culture, socio-political and economic realities of his society.

A Comparative Aesthetics of Obafemi and Yerima as Postcolonial Dramatists

This comparative analysis is essential in criticism, especially between a social/radical playwright, who can be described as a 'collectivist' or 'populist' writer, and a critical/liberal writer. Such comparative literary criticism is quite understood to strive, amongst other relevant factors, towards a better understanding of two or more writers. In this context, comparing two writers of different and opposing ideologies like Obafemi and Yerima, is to draw points of convergence and divergence between two authors through the in-depth study of their works to enhance the understanding of their inner rhythm (Abati, 1987; Oladosu, 2000).

Ahmed Yerima in some of his plays like *The Bishop and the Soul*, *Thank You Lord*, *The Limam*, *Idemili and Akuabata*, reflects conflicts between the religion of the colonisers (Christianity) and the Traditional religions. He reflects how religions are used to exploit their adherents for socio-political and economic problem, though they serve in some cases as therapeutic means for the oppressed people under the yoke of visionless leadership and the attendant results in the post-colonial realities in Nigeria. They may equally offer psychological reliefs from frustration and the overwhelming sense of defeat and desolation which drive Nigerians in this postcolonial era to the state of apostasy to embrace foreign religion like Olanma in *Akuabata*.

Bishop is a character in *The Bishop and the Soul* that represents and reflects human complexity, contradictions and confusions in confronting the vagaries of existence as we make our choices at the crossroads of fate. The turmoil and confusion in Bishop's life emanate from triadic levels (Adeoti, 2007, 27): the church, the government and himself. On these levels, Bishop wants to transcend the realm of illusion which is the kernel, or the force that sustains religion, he moves to shatter this in the minds of the congregation so that they can confront traumatic socially dehumanising postcolonial reality in Nigeria, although he realises or recognises that faith needs some modicum of illusion to hold its sway. His approach demonstrates the conflict of interests between the church and his ideas. His liberalism generates the conflict and "tension between the material and spiritual, between fundamentalism and liberalism, between politics and religion is well raised in the play through characterisation. The Bishop's personality is one theatre in which this dramatic tension is acted out" (Adeoti, 2007, 27).

Obafemi uses polemics to demystify history, myth and ritual in his plays. In this process he engages alienation, using the dymistifying technique by exploring the thematic in-depth of his works. He is more concerned with social justice. He is moved by the plights of the masses, the oppressed who are depressed by the prevalent socio-political and the economic situations in the post-colonial Nigeria. He is a playwright that becomes a constant society's conscience. In this process, he strives to expose the

visionless leaders who appear sacrosanct in their flowing traditional gowns, or in their Khaki uniforms, in berets and swagger sticks by giving the last order in draconian stance.

He exposes the corrupt leaders of his dominant characters like Chief, Governor, and Politician in *Nights of a Mystical Beast*. Obafemi however does not condone the sense of apathy amongst the hapless masses and the working class. Understandably, the playwright wants his audience to deduce in their consciousness to rise against those corrupt characters that “seep, willy-nilly, into the lines of the weak and the pliant” (Cook, 2005, V). Obafemi uses his drama to expose the political elites in a political dysfunctional, corrupt and social-economic troubled society. His drama is a constant dialogue with dehumanising capitalist policies without human face. Cook (2005, VVI), therefore, observes that Obafemi in his dramaturgy “presents the human dilemma neither in terms of theories nor generalisations, but by unveiling people-individual people- and their relationships in specific situation that is symptomatic of social reality at large”.

The plots of his drama do not only “obey” a process of sequential realisation of their themes and contents, while the portents of his plays do not only lie in delineation of his characters and characterisation; but more in his diction. Dialogue is the bedrock of his dramaturgy. Also, in the linguistic narrative, with the fusion of popular folk songs and orchestration, or orchestra, classical music and pop music are used to enhance the scenes, actions and motifs to pep the aesthetics of his drama. Obafemi exposes his stereotyped figures: such as Professor, Minister and Alhaji in *Suicide Syndrome*, who represent the megalomaniac and mephitic syndrome to milk the potentially buoyant nation to its bone and consequently drag her to bankruptcy. On the lower rung of the social ladder are stereotyped characters like mother, children, son, daughter, workers and market women who are suppressed, and perhaps the only option that is left to them is to attempt suicide. Obafemi’s characters in his dramaturgy are in line with Marxist ideology of social class and economic structure. In *Suicide Syndrome*, most especially, Obafemi uses epic style, in some others, he uses and approximates not only elements of the epic tradition in the narrative technique, but more pronounced is the alienation effects of the Brechtian method. In achieving this, the playwright does not use the conventional sculpturing of plot in sequential arrangement as discovered in the dramaturgy of Yerima. He moulds his plays in what can be termed as ‘satiric précis’ (Cook, 1986, Xi), wherein he throws caustic swipes against colonialism through post-colonial experiences. Obafemi’s concatenation themes and delineation of typed characters, reveal his social reality in the struggle against public corruption and social dysfunctions.

Yerima remains a carver in the deep structures of plot in his dramaturgy reflect in the use of materials for his plays. To him, story as found in history, myth and contemporary issues are used to move audience to identify with characters in his plays. Characters like *Yemoja*, in the play with the title *Yemoja* and Ulolo, the forebearer to King Onogie, become such individual personalities whose mind the dramatist prods and explores to know why they do what they have to do. *Yemoja* is ‘the mother who never forgets her own’ (12); she is also ‘the friend of the barren... mother of multitude children... the great deity of the river’ (13). Today, she remains extant in the hearts of

her worshipers as her incarnates in Osun; the goddess of Osun Rivers, and Oya, another river goddess, remain in reverence by their own worshipers. Her love and dedication of ensuring fertility of wombs and bountiful harvest, as found in the praise chants for the goddess rendered by the priestess, the worshipers and the town-crier, shows she is a generous deity who showers on them prosperity.

In the re-creation of myth, Yerima creates god-heroes with human attributes that outweigh their transcendental or numinous essence (Adeoti, 2007). They are like Greek gods and goddesses whose hubris bring them to the level of humanity that is not free from foibles and frailty, as they also exhibit intrigues, anger, jealousy, deceit, hatred and emotions. Today, in postcolonial time, Yemoja has been transformed to Emanja across the border, in the Carribean. Her heroic dignity places her above the intrigues of men and enjoys the global reverence as a deity. In the deep and complex structure of the plot, Yerima weaves together the past and the present, re-energizes the character of the mythical figure as events unfold from the present, merged synchronically into the mythical past by using resonance and allusion in characterisation and themes, and merges them into the present in the multicultural realities boundless in time and space.

Yerima achieves this transformation by adopting music, dances, poetry and evocative chants found from amongst performative elements in repertory of Yoruba culture. Olohun-Iyo (Voice) renders praise chants and panegyric, yet he represents an artiste as a social arbiter, who gives caution in the face of excesses. He is like contemporary artistes in Nigeria like Wole Soyinka, Femi Osofisan, Bode Sowande and others who use their arts to warn bad leaders in society and demand change. Olohun-Iyo uses his poetry to also advocate discretion amidst other gods like Ogun, Sango, Esu and Obatala, who in their individual capability display human attributes.

In *Dry Leaves On Ukan Trees*, Ulolo's action finds its meaning not in fantasy but in moral responsibility whose mind is capable of differentiating between the lines of duty and moral responsibility, as he says: "I was born to die anyway. Either way, my life is not mine" (55). At last, freedom comes his way when Odion decides to end the circle of the forbearers and stranglers. Yerima creates his great characters in history like Attahiru, Ameh Oboni, Ovoramwens to trigger, explore and interrogate them to find out why man always come to be a victim of his exploits by seeking reasons for change in the society.

Obafemi and Yerima appropriate the language of the colonial masters. Language takes a central position in literary activity. It is the tool, a writer uses to reveal his soul and to show his style. A dramatist, ultimately relies evidently on language to educate and entertain his audience. Linguistic identity is enlivened in a writer's style, through which a reader or critic of his arts attempts to dig deep, and fathom the depth of his or her feelings. Our comprehension of Obafemi and Yerima's works via language enables the understanding of their dramaturgies, and leanings on religious and cultural beliefs, folklore, myths, proverbs, superstitions, humor, poetry, life, death and life- after death and generally, their world views.

The postcolonial reality has necessitated the burden of appropriation; if we must not be left behind time, we must endeavour to carry 'the cross' on. The centuries of

truncation and violent decimation of lives into slavery, centuries of dislocation of African cultures, identities and politics by colonisation and the neo-colonial subjugation of socio-economic and political realism under globalisation; will continue to reflect in the use of language of writers in African literature. wa Thiongo (2007, 285) opines “that the language of African literature cannot be discussed meaningfully outside the context of those social forces which have made it both an issue demanding our attention and a problem call for a resolution”.

However, if we must bring the pieces of the “violated intergrity” together, writers who use English Language to mirror, reflect and build society with other collaborators will have to reason like Achebe (cited, wa Thiongo, 2007, 288) as he says “I feel that the English Language will be able to carry my African experience: But it will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit new African surroundings”. In tandem with Chinua Achebe’s view is Gabriel Okara’s justification for appropriating English Language; and his view is in consonance with diglossic approach attributed to the liguistic identities in the works of Obafemi and Yerima. The use of court poetry, chants, folklore, imageries and symbols, proverbs and other cultural idioms in thier interpreted forms in English language. On this pedestal of experimentation, by digging deep into the idioms, cultures and traditions, proverbs, imageries and symbols that writers like Obafemi and Yerima appropriate English Language. They ‘eschew the habit of expressing’ their thoughts in English, in the manner of Gabriel Okara, by appropriating English by embellishing it with idioms, proverbs and oral poetry found in the very culture they write about. In *Naira has no Gender*, Obafemi’s *Atmosphere One* depicts a Yoruba country-side tradition with its splendor of fauna river-habits, flora and natural colour. At this scene, Aina, a betrothed beautiful lady, in wrapper that scantily covers her breasts, and an underskirt, to show social level of the character and the environment, is fetching water from a stream. There, Otunla, coming back from hunting, gives her a jump, by throwing a bush rat at her, and romantically touches her exposed back and simply asks: “young woman. Can I scratch the wall?” (9). This question sparks off the discussion on the preparation of their wedding. The playwright, through dialogues and choice of words, exposes and criticises the modern day post-colonial ‘societal weddings’.

Yerima also experiments by appropriating English Language, and at the same time explores the cultures, tradtions, idioms, proverbs, images and symbols found in the environment of the culture he writes about. Yerima is one writer that has written about various cultures in his drama. The reasons for these unique multicultural understandings in his writings are his interest in Nigerian cultures; a glimpse of this can be found by reading why *Akuabata* means so much to him, thus:

Akuabata means a lot to me. Why? Because it allows me once again to go to the Igbo people and their wonderfully rich culture and tell another story. Otaelo and Idemili took me there twice and I have not regretted the uniqueness of the Igbo culture, the warmth and depth of character of the Igbo people and the constant conflict of religion found amongst them even though Catholic Christianity found deep roots there. All these are inestimable tools for a story-teller like me. I believe that no matter how hard one tries to embrace the new religion, the old one and the numerous

wonderful gods are always there staring at us, watching, saddened at being abandoned and waiting to take their revenge. May be this is why it is difficult sometimes to explain certain mysterious happenings that occur within families. (Yerima, 2008, 6)

One notes that Yerima is a painstaking researcher, before setting to write his plays, he digs into the culture, the language and the tradition of the people he is about to write on like any good playwright. Amidst tears and wailing, Duruaku, the head of Anyadoro family, brings totems to appease Iyieke, their family god. Those totems: a bottle of hot drink, a small calabash with white chalk, fresh palm fronds, red cockerel, alligator pepper and kolanut, are offered to propitiate Iyieke. In doing this, Duruaku praises their god, Iyieke both in Igbo and English Languages, to accept their supplications:

DURUAKU: Iyieke! Iyieke!
Otakiri gwom gwom
Oke mmanwu k'ibu
Mmanwu ukwu k'ibu
Oji ike egbu obodo
Otakiri gwom gwom
Quiet but all powerful
Iyieke, the father of Nwantike, the swift actor who once sent on an Errand can never be called back. Iyieke... It is I, Duruaku, head of the Anyadoro family who speaks with you... (9)

He goes on with the supplication by pouring libation so that Iyieke will show love to his children again. They want forgiveness, they want Iyieke to be warm, kind and help them to stop the death of their sons. It appears that they had abandoned Iyieke; now, they too are feeling being abandoned. This exposition sets the tone for the action of the drama. Why does Iyieke abandon his children? And why have his 'children' abandoned Iyieke too? This is a paradox that is weaved round marriage. Unlike marriage and its ceremony as subject in the dramatic action of *Naira Has No Gender*, which is based on domestic and social issues which individuals face within the socio-economic and political realities in Nigeria; marriage in *Akuabata* is a cataclysm between the physical and metaphysical. A marriage between a human being and a god. Olanma, becomes *Akuabata*, the wealth, the jewel of the family. A god marrying a living? She is free to procreate through any man or men of her choice, but not to be married to them. She must remain married to Iyieke, if the death of children in the family must stop. No, Olanma, at fifteen, revokes the bond. She must marry like any girl of her age. She wants to live a real life. Not to live in dreams and unfulfilled life. She runs away to Mbaise, where she marries Isiugwu. Olanma at twelve is ill and at the period, young male children are dying in the family, Olanma's father, Obiozor, as the head of the

Ayandoro family, seeks for the assistance of Iyieke, to cure Olanma and stop deaths of young male children in the family.

The reason for Olanma's refusal to remain faithful with the covenant can be found in her faith in the new religion apart from the need to live in fate as a real woman. A real woman, destined to marry a man and procreate through him, not to a god. But the fact is that Olanma is now a man. Any man wanting to marry her will not pay the bride price, you can not do that on a woman already married. Fate and religion intertwine in the choices Olanma needs to make between Iyieke who is the god of the family, and Jesus, the god of her new faith- Christianity. Thirty years later, vengeance revisits. The deaths of young males resume. Olanma herself suffers in the hands of Iyieke. Who will save the community? Would Olanma be ready to leave her husband, or ready to die within the next three days? Olanma would not. She will not yield to the pleadings of those women whose children are dying. At last, Obiageli, known as sister Mary, Olanma's only child, returns from the convent.

Obiageli, due to her mother's insistence and indulgence, becomes a sister who is supposed to be married to Jesus Christ, the Christian god. She arrives on the very day, that four souls must be taken by Iyieke for vengeance. Her mother is dying, her father is troubled and two young male children are lying critically ill. Her initial reason for leaving the convent is to realise her constant dreams. Those dreams make her body warm and sensuous to feel naturally as woman. In the constant dreams, a man's voice keeps ringing and she is always being left tired and loved. No, she cannot continue to be married to Christ, but a real man. She must leave the church, Obiageli wants sweet marriage and fruits of her womb. Ironically, Olanma refuses to marry Iyieke, but wishes her daughter to marry Jesus. In a twist of fatalistic reality, Obiageli, having been approached by the mothers of the dying children, Okwuchi and Egbeonu, agrees to become the Akuabata of the family. While sitting by the Iyieke shrine, the two women bring food to Obiageli; this gesture is construed as an offer to Iyieke, and an acceptance to serve him. At last, her parents' health are restored and the dying children become wholesome. The society is happy. Their thinking at the sound of cock-crow is that Obiageli's god, Jesu, has come to their aid; they come out of their huts singing and dancing

Suddenly, Obiageli's mother, Olanma, realises that something is amiss. She begins to look out for Obiageli. Too late, too late, because Obiageli has paid for the atonment of sins of her people. She has become the sacrificial lamb like Emma, in *The Strong Breed*, or more like Olunde, in *Death And The King's Horseman*, by Wole Soyinka; all find their meanings in the universal symbolic representation of Jesus Christ's crucifixion on the cross. She remains eternally married to Iyieke, now peace and harmony return to their community.

Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have examined the select playwrights of Obafemi and Yerima, not in their generational divides, but more in their ideological and postcolonial discourses within prism of their individual socio-political experiences. The categorisation of the two playwrights is based on their ideological positions. Yerima is situated within the

fold of the critical realists. As a critical realist, Yerima uses many dramatic forms; from the classical age, to roman age, to renaissance, modern, post-modern and colonial to postcolonial travelling theatre tradition, he places his materials as he uses them in his plays before the audience to ask for change! When he was being asked by this researcher, if drama as a social art can bring change, either as a radical writer or a critical writer? He answers, ‘no! But drama can point towards change. So drama mirrors life. This is reality. You remember Brecht? He talks about argument, but I talk about reasons for change’ (interview, 2012, 347).

It is known in concrete terms, why his drama engages politics by using history as proboscis to indicate the right direction. The concrete foundation for his vision as a playwright was made in his interactions with Wole Soyinka, under whom, according to Yerima, he “specialised in playwriting” (Interviewed by this writer, 2012, 348). Another major reason that makes him a ‘critical realist’ with heavy reliance on history and myths is due to his style of seeking for reasons why his protagonists have to do what they do. We may not assert categorically that Yerima belongs to the second generation post-colonial writers in Nigeria, because he was well established in the 1990s; nonetheless, he is a link between the two generations. Or, we may say, he is the leading light of the third generation. Obafemi, no doubt, is a member of the second generation without being on caustic antagonism to the first generation. However, in this comparative study, it is discovered that each writer does not write from his mind alone, he does that within the strictures of time, his experiences as a being and ultimately his style (the ontology of his world).

This study has revealed that postcoloniality indeed is a subject of history. In the course of over five centuries, Europe has made itself the centre of reason. The extenuated influence of history and civilisation is the paradigm of the relationship between the centre, the colonizers, and others at the periphery- the colonised. Some post-colonial theories and writers in Europe and America based their studies “on a number of settled assumptions” (Olaniyan, 2007, 640). This Eurocentric discourse is viewed within the matrices of the superior culture of the centre and the inferiorisation of black cultures. This understanding may seek reason why West has become the orbit around which the rest of the world revolves-the nucleus of globalisation, and a reason, out of many, for the cross-cultural influence. The post-independent Nigeria is indeed an “open sore...” according to Wole Soyinka (1996), considering the spate of corruption, poverty, starvation, ethnic suppressions and lack of visionary leadership in different perspectives, it is the “sorriest state of dystopia” It may be necessary for a collective approach, as Obafemi always suggest, hunting together for ‘Agurumo’. But would the hunt ever come to an end? Maybe, the post-colonial struggles within and without the continent of Africa and the rest of the World would be laid to rest when we redefine our human relationship back to the root-the spiritual essence of *‘live and let live for love- a true dialectics of biocentrism’*.

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RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND ART IN AFRICA

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Abstract

Art, especially religious art, is the external expression of the artist's personal vision, understanding, and under normal circumstances, a work of religious art, whether identified as Christian, Jain, or Aboriginal, is initiated from an identifiable faith commitment and communicates in the vernacular of that faith community. The intimacy between art and religion has prevailed beyond historical convolutions, transformations, and permutations in global cultural and religious values. Unimaginably arduous to label with a universal standard, the intercommunion between art and religion has endured proliferation, diversification, and diminution through world cultures and religions. The position of art whether in the broadest frame of religious studies, or a specific category such as church history or history of Buddhism, Islam and other religion, locates a useful parallel in traditional distinctions between the study of religion and the practice of religion. Historically, Western scholars, especially those intrigued by religious art, or what they may have identified as the interconnections between art and religion, emphasised the primary role that art played in religious practice. Traditionally, the academic study of religion has been distinguished by the suspension of personal faith commitments so that the scholarly deciphering and evaluation of art and religion encourages the innocent eye to be open to the multivalent meanings and influences of art upon religion, and of religion on art, without prejudgment or prejudice. This is not to suggest that the work of art is neutral or benign, for art is neither conceived nor executed in a vacuum.

Keywords: Art Education, Religion, Intimacy, Intercommunion, Faith, Religious art, and Community

Introduction

According to WesterHoff, 1978, in spite of the fact that the name Religious Studies has been utilised most of the time, there is no finished or predictable concession to what the word means or what it alludes to. Today, there is less simultaneousness than at any other time.

In schools today, there are as yet various phrasings for the subject. Some incline toward Religious Studies. At times, they are utilised conversely. Scott (1980) says that no agreement exists today on the nature, degree and job of Religious Studies. Scott (1980) trusts that flow inquiry to recognise rotates around various use of key terms like Religious Education, Religious Knowledge, Religious and Moral Instruction. Other issue is that since Religion manages qualities, decisions and sentiments, everybody in the general public will concur with it. The ramifications of the above is that the questionable idea of the subject, absence of reliable etymological talk and the insecure example of discussion presently going on in the field have added to making the subject troublesome and specialised.

Teague (1984) additionally talks on the poor techniques of conveying/showing the subject. Amid the National Conference of the National Association of Bible Knowledge Teachers of Nigeria (NABKTN) held at Bauchi State Polytechnic in 1989, it was uncovered that there had been a genuine decrease in the enrolment of understudies in the subject at auxiliary school level and tertiary organisations of learning.

Religious Education versus Teaching of Art in Nigeria

In Nigeria today, as more than ever before there is greater demand for highly creative and innovative teachers who can lead the students onto paths of meaningful learning. An effective and efficient teacher is also one of the factors that will contribute to effective instruction in education. The achievement of effective and efficient teaching and learning in schools has been one of the perennial problems in education. Other problems include the nature of the curriculum, controversial nature of the subjects and poor methods of instruction.

One of such subjects that is difficult to teach is religious studies. Religious studies before, lay emphasis on factual examination oriented approach and religious dogmas. Today, it has become a matter of investigation and experimentation rather than indoctrinations. Several factors have been attributed to the controversial nature of the subject.

They include:

- a. The nature of the subject,
- b. Confusion arising from the values of the theological idea,
- c. Theological values that characterised the contemporary thought about religious (Cox 1966), and
- d. The scope, meaning and concept of religious studies (Wester Hoff, 1978).

The Practice and the Study of Art and Religion

The situation of craftsmanship—regardless of whether in the broadest edge of religious investigations, or a particular class, for example, church history or history of Buddhism—finds a valuable parallel in conventional qualifications between the investigation of religion and the act of religion. Appropriate to workmanship just as to religion, this polarity surpasses the classifications of objectivity and subjectivity, for

"the doing of" religion (or craftsmanship) is physically and mentally unmistakable from "the reasoning about" religion (or craftsmanship). The telling refinements here incorporate acknowledgment of class, sex, and ethnicity just as instruction and the disclosure of the investigation of religion, and of craftsmanship and religion, as a Western insightful wonder. The act of religion is principally sited in love and religious instruction, or catechesis, in which craftsmanship either iconographically or allegorically imagines set up accounts to transmit religious thoughts and practices, to pass on religious facts and rehearses, and to advance love separately and collectively.

Customarily, the scholastic investigation of religion has been recognised by the suspension of individual confidence responsibilities, so the insightful decoding and assessment of craftsmanship and religion urges the guiltless eye to be available to the multivalent implications and impacts of workmanship upon religion, and of religion on workmanship, without prejudice or bias. This isn't to propose that craft by craftsmanship is nonpartisan or considerate, for workmanship is neither imagined nor executed in a vacuum. The criticalness of workmanship, paying little respect to medium or basic examination, is its social embeddedness by which it empowers reflection on past social chronicles, association with contemporary social frames of mind, and projection of developing social qualities. The principal uncertainty in the perusing or impression of craftsmanship verifies its heuristic and multivalent nature.

Notwithstanding methodology or religion explored, workmanship and religion requests have been started from two basic, in many cases certain, questions—"what makes craftsmanship religious?" and "how is religion masterful?" Since the 1970s, grant in workmanship and religion has fused a few other basic inquiries into the methods of methodology in both research and distributions. These basic inquiries influenced the bearing of study and elucidation process. Essential among these basic inquiries is the issue of the "beginning stage" for a craftsmanship and religion examination. The decisions go from an individual masterpiece or a gathering of works, to one craftsman or a gathering (school) of specialists, to a particular verifiable or religious occasion, to another religious principle or a solitary iconographic theme. The second basic inquiry is the thing that craftsmanship is to be considered. Every agent builds up a lot of criteria to observe craftsmanship as high or low, workmanship as pop culture, craftsmanship as material culture, and workmanship as a component of visual culture. The significant choice is whether the focal point of study is a generally characterised show-stopper or from one of the spaces of craftsmanship, for example, society workmanship, photography, or pop culture.

The Nature of the Relationship(s)

The customarily disputable and indistinct interconnections among craftsmanship and religion proffer five unmistakable connections that can be ordered as recognised by power (Apostolos, 1996) and that reach out past mana to incorporate financial, gendered, political, societal, and religious ideas of intensity. The first is dictator, in which craftsmanship is liable to religion. The tyrant relationship allows the wrong spot for aesthetic imagination, distinction, or creativity; rather, workmanship and craftsmen are constrained by the more recognisable expert as craftsmanship ends up visual

purposeful publicity. The second relationship is that of resistance, wherein both workmanship and religion are equivalent forces, and keeping in mind subservient to the next, there is a consistent battle to oppress the other. The third relationship is one of commonality when these two "rise to" possess the equivalent social condition in a harmonious association of roused support. The fourth relationship is rebel, as each work autonomous of and without respect for the other, as in a skeptical religious condition or a common culture. The fifth relationship is bound together, so their individual personalities become so totally mixed into a solitary substance, it is difficult to perceive what is workmanship based on what is religion.

Religious Categories for Art

Craftsmanship has played out an assortment of jobs in the situations, ceremonies, and lessons of world religions, from reverential articles to supernaturally enlivened attempts to communicators of holy information. Through instructional method, dedications, and examination, craftsmanship has supported the improvement and foundation of religious personality for both individual adherents and the bigger aggregate network. One of the regularising and essential methods of reasoning for workmanship with regards to religion is "to show the confidence" by methods for emblematic and authentic delineations of the major sacrosanct accounts and principles. This educational, instructional part of workmanship in religion is recognised as "visual philosophy." Representational craftsmanship can give noticeable models to fitting conduct, dress, stances, signals, and methods of ritualistic activities, and emblematic and authentic formal objects of wonderful structure and extents can upgrade the religious services. Gambone (1989) submits that this formal, sacrosanct, or ceremonial element of workmanship in religion is marked "visual sacrament." Whether emblematic or illustrative, gems that instigate petition or bring out close to home commitments are distinguished as "visual consideration." Art that offers profound direction as the images and pictures encourage the fan into an encounter of amazing quality or transitory experience with the holy are arranged as "visual magic".

According to Dillenberger (1999), he opines that the representative vocabulary of themes, pictures, or signs that exchange religious significance and philosophical principles in a mode open just to be started as the specialty of "visual codes." Art that improves through plan and designing the religious condition or the experience of profound experience for the devotee is recognised as "visual adornment." The craft of any of the world's religions can likewise be a blend of any of these classifications with the goal that one work can be emblematic and magical or educational and ritualistic. Regardless, there are dependable masterpieces that are troublesome, if not difficult to order, for example, the muqarnas, or stalactite embellishment of Islamic engineering, which a few researchers and devotees distinguish as excellent structure and others translate as the assortment of God's solidarity.

Religious Responses to Art

The reaction to religious craftsmanship is predicated upon individual confidence, articulated doctrine, religious frames of mind toward the picture, and tasteful quality

anticipated by crafted workmanship. The usable standard ought to be that as the epitome of the holy, a religious picture accommodates prompt and perpetual access to the divinity. Such a reaction, notwithstanding, would require the adherent's receptivity to the intensity of pictures and the supremacy of hallowed nature. The down to earth truth is that even one work of religious craftsmanship can collect an assorted variety of reactions, every one of which is needy upon the adherent's previously established inclinations with respect to religious experience and the picture. For instance, Bramadat (2000) testifies that this variety of reaction to one picture; think about that of Śiva Nataraja, the celestial artist who makes and crushes the universe with every stride. Śiva is welcome to enter a picture of himself toward the start of custom supplication or functions; his essence might be never-ending or transitory, in spite of the fact that the physical picture suffers through crafted craftsmanship.

All through the custom, both Śiva and his sacrosanct vitality live inside the picture however, these leave when the ceremonial finds some conclusion. The picture stays as a visual guide for individual dedication and supplication and as a visual recognition of the god's movement so Śiva's consecrated nearness is known even in his nonappearance. The imaginative rendering of Śiva Nataraja works as a visual notice of the heavenly nature's presence instead of an exemplification or transitory repository of the consecrated; it consequently turns into a focusing point for contemplation, supplication, custom, or religious experience. For some lovers, such a picture is basically the purpose of commencement toward their individual "objective" to rise above materiality and to rise to a mysterious condition of imageless association with the heavenly. Different adherents observe such a picture to be essentially an instructive article yet not pertinent for individual petition, commitments, or enchanted encounters. For a skeptic, such a picture of Śiva Nataraja ought to be denied, if not annihilated, as much out of a dread of worshipful admiration as a straightforward doubt of pictures.

What is most critical in the human reaction to religious workmanship is that even an insignificant reaction gives a section into the experience of or investment in celestial power and vitality. Works of religious workmanship, for devotees, are not just material articles but rather go between of otherworldly energies. At the same time as viable area and a separating from aficionados, hallowed space is made by the nearness of a religious picture. Perceived as a religious picture in numerous religions, the human body is recognised as an impression of the perfect assortments of the divine beings and goddesses in Classical Greece and as an object of glorification in certain Hindu factions and African conventions. In this way, the reaction of the human body to religious workmanship gives a stylish channel to dedications, consideration, supplication, and love.

Fowler's Faith Development Model

Fowler (2004) takes Niebuhr's (2004) concept of confidence and extends it to make a confidence advancement model, which some religious teachers utilised as a guide for creating religious instruction educational modules. Confidence, as indicated by Fowler, is comprehended as a human widespread and can incorporate, yet isn't restricted or indistinguishable from religion as conviction. Conviction is one method for

communicating and conveying confidence, however conviction and confidence are not something very similar (Adams, 1991). A predicament standing up to the utilisation of the term confidence, be that as it may, is whether it can ever be separated from its Judeo-Christian legacy. Fowler presents three working contentions in light of this issue of isolating confidence from conviction. To start with, confidence is a dynamic example of individual trust towards a focal point of qualities. This extends Niebuhr's idea of confidence, which depends on a between close to home relationship that gives a feeling of trust and constancy. From this viewpoint, we will in general, spotlight our lives on people, causes, standards or foundations that we very esteem. Secondly, confidence likewise alludes to a dynamic example of individual trust in specific pictures and substances of intensity. The inquiry stays with respect to what pictures of intensity and substances we adjust ourselves so as to have a sense of safety throughout everyday life. These pictures and substances of intensity started from the snapshot of outset and are built amid the early long periods of youth improvement.

The pictures and substances of intensity comprise the inner universe of a tyke, who looks towards these as a wellspring of solace, like the manner by which a tyek becomes joined to a sweeping, teddy bear or doll. At long last, confidence alludes to an individual dynamic of trust towards a common ace account that is intended to provide guidance to our lives. Fowler's comprehension of confidence surmises that every person endeavours to discover importance in their lives when the individual faces the truth of their own mortality. Coward (1999) believes that this reaches out past a simple religious comprehension to an existential one and gives a progressively comprehensive and "acculturating" structure that does not benefit the perspective and arrangement of qualities that characterise any one specific religion. As such, Fowler endeavours to develop an existential idea of confidence that can incorporate, however isn't constrained to, religious conviction. Fowler sorts the developing procedure of confidence into seven distinct stages.

The pre-phases of confidence happen at early stages, which Fowler calls "undifferentiated faith." Faith in this setting is made out of our first experience of "commonality" with the outer world. Be that as it may, Fowler calls attention to the fact that there is a risk of supporting confidence if there is an inability to give commonality in either bearing. This is tended psychoanalytic hypothesis, explicitly, object relations hypothesis. For instance, John McDargh, draws on Fowler's meaning of confidence, an article relations hypothesis to recommend that a newborn child's first relationship is moulded by fragmentary impression of the person. The newborn child at that point moves from a divided view of reality to the acknowledgment that not the focal point of the outer world. This is the minute when images begin to grab hold in the Tyek's perspective. At this phase of advancement, confidence starts to shape when the youngster starts making relationship with the images she trusts. After this time of early stages, Fowler recognises the principal phase of confidence as happening between the ages of two and six. According to Adams (1991), he said that youngsters amid this period will utilise discourse and emblematic portrayal to compose the importance of their tangible experience. They begin sorting out the images and language they have obtained through a procedure of enculturation to make their own huge affiliations

managing confidence. Their reasoning amid this period is liquid and structures the reason for the advancement of confidence.

Youngsters at this age are unfit to conceptualise two alternate points of view on one specific subject. For example, youngsters will see somebody splitting five glasses securing dishes after supper as far more regrettable than somebody breaking a solitary glass while taking a treat. The youngster will in general spotlight on the demonstration itself than the plan of the demonstration. Amid this stage, Fowler likewise asserts that confidence is all inclusive and pertinent to each Tyek, paying little mind to the family where they are raised. Since religious images and language are so broadly present, Fowler infers that for all intents and purposes, no youngster achieves school age without having built a thought of religion, or a picture of God. This is a developmental phase of confidence improvement for the youngster on the grounds that in adulthood, they should separate these pictures and re-make them in light of their advancing arrangement of confidence.

Applying Fowler's Model to Education

There is a chance to amend Fowler's comprehension of confidence advancement to address the one of a kind need of kids without pushing a specific religious plan. Current instructive practices for kids, recognise that the social images that shape a kid's perspective will in the long run be tested. It is now that confidence can be used to reshape the implications ascribed to these early images. Revamping these images requires a development in confidence, which is portrayed by another thankfulness for creative ability and the ability to partake in a progressively liquid, supernatural sort of reasoning.

This developed type of confidence offers a feeling of soundness even with life's numerous difficulties. As Fowler expresses, "every one of us in early youth frames a 'content' – a sort of oblivious story that takes structure in us before we are five years old." (Fowler, 2004). Confidence shapes the manner in which an individual understands his or her own content. Primal confidence happens at outset and means the most punctual type of confidence. The reason for base confidence is to facilitate the newborn child's partition from the parent, or "other," without undue uneasiness or dread of the loss of self. This procedure of base confidence advancement, combined with the discoveries of item relations hypothesis, points out the significance of the newborn child's first association with the all-encompassing world. Item relations hypothesis recommends that a youngster utilises a transitional article to mitigate the partition procedure. John McDargh claims that we can't completely comprehend what constrains people to look for confidence, without first understanding something about our relationship to transitional items. In spite of the fact that the connections to transitional articles don't decide the course of confidence, it gives an establishment to its advancement. The honesty of a baby's feeling of confidence is verified by how the person uses items to explore the world past them. Amid the second time of confidence advancement, the "natural projection organise," portrayals of items take cognisant structure and are formed by a youngster's encounters of their folks or different grown-ups. Eisler (2005) reported that on the off chance that a kid has a positive involvement

with her dad and is, at that point acquainted with the possibility of a maker God, the picture and story of "God" will be intelligent of the tyke's image of her dad. Regardless of whether the kid quits having faith in God, amid a snapshot of emergency, the individual could possibly go to a previous picture of God as an approach to alleviate the uneasiness related with the circumstance.

According to Ana-Maria (1979), she believes that this period is critical in light of the fact that they underscore both the positive and negative significance of framing deep rooted directions of confidence. It is likewise critical to bring up that parental figures assume a crucial job in organising a newborn child's comprehension of confidence, yet the way of life additionally adds to this procedure by esteeming the correspondence of trust. Instances of Fowler's confidence advancement hypothesis are found in Catholic training in Canada. Customarily utilised as a strategy for educating ecclesial certainties about the Catholic convention, it has since developed into recognising the confidence phases of the individual, while utilising religion as a setting for the examination. This encourages the procedure of confidence, yet regardless, it doesn't give images and pictures that are open to the perspective of the understudies.

This introduces a test for instruction, yet the result is beneficial, given the emphasis is on putting the understudies at the focal point of the instructive teaching method. It includes making an advantaged spot for the confidence advancement of kids and taking care of the limits of the tyke in each phase of their development. Fowler (2004) reported that before a kid's ability to frame a comprehension of religious lessons, they secure those lessons through the pictures and practices of confidence. As opposed to endeavouring to take conceptual ideas brought about by scholars and discovering approaches to rearrange it for kids, connecting with kids in confidence causes them to make and continue their own gratefulness for creative ability, information and good advancement.

It isn't sufficient to simply give youngsters images and show them how to execute them in their very own confidence. As indicated by Fowler, "genuine images have profundities and expansiveness of implying that overflow our interpretative classes and capacities. They develop top to bottom as capacities to translate them create" (David, 2008). Despite the wellspring of these images, having the option to pass on the pictures in account, workmanship, and custom can stir a profound creative ability. A youngster's perspective is now prepared for this kind of creative energy and building a solid establishment early can help scaffold changes into different periods of their life. Doing as such, will animate the developing youngster to guarantee a mutual feeling of personality in connection to the amazing account of their lives. This does not decrease confidence advancement to an instrument intended to persuasively develop a kid, yet helps manage them through the procedure of confidence development while as yet, enabling them to be youngsters. For the individuals who grasp basic improvement speculations, "they find that the framework that the hypothesis offers is likewise useful in forming the instructive points engaged with educating and investigating confidence customs" (Fowler, 2004).

Conclusion

The position of art, whether in the broadest frame of religious studies, or a specific category such as church history or history of Buddhism, Islam and other religions, locates a useful parallel in traditional distinctions between the study of religion and the practice of religion. The relationship between art and education and religion can be sustainable if humans strive to understand the importance of these agents in man's existence.

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KWAGH-HIR THEATRE VS FACEKURADE THEATRE: A COMPARATIVE PERFORMANCE ANALYSIS

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Abstract

The indigenous theatre landscape in Africa and indeed Nigeria offer a rich resource for the articulation and appreciation of indigenous performance modes. This results from the fact that indigenous performances in Nigeria are closely tied to the socio-cultural and religious essence of the people. Thus, theatre scholars in Nigeria in recent years have through the interrogation of indigenous performance forms made pivotal contributions in the field of indigenous theatre aesthetics. The Kwagh-hir performance mode of the Tiv and the Ekuechi facekuerade performance of the Ebira are two of such indigenous performance and theorizations, which offer aesthetic insight into the procedures for appreciating indigenous theatre forms. As such, this paper carries out a comparative analysis of the Kwagh-hir and the Ekuechi Facekuerade performances with a view to underscoring the performance elements, which make up their unique theatrical/performance aesthetics. Thus, drawing from the postulations of Schechner and Goffman as it relates to performance theory, which views performance as an integral cultural event, the paper interrogates the aesthetics of performance structure, space, performer, audience and songs; stressing their place in the composite make up of both theatre forms. The paper posits that both the Kwagh-hir and the Ekuechi Facekuerade theatres share similarities in performance elements such as space, nature of performers and audience composition and relationship. The paper therefore concludes that both theatre forms possess inseparable links to the cosmological believe of the societies, which produced them.

Keywords: Facekuerade, Kwagh-hir, Performance, Aesthetics, Theatre

Introduction

Africa and indeed Nigeria is blessed with diverse and unique performance traditions, many of which have contributed to unarguably affirming the presence of theatre in

Africa. As such, the debate as to whether theatre exists in Africa or not has been rendered obsolete and perhaps obliterated resulting from the numerous scholarly insights that point to the thriving practice of indigenous theatre forms in Africa. In Nigeria, scholars such as Adelugba (1976), Enekwe (1981) and Ogunbiyi (1981), had long argued for the existence of indigenous theatre expressed in the rich and diverse cultural performances resident in different traditions. The barrage of traditional cultural performances offers numerous potentials for theorisation regarding indigenous theatre. This is why Ogunbiyi (1981:3) argues that: “there exists a robust theatrical tradition in Nigeria. The primitive root of that tradition must be sought in the numerous religious rituals and festivals that exist in many Nigerian communities. For, as an expression of the relationship between man, society and nature, drama arose out of fundamental human needs in the dawn of human civilisation and has continued to express those needs ever since”. Owing to the position above, the last three decades has witnessed a shift by Nigerian dramatist and scholars towards the unearthing of indigenous theatre traditions, which has indeed led to the tremendous broadening of the scope of scholarship regarding the form and content of indigenous theatre in Nigeria.

Therefore, scholars such as Sam Ukala, Sunday Ododo and Iyorwuese Hagher amongst others have made significant strides in interrogating distinct indigenous and folk theatre forms and consequently evolving a likewise distinct folk theatre aesthetics drawing heavily from particular performance traditions which are expressly deep-rooted in a vibrant tradition and culture. This is not unconnected to the fact that folk theatre performances represent the shared experiences of a people, the institutions derived from their lived experiences and the values vital for the endurance of their existence. As such, the role of Folk theatre in exuding significant theoretical contributions by scholars in the field of theatre as well as the emergence of indigenous performance aesthetics cannot be overemphasised. This is because as a composite art, folk theatre encapsulates performances with a fusion of elements from the rich numerous performance forms such as: Rituals (libations, festivals, magic, spell, masquerade), Speech Surrogates (chants, prayers, songs, riddles and incantations), Instrumentals Sounds (signals, flutes, drums, bells, rattles etc), Costumes (masks, stools, skins, weapons, clothes, live animals, tattoos, scarification etc), Masquerades, Drums, Audience, Actors and gods etc (Mark, 2017:70).

Consequently, most indigenous performance forms in Nigeria comprise activities that are strongly tied to traditional / religious beliefs of the communities which perform them. They often demonstrate the cosmological relationship between the adherents of these practices and their links to the transcendental world of spirit beings and deities. Although there are traceable similarities in the essence of most indigenous performances in Nigeria as well as in Africa, due to their inextricable links to belief systems, their form and aesthetics often times remain dynamic and distinct one from another.

The Kwagh-hir Theatre and the Facekuerade Theatre are two seminal theorisations by Iyorwuese Hagher and Sunday Ododo that have made significant impact on theatre scholarship in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. Both theoreticians borrowed from their distinct traditional performance form to evolve a unique theatre aesthetics and paradigm, which reflects the innovation, depth and consistency of theatre

scholarship in Nigeria. Hagher conceptualises Kwagh-hir theatre from the rich performance tradition of the Kwagh-hir belonging to the Tiv people of Benue State. The Kwagh-hir comprises many art forms, namely: story telling, poetry, puppetry, music, dance, and dramatisation (Hagher 2003:48). As such, Hagher's conceptualisation of Kwagh-hir theatre stems from the composite nature of the Kwagh-hir; therefore, making room for his extrapolations on its potentials as a tool for social control. Similarly, Sunday Ododo birthed the facekuerade theatre having keenly interrogated the mask-less masquerade paradigm in the Ekuechi festival of the Epira of Kogi State in Nigeria. The pivotal force behind the theorisation of the facekuerade theatre results from the position that across cultures in Nigeria, and Africa, evidence abounds of masquerades that do not don masks but are expressly called masquerades (Ododo 2010:28). Thus, the distinguishing theatrical features of the facekuerade theatre are the playing space, music and songs, dance, play-within-play and role-playing, and aesthetic supernumeraries.

Suffice it to note that both the Kwagh-hir and the Facekuerade theatres hold unique performance traditions, which epitomises their theatricality. Although both theatres have enjoyed wide spread interrogation and have been individually tested through application by many scholars, no attempt has been made to juxtapose or rather critically compare their performance aesthetics as theatrical events. It is in this light that this paper attempts a comparative analysis of both the Kwagh-hir theatre and the facekuerade theatre within the overall ambience of performance theory, in order to showcase their performance aesthetics as prominent indigenous theatres in Nigeria.

Conceptual Premise

To start with, understanding the connotations of performance as a concept is essential to the interrogation of indigenous theatre forms in Nigeria/Africa. The concept of Performance is one that has been greeted with recurring contestations. It is often times difficult to understand. However, some scholars have tried to provide a framework through which it could be understood. Richard Schechner, one of the most prominent voices in the field of Performance Studies explains that as the application of embodied skill and knowledge, performance is behaviour twice behaved, repetition, "restored behavior" (Schechner 1985: 35-116), in which performers often-but not always-have some responsibility either to an audience or to each other (Margaret Drewal 1991:1). Schechner further articulates two realms within which performance can be understood. According to him, the first is looking at individual and social human behaviour as a genre of performance; and the other is looking at performance as a kind of personal or social interaction. Schechner's postulation above was perhaps drawn from Erving Goffman's studies on performance. Goffman in defining performance notes that:

A "performance" may be defined as all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion, which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants. Taking a particular participant and his performance as a basic point of reference, we may refer to those who contribute to the other performances as the audience, observers, or co-participants. The

pre-established pattern of action which is unfolded during a performance and which may be presented or played through on other occasions may be called a “part” or a “routine.” These situational terms can easily be related to conventional structural ones. When an individual or performer plays the same part to the same audience on different occasions, a social relationship is likely to arise. Defining social role as the enactment of rights and duties attached to a given status, we can say that a social role will involve one or more parts and that each of these different parts may be presented by the performer on a series of occasions to the same kinds of audiences or to an audience of the same persons. (1959: 15-16).

Goffman’s submission above although vague, provides insights that point to an understanding of what performance entails. What is striking from his position on the one hand is that a performance comprises activities that are preplanned and of which people have become accustomed. On the other hand, he suggests that a performance also comprises events/happenings that unfold naturally everyday living and interactions of individual. Thus, clearing the path for a better understanding, Drewal (1991:1) explains that:

Performance is the praxis of everyday social life; indeed, it is the practical application of embodied skill and knowledge to the task of taking action. Performance is thus a fundamental dimension of culture as well as the production of knowledge about culture, it might include anything about individual agent's negotiation of everyday life to the stories people tell each other, popular entertainments, political oratory, guerrilla warfare, to bounded events such as theatre, ritual, festival, parades, and more.

Thus, if we go by the second part of Drewal’s explanation, there is a sense in which indigenous theatre performances are so implicated. Thus, what can be gleaned from the positions of Schechner, Goffman and Drewal on performance is the constant variables of the performers, the space and the presence of the audience/observer or co-participants as Goffman (1959) describes them. Perhaps, Schechner properly communicates this by stating that performance is the whole constellation of events, most of them passing unnoticed, that take place among both performers and audience from the time the first spectator enters the field of the performance - the precinct where theatre takes place – to the time the last spectator leaves.

The idea of audiences as co-participants of a performance is vital to the conception of performance in indigenous theatre. This is because as Krama (2000:3) observes, indigenous African theatre is an expression of the people, institutions and experiences of the African communal society. Similarly, Mark (2017:70) avers; “indigenous performances thrive in the communal nature of the African society. It does

not seek to alienate the individual as is common with Western theatre, but strives to reintegrate the individual back into the community. As such, African theatre thrives in communal existence". Hagher (1987:vi) further asserts that every generation and every community purchases a theatre that is unique to the needs and aspirations of that community and generation. The validity of Mark and Hagher's positions is traceable in the structure and nature of traditional performances such as: rituals, festival celebrations: poetry, dances, masquerade performances, songs, drum ensemble etc., in which there is a bond between the performers, space and the audience. Thus, the performances are most times intricately linked to the socio-cultural and cosmological beliefs of the audiences and as such, these performances are a part of what defines them as a people.

Thus, a proper unbundling of the performer, space and audience relationship in traditional theatre performances is sacrosanct to the intentions of this paper. The performers in traditional/folk theatre performances comprise human actors, spirit actors, and audience actors (Mark 2017). According to Krama (2000), human actors have no limitation in terms of number or gender as both male and female actors play complementing roles. He argues that the Chief Priest or a prominent actor may be a male or female, depending on the role and nature of the performance. Krama (2000) provides further insight into the dynamics of the human, spirit and audience actors within the context of the performer, space and audience relationship using the Iria rites of the Ogoni people:

In masquerade performances, though the males carry the masks, the females may be the attendants or dancers. The human actors include dancers, drummers, mask carriers, attendants, choric groups and the audience. At some points, there is fluidity in the distinction between the audience and the prominent actors. The audience may join in the dance or may interrupt into the performing area to cheer or paste money and gifts on the performers. At this point, it becomes difficult to distinguish between the spectators and the actual performers. The spirit actors; the gods, are also believed to be actively present in the performance. Sometimes, the gods become physically visible by the presence of a masquerade or totem, and sometimes invisible only to be communicated through signs or mediums like the Priests. The spirit actors include gods and ancestors; and accounts for why certain leaps and falls by performers may be attributed to the influence of the gods and spirits, who are present at the event. The audience actors comprises the people who gather to watch the performance without participating (nominal audience), the audience which actively participates in the performance (participant - audience), and the spirit audience which represents the presence of the gods and ancestors, which are believed to be present; supervising the performance. (31)

While the above description is specific to a particular socio-cultural context, the roles of the human, spirit and audience actors can be traceable in most of the

traditional theatre performances extant in Nigeria. Space plays a significant role in theatre performances in Africa. According to Krama (2000), the stage or place of performance has a special significance and honour in most performances. Most performances are done in the shrine, playground or street. The performance space might be an arena, which is the central meeting place. It symbolises the relationship between the major social groups, their ancestors and channels of communication between the humans (34).

Similarly, Ododo (2015:124) writing about the Ekuechi festival explains that space is an organising force of the people's socio-economic and spiritual engagements. He goes further avers: "space is free and accessible to everyone, divinities, spirits, witches and other supernatural forces. Usually located at the heart of the town, spaces like crossroads, playgrounds, open-air markets, streets, motor-parks, and village/town squares, even in their ordinariness assume ritual and social significance during performances" (124). Again, Ododo draws attention to the symbiotic relationship between the performer, space and audience as vital to the life of traditional theatre performances. As the last component of this tripod, the audiences in traditional performances play a very important role in the enactment of the performance. The audiences in traditional theatre performances are part of the performance. They consist of members of the community and they make contributions in the creation of the performance. Krama (2000) and Ododo (2015), reveal that the composition of the audience is both physical and spiritual. This is because the cosmic globe within which traditional theatres manifest, have the capacity to connect the physical and the non-physical, the mundane and the spiritual. As such, the audience; both human and spiritual, is "co-participants in traditional theatre performances" (Goffman 1959).

Consequently, there is no gainsaying that the traditional theatre performances are unique in structure and style. The Kwagh-hir theatre as well as the Ekuechi Facekuerade theatre being manifestations of traditional theatre forms bear attributes of the performance aesthetics which this section has so far tried to unravel. As such, this vivid incursion into performance theory above provides a framework for the interrogation of both the Kwagh-hir theatre and the Ekuechi facekuerade theatre as theatre traditions.

Understanding the Kwagh-hir and Ekuechi Facekuerade Theatres

This section provides a brief into the Kwagh-hir and Facekuerade theatres. The Kwagh-hir, which literally means "something of magic" or "something magical" in Tiv language, is an event providing secular entertainment, education and socialisation through the enactment of past and contemporary events by human performers, using puppets and masquerades. It is not a religious event. The actors do not assume the role of priests. It can therefore not be considered as a ritual. Although not a ritual, the Kwagh-hir is still an integral event within the Tiv socio-cultural landscape. According to Hagher (2003:56) the Kwagh-hir can be classified into three categories corresponding to the Tiv worldview; the human, the animals, the spirits (*Adzov*, *Mbastav*) and other supernatural phenomenon like giants and strange animals with characteristics.

Thus, the Kwagh-hir is a reflection of the Tiv religion and is built around certain beliefs that find expression in the *Adzov*, *Mbatsav*. Hagher (2003) reports that “Adzov are central to Tiv religious belief..., they believe in the existence of Adzov as the spirits that occupy the same space as the TIV, engage in the same art of living (cultural practices) and at times could manifest themselves in human form”. Similarly, *Mbastav* which means possessor of *Tsav* or a person controlled by *Tsav* is the religious-magical and psycho-religious as well as philosophical and ideological representative of the Tiv people’s conception of their world. *Tsav* is therefore the spiritual manipulation of supernatural forces by certain individuals who acquire the authority over these forces through birth or through initiation into magical cult (Hagher 2003:29). Consequently, the belief concerning the *Tsav* is the dominant force and dynamic of Tiv religion. It is viewed as the underlying philosophy of Tiv religion. In essence, the Kwagh-hir like Tiv religion operates on a metaphorical level.

The Kwagh-hir comprises many art forms, namely: story telling, poetry, puppetry, music, dance, dramatisation. Hagher (2003:183) providing a general overview of the intent of Kwagh-hir notes:

the Kwagh-hir is a loaded metaphor and is simply not a neutral medium. It is closely bound to Tiv humanity. The Kwagh-hir is a complex art that cannot really be meaningfully dissected into its various artistic constituents. Rather the kwagh-hir expresses a unity where many of its elements can be discovered.... It is committed to freedom from powerful secular gods (the rich men) and from powerful malevolent spirit (*Mbatsav*) that distorts the people’s lives by inflicting uncertainty and pain. The performance and the various mis-en-scenes are armed to play the magic of charming the audience and freeing consciousness from day to day pains, cares and prejudices into the light of a new knowledge that the land deserves to have harmony of all humanity and all life.

As a theatrical performance, the aesthetic foundation of the Kwagh-hir according to Hagher (2003) is to return mankind to laughter, which is best expressed when there is harmony as expressed above. Therefore, the aesthetic foundation and focus on harmony is what situates the Kwagh-hir style to its expressive mode ruled by playfulness and surprise. The performers manifesting as musicians, dancers and audience, together create an activity, the Kwagh-hir, the magic, which is characterised by specialised nuances that are unique to the Tiv culture.

The Facekuerade theatre on the other hand, is an extrapolation of the Ekuechi performance tradition belonging to the Ebira Tao people of Kogi state. Ekuechi is located within the *Ekuechi* performance art of the Ebira, which is coordinated by the *Ekuechi* cult. *Ekuechi* is an ancestral masquerade and a representative of the ancestors. According to Ododo (2015:xxi), *Ekuechi* is believed to descend (*chi*) from the world beyond during Ekuechi festival. *Ekuechi* and *chi* thus, respectively form the prefix and suffix in *Ekuechi e Chi*. Literally translated, it means the ancestors are descending. The above clearly shows the link between the Ekuechi festival and the cosmological belief of the Ebira people; again

validating the notion that performances in Africa are deeply connected to the socio-cultural existence of the people.

Ododo (2015 xxii) explains further that:

the Eku performance art enjoys so much importance amongst Ebira people because of its linkages to ancestral celebration. For the Ebira, Eku is an ancestral spirit; the masked performer is not perceived to represent the ancestor but seen as the ancestor himself because the human agency in the masked performance is willfully denied. *Ekuechi* is part of Ebira cultural cosmo; it is not religion but a significant part of a way of life because it is an organizing force of the social system of the people. Every Ebira person irrespective of contemporary religious persuasion is inextricably woven into *Ekuechi* concept, because its ritual and performance essence are directed at improving the entire society. Whether one is actively involved in the ritual process or not, the derivative blessings are collectively enjoyed.

Consequently as a popular festival, the *Ekuechi* is celebrated with pomp and pageantry with a dynamic integration of poetry, chants, mimicry, mime dance mask and significant cultural symbols. It is very colourful, vibrant, vigorous, invigorating and has great capacity to include audience participation. Songs music dance, interpretative drumming and colourful and weird costumes with make-up are its mainstay. It is an arena for assessing the creative ingenuity of Ebira because of the rich presence of cultural artifacts used to enhance the artistry of the performance (Ododo 2015).

It is important to note that within the *Ekuechi* cult there are five prominent masquerades which perform during the *Ekuechi* festival namely: *Ekuechi'rahu* or *Ekuechi'ojiahe*, *Ekuechi'ahete*, *Ekuechi'okise*, *Ekuechi'oodu* or *Ekuechi'echichi* and *Ekuechi'oba* Amongst these masquerades, the *Ekuechi'rahu* does not wear mask and performs during the night; the *Ekuechi'rahu* is the star masquerade performer at the *Ekuechi* festival. As such, the *Ekuechi'rahu* although mask-less is still very much revered, as a potent reflection of the ancestors by the Ebira people. The mysticism that surrounds the performance of the *Ekuechi'rahu* even reinforces the image of its masquerade essence. It is this knowledge that informs the facekuerade theatre aesthetics which Ododo (2015:4) describes thus:

Facekuerade therefore refers to a performance masquerade character without mask. Even though his audience encounters him face to face, the spiritual essence of the masquerade character is not devalued. He is still revered and held in high esteem. Facekuerade is an engaging metaphor in action capable of transforming events, performance realities and even mediates between structures of social system.

Thus, having attempted to provide an insight into the two theatre traditions, paper will proceed to engage in a comparative analysis of the performance aesthetics in the next section.

Comparative Performance Analysis of the Kwagh-hir and Facekura Theatre Aesthetics

The performance analysis of these two unique theatre traditions will be carried out within the framework of performance theory. This will enable a proper interrogation of the performance aesthetics of both theatre traditions. As such, the following parameters will function as guides within which the aesthetics of both the Kwagh-hir and the facekura theatre will be interrogated: structure, performers space and audience.

Performance Structure

Understanding the Performance structure of any theatrical event is pertinent to interrogating its aesthetics. The Kwagh-hir performance is conceived within a unique structure that accommodates the distinct performances in its repertoire. As an event, the Kwagh-hir can be categorised into four separate activities: The *mir Kwagh-hir* (the event), *Kar iyol* (rehearsals), *Due-a-kyav* (stage setting) and; *ta Kwagh-hir* (the performance). Our focus however, is on the *ta kwagh-hir* which is the performance. The performance is sub-divided into three distinct performances (i) *Kwan yaren* (the opening glee) (ii). *Due nyam* (masquerade performance and; (iii) *nyor dagbera* (puppet animation). Hagher (2003:162) described the process of *Kwan yaren* as follows:

The musician and chorus of singers begin on a familiar tune. A sort of signal tune, the words of which tell the audience the identity of the performers. Such details such as where the group comes from, who leads its and how successful it has been are included. The narrator steps in the middle of the arena. He might be with or without costume. He tells the audience in a lively language what show they are about to watch. Sometimes the narrator might start off with a riddle or a proverb, or a string of tongue twisters. At times he might engage in a call-response dialogue with the audience, raising his voice at every question or call. This is carried to a high pitch and an abrupt stop, which is punctuated. The drummers and chorus of singers begin the theme song about the nature of story telling in general. This may be a song glorifying the excellence of the group about to begin, or just a song on the spectacle which often shows all the actors in a colourful show of procession. This procession either comes as a dance team or enacts an episode like a mock tug-of-war. In all cases, emphasis is placed on the spectacle of colour as the whole cast parades round the arena.

The above scene describes succinctly the opening of the Kwagh-hir performance before the puppetry and masquerades take the stage. Thus, one can aver that the entire Kwagh-hir performance is a series of well-organised sequence of activities that build up to a climax with the audience applauding the entire display of artistry by the performers.

The Ekuechi facekuerade theatre on the other hand possesses a unique structure, which reflects cosmological view of the Ebira people. The Ekuechi proper is preceded by an eve (Unehe) event. This is a musical dance concert (*ikedede*) that involves both men and women. Its entertaining format provides avenue for social interaction between both sexes and to form new ties of friendship among indigenes and visitors. The import of the eve is not only to signify the beginning of Ekuechi festival but also to give the people a psychological boost for the highly ritualistic event (Ododo 2015:92). The event proper is ignited by a series of masquerade performances, which build up to the big reveal of the Eku'rahu facekuerade performance. According to Ododo (2015:92)

in the evening of the main day, the agidigbo is beaten at strategic points to within the community to everyone's earing. This serves as a warning to the women folk and little children to retreat indoors. The *Ekue'ahete* facekuerade, which is known as the path clearing facekuerade, emerges and performs his rounds...., no man dares to stand on his path or else he faces the risk of being beheaded.... After the *Ekue'ahete* Facekuerade performance, the *Akatapa* facekuerade parsonages take over. They are embodiments of the spirits of dead women who on this night unit as co-wives exchanging banter and throwing tantrums.... Their appearances signify for the men folk inside indoors that *Ekue'ahete* has concluded his rounds. Thus, this cost is clear for them to come out to prepare for the star event of this festival; the performance of *Ekue'rahu*. *Ekue'rahu* exhibit their artistry during this festival. Each has a well-organized group of supporters, which are there to bolster the competitive standing of the facekuerades. The gamut of organizational requirements entails dense spiritual firework and extemporaneous ritual activities as occasion may require.

The performance structure is broken down into five interrelated aspects: Thus providing insight into the Ekuechi facekuerade theatre, Ododo (2015:229) notes:

- i. Processional descending: in facekuerade theatre, the play starts as a procession from the street gathering and moving people to the performance venue. Players costume themselves, make-up their faces, sort out props and set pieces and other production paraphernalia within the procession.
- ii. Playing which consists: a) ancestral/ communal integration; this is a notion suggesting active involvement of all players and audience in the playing experience. The ancestors are externalized as players interacting with the community.

- b) Intermission and feasting: in facekuerade theatre intermission and feasting for both the audience and players are built into its playing design. Intermission provides the participant-audience with an opportunity to re-enact and discuss aspects of the *Ekuechi* performance.
- c) climactic grand finale: this is the rising and exciting conclusion of all generated crises.
- iii. Recessional Ascending: this entails dispersal from the performance venue. Dispersal is usually conducted in a performance mode. Various forms of performance occur here as people are propelled towards various destinations.

Consequently, juxtaposing both the Kwagh-hir and Ekuechi Facekuerade theatres reveals some salient similarities and disparities in terms of structure. As a performance event, the Ekuechi facekuerade theatre and the Kwagh-hir theatre are both divided into three unique structures. However, while they both share this similarity in a three level structure, it is important to note that their composition and expression of intent are different. For instance, the structure of the Ekuechi facekuerade theatre reflects a structure, which is similar to the conventional Aristotelian theatrical/dramatic structure comprising the beginning, middle and end. The procession as expressed in the structure of the Ekuechi Facekuerade performance can be interpreted as the beginning as conceived in the Aristotelian structure; which suggests an exposition to the main action of a performance. The playing, which consists the performances unraveled by both physical and meta-physical players, intermission and climactic finale can also be interpreted as the middle; in the Aristotelian conception, the middle creates the suspense and holds the building up of events/ actions to a climax. Finally, the recessional ascending which according to the Ekuechi structure is the dispersal from performance venue, shares similarity with the resolution of conflict as captured in the Aristotelian structure as the end.

Conversely, the Kwagh-hir theatre structure and composition can be described as Brechtian in nature. This is because; the Kwagh-hir theatre is presented in episodes owing to the different performance genres that make up the event. The opening glee for instance offers a thrilling dramatic experience, which is full of suspense and dramatic irony; and provides a glimpse into what the audiences are about to experience. Hagher (2015) describes a typical Kwagh-hir opening glee thus:

The opening glee functions to bring everybody to attention by establishing a high tempo of the performance whereby the audience, which has been inattentive and even involved in domestic chores, could abandon these to attend the performance. In this moment of dramatic intensity the group ushers in the wooden ritual drum of the hare. The drum (*indyer*) is made out of a huge tree trunk... Traditionally this drum is used as a symbol of power and unity.... During this opening glee, the players each take position in a procession from back stage right on the stage. Each takes hold of the rope, which is tied to the drum and leads it to the backstage. The effect is as if a great tug-of-war is taking place, with an equivalent or stronger power backstage. The musicians begin a

low whistle on the flute; this is followed by an outburst of percussion and is thunderously chorused by both musicians and performers.... The tempo is very high indeed, the music and song grow wilder, and the actors pull for dear life. Then very slowly, the rope pulls inch by inch on to the stage the drum. But it is not the true drum, but a miniature model of about one foot in diameter and two feet long. It is put on a circle of knitted grass. Suddenly there is a great applause as the audience realizes how they have been hoaxed into believing that the thirty or more actors were certainly pulling some mighty tree-drum and not a small thing, which any five-year old child could carry with little inconvenience.

Thus, the other two performances that follow after the opening glee are of different themes and styles. The masquerade performance comes on immediately after the opening glee and is followed immediately by the puppet show. In between these distinct performances is intense drumming and singing, which keeps the participant audience grossly engaged in the performance. The performances are linked together by a narrator who is referred to as the *Shuwa* in Tiv socio-cultural landscape. Thus, the *Shuwa*, serves as a bridge between three different performances/episodes; the opening glee, the masquerade display and the puppet show.

Stage Setting

The staging in the facekuerade theatre performance as already highlighted above is processional in nature. This implies that the performance takes place at specific locations within the community. In each of these specific locations, 'the entire setting, being an open-air arrangement, can accommodate over four thousand people. There is no formal scenic consideration; the surrounding houses and trees become the expansive scenic background with their own unique contours. A pleasant picture emerges as all these houses and trees are transformed into sitting and standing auditory elements for better viewing and participation (Ododo 2015). Due to the itinerant nature of the performances, the *Ekuechi*'s facekuerade performance is carried out on a booth stage. According to Ododo (2015:197), the booth stage is a wide platform of about 12-18ft long, 7-11ft wide and 4ft high. Significantly, the facekuerade theatre performance highlights the interplay between life and theatre in its staging process. Stemming from the processional nature of the Ekuechi facekuerade, the performance navigates between the street-stage-street, what Ododo considers as the street-stage-street theatre-to-life continuity. Suffice it to say that the Ekuechi facekuerade theatre performance reaffirming Goffman's (1959) postulations on performance in everyday life.

The Kwagh-hir on the other hand presents a slightly different staging/setting. Although the performances of the Kwagh-hir like that of the Ekuechi facekuerade performances also take place outside and in open-air. Consequently, the staging of the Kwagh-hir performances unlike that of the facekuerade theatre is more inclined towards conventional theatre stage design. Thus, the Kwagh-hir stage is divided into four; the main arena, the chorus position, the backstage and the auditorium. According to Hagher (2003:142), the main arena is a semi-circular formation in the middle of the

performing area where the performance is focused and concentrated; the chorus position is situated on the stage corner which joins the audience with the backstage where the chorus of singers and dancers occupy; the backstage is behind the performance area and the audience from where the performers prepare and come onstage; the auditorium is the area surrounding the main arena round which the audience sits. Theatre is no grandstand and each member of the audience is expected to have a vantage view from round this arena.

The Performers

The performers/actors in the facekuerade theatre performance are divided into four different categories of dramatic personae. These are mask less performers that include: the anchormen; security men, club members and active/passive spectators. These dramatic personae serve as supporting actors to the star performer who is the *Ekur'rahu*. Describing their individual roles Ododo (2015:94-96) notes:

The anchormen are men with spiritual strength acquired through sorcery and herbal art, they provide protective cover to the *Ekur'rahu* against any spiritual attack from another *Ekur'rahu*, witches and other demonic forces that are believed to hover around the scene of performance in this nigh of ancestral interaction.... The security men are often retired soldiers, hunters or men otherwise tested in warfare. They are also said to have metaphysical powers; their main duty is to maintain law and order and protect and defend all participants and spectators. The club system was primarily instituted to bring together all key participants responsible for the organization of the *Ekur'rahu* performances.... Active involvement in the performance is voluntary. Active and passive involvement usually overlaps without clear distinction.

As such, the dramatic personae all perform specific roles within the context of the performance which all contribute to the success of *Ekur'rahu's* performance.

Conversely, the performers in the Kwagh-hir theatre are masked and carved performers and comprise a retinue of dramatic personas. The Kwagh-hir puppets and puppet masquerades therefore are symbolic non-human emblems, which are supposed to have the power of regulating human activity. These puppets and puppet masquerades find expression in human and animal forms. However in terms of characterisation, "with very few exceptions, all animal masquerades look alike. There might be little variation in size or colour but generally a spectator to the Kwagh-hir who keeps hearing the names of different physical structures might be disappointed. The prime attraction and accepted aesthetics is the consideration of the different dance movements as significant characterisation. Thus, if attention is focused on the dance pattern and the song, one would observe significant character individualisation from the different names of the masquerades in the Kwagh-hir repertoire (Hagher 2003:169).

Song and Music

Music plays a very important role in all traditional performances in Africa. It is the nerve centre of most traditional theatrical performances. Within traditional performances, music creates the performance mood and activates the atmosphere within which the essence of the performance is brought to life. Songs in Tiv Kwagh-hir are mostly ballads, which accompany dances. However, songs, which reflect more serious issues, Tiv philosophical values and recount special events, are sung without musical instruments. Hagher 2003:86 in describing the nature of songs in the Kwagh-hir repertoire notes that: “often two singers would compose a laborious epic and set their voices to blend together as if only one person was singing. These songs reflect on the deeds or action of one or more heroes and the praising of such a hero”. While this is so, it is important to also state that these songs might be about past events, which are then appropriated to speak about current realities. As such the Kwagh-hir songs also serve a vehicle for social criticism especially as it regards negative occurrences in society.

In the Ekuechi performance, music is an integral part of the festival. It is the pivot around which other activities in the festival revolve. Songs rendered during this festival are always very rich in entertainment, instructional and philosophical values. The songs consist of short verses, usually of three or four lines, though towards the end of a series of songs each tends to have two lines from a snappier melody (Picton 1988:67). Songs within the *Ekuechi* performance tradition like most traditional African performances are within the ambit of oral narratives. Thus, according to Ododo (2015:133), the songs in the *Ekuechi* performances comprise eight unique narrative voices; the invocative, the lyrical, the narrative, the oratorical, the philosophical, the satirical, the prophetic, the comic and the invigorating voice.

As such, as a ritual actor mediating between the living and the world beyond, the *Ekuechi* begins by giving an emotionally charged invocation to secure a connection with the ancestral world to prepare him for the great task of the Ekuechi night (he begins by invoking God, Mother earth and then Ori). He then proceeds to the lyrical voice, which comprises a set of songs dedicated to God almighty and later to well known people and patron within the community. In using his oratory voice, *Ekuechi* essentially uses his performance to teach morals engage in deep analyses of situations and events, offer suggestions and proffer probable solutions to knotty issues in society. The satirical voice of the *Ekuechi* addresses despotic kings, leaders and individuals within the community to change their ways. The satirical voice is thus a weapon for correcting devious behaviour in the society (Ododo 2015). The prophetic voice of the *Ekuechi* is deployed to make predictions and certain proclamations that exude futuristic insights. These insights help in the comprehensive growth and eminent survival of the Ebiraland community. The comic and invigorating voice amuses, gingers and stimulates participant-audience into a more vigorous participation whenever a drop in active involvement is noted. These are specifically arranged songs characterised by comic elements and the capacity to charge the performance environment.

Suffice to say that songs in both the Kwagh-hir and the Ekuechi festival theatre performance play an integral role in the overall structure of the performances. Worthy

of note is that songs in both performances perform the social role of correcting societal ills within the society. However, while the usage of songs in Kwagh-hir performance is limited in terms of style that of the *Ekuechi* is more robust with unique functions and purposes.

Conclusion

The Nigerian Theatre landscape is no doubt blessed with a barrage of rich theatrical traditions as exemplified by the Kwagh-hir and the Ekuechi theatre performances. There is no gainsaying that the era of painstakingly trying to prove the existence of indigenous theatre practices has been laid to rest by recent scholarship. The exploration of the Kwagh-hir and the Ekuechi performance traditions as presented in this paper greatly exemplifies this position. In the theorisation of the Kwagh-hir and Ekuechi facekuerade performance tradition, both Ododo and Hagher in great scholarly depth, put forward steps through which scholars can appreciate indigenous theatre performances. Consequently, the deployment of performance theory as deployed in this paper as a framework has helped in interrogating and highlighting the unique features of both theatre traditions. Without doubt, both performance traditions exude similarities in their performance elements. Like most indigenous performance modes, both the Kwagh-hir and the Ekuechi facekuerade theatre share unique likeness in the performance elements; the role of space, the duality of performers, the audience performance relationships and the inextricable links of the performances to the cosmological beliefs of the societies, which produced them. Suffice to note that both Kwagh-hir and Ekuechi facekuerade theatres are standout theatrical forms that exemplify the richness of indigenous theatre forms in Nigeria; their aesthetic features indeed offer theatre scholars in Africa and indeed the world a theoretical base for the appreciation of indigenous theatre forms in Africa.

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APPLYING HEIDEGGER'S IDEA OF TECHNOLOGY AND ENVIRONMENT TO NIGERIA'S NIGER DELTA

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Abstract

Nigeria's Niger Delta is plagued by an environmental crisis. The region is suffering from environmental degradation in form of oil spillage, pollution of land and water, destruction of farmlands, extinction of various species of plants and animals, etc. Oil exploration that has caused environmental degradation is carried out through technological instruments. This paper uses critical hermeneutic and analytic methods to interpret the thought of Heidegger on the abuse of technology with regard to the environment. It will equally apply his theory of technology to the environment of the region. The paper finds that there is abuse of technology, especially with the use of oil and gas technologies in the Niger Delta. This abuse has led to environmental degradation in the region. The paper concludes that there is urgent need to draw insights from Heidegger's position to help abate environmental degradation in the Niger Delta, and if this is done, it will help to create a sustainable region.

Keywords: Heidegger, environment, technology, oil technology, Niger Delta, and Nigeria.

Introduction

In the philosophical discipline, it is understood that philosophy critically studies the totality of reality in the cosmos. Nothing escapes the purview of philosophy. As a second order discipline, the subject matter of other disciplines becomes ingredients for philosophy. This being the case, philosophy as one of its functions, critically and analytically studies the domain of technology which has become an important matter in contemporary times as it affects almost all areas of life. Almost nothing can take place today without the use of technological aids. Hence, it is important to critically examine the phenomenon of technology and its impact on the environment and society. Technology has both positive and negative impacts.

One of the places on earth where technology has had a great deal of negative impacts is Nigeria's Niger Delta. Technology, especially oil technology has gravely and grievously damaged humans, society and the environment. This negative impact needs to be mitigated or totally eradicated; otherwise, the Niger Delta may reach the

point of total ecocide. The concern of this paper, is to look at some of the ways that technology has negatively impacted the environment of the region, and apply the ideas of the German philosopher, Martin Heidegger on technology and environment to the problem. Hermeneutical and critical analytic methods are used in this work. Through hermeneutics, the idea of Heidegger is interpreted for deeper understanding. Through critical analytic method, the concepts that ground this work are deciphered, and the issues in the work broken open for better appreciation of the concern of the paper.

Conceptual Clarifications

Undergrounding this work are the following concepts: environment, technology, and oil technology. What is environment? Bellamy (2007) and Hook (2007) note that the environment includes all that surrounds humans: the air, the land, water, atmosphere, etc. As Micheals (2004) notes, the influences that all the above exert on humans is also part of the environment. Humans are an intrinsic part of the environment or nature, and without the environment, human persons cannot live their lives. Human persons depend totally on the environment for livelihood and survival.

What is technology? The definitions of technology are as multifaceted as definitions of many other subjects. In some contexts, technology may refer to any tool, implement, or human-made materials that enable humans to live a better and more convenient life. Technology is the product of human ingenuity and creativity. Anything that is not a human being, or nature but an artificial creation to help in producing a better human life may likely be an aspect of technology. Li-Hua (2013) cites Miles who defines technology as human application of the knowledge of the natural world to create solutions and these solutions include both hardware and software. Hardware for him includes plant, equipment, and building, while software includes experience, knowledge, skills, etc. Lee (2009) rightly states that the term technology comes from the two Greek words, *techne* and *logos* (meaning know-how and discourse, respectively). From various authors (such as Michael Berry, Melvin Kranzberg, Hugo F Readings, T.M. Smith, and Walter Brugger), Nwoko (1992) opines that technology relates to employment of means to solve human problems; processes and techniques that are involved in solving these problems, principles, laws and ideas that are turned into tools and equipments, using current values to pursue higher values.

This paper finds the definition of technology given by Okoli (2003) as very simple but useful also. She asserts that science observes and explains nature through laws, principles, and theories; but it is technology that applies those theories, laws and principles to create practical solutions for solving day-to-day human problems. It is important to state that technology is for human good and wellbeing. But today, in the light of the rise of environmental ethics, we speak of the good of technology not simply in the context of human interest but the entire biotic and ecological good. Every form of technology has impact on humans and the environment.

It is necessary here also to define oil technology. Oil technology refers to technology that is used in the oil and gas industry. It includes all the equipments, installations, machines, and tools used in the process of prospecting, drilling and obtaining crude oil from the ground. It also includes all the technologies in

transportation and communication that are engaged in the process and to take the crude oil to where it is needed.

Heidegger's Idea of Technology in Relation to the Environment

The World Wide Web is filled with information on the life and times of Heidegger. It was in Messkirch town in the south of Germany that this philosopher was born on the twenty-sixth day of September in the year 1889. He died in 1976 on the 26th day of May in his home town. He initially trained for the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church but without success. He studied philosophy under the great philosopher, Edmund Husserl. He also studied in his twenties under the guidance of Heinrich Rickert. He wrote his dissertation on: "The Doctrine of Judgement in Psychologism" in 1913. He recorded the grade of First Class in this dissertation. He had a doctorate in philosophy. A notorious aspect of the life of Heidegger is that he joined the Nazi party in the year 1933. During this period of his life, he became anti-Semitic. He was rector at The University of Freiburg from 1933 to 1934. He became professor of philosophy in 1928 at Freiburg. Heidegger's works and writings include: *Being and Time* published in 1927; *Parmenides* written in 1942; *Kant and the Problems of Metaphysics* written in 1929; *Hegel's Phenomenology of Spirit* written in 1930; and *Early Greek Thinking* published in 1954.

Heidegger (1973) opines that the problem of being is what needs to be studied. This Being is the "being of beings," from which all beings derive their being. He asserts that this Being continuously, is in the process of unfolding or revealing or making known. Man as a being is in the process of unveiling. This unveiling is endangered by things like technology and that is why it is imperative to investigate technology.

Heidegger (1993) dealt with this issue of technology and the relationship of technology to nature (environment) in *The Question Concerning Technology*. He was gravely concerned with how human beings relate to nature. He writes that the usual meaning of technology sees it as tools, machines, equipments, instruments, etc. This understanding of technology is correct but incomplete. This definition of technology he avers is anthropological and instrumental. While this meaning is not wrong, it does not bring out the essence of technology. Heidegger (1993) perceives technology as "enframing" which reveals and equally conceals other aspects of the essence of a thing. The essence of technology is a clearing where things are unveiled or revealed. His main focus is on modern technology. The mode of unveiling or revealing that characterises modern technology is the one that sees nature (the environment) simply as reservoir of resources. Heidegger (1993) propounds that this revealing is one: "... that holds sway throughout modern technology. ... which puts to nature the unreasonable demand that it supply energy which can be extracted and stored as such" (p. 320).

In time past, he argued people lived in respect and wonder of the Rhine River, a great symbol in German civilisation and beautifully described it in poetic images, songs and imageries. But today, it is mainly seen with its hydroelectric plant power as a source to generate or supply water. He perceives strongly that the technological mode of being (the new way that nature is seen and used) corrupts and destroys unspoilt

nature, exploits nature for tourism, etc. This technological way or mode of revealing is the predominant way of living in the West. By implication, the technological way has become the dominant “way of doing.” It is thoroughly instrumental and nature is simply seen as means to be exploited for human ends.

The technological mode of living has serious consequences for the natural world. He is of the opinion that nature is now seen as simply there to be manipulated, measured and exploited. By doing this, it actually reduces being to non-being. It is indifferent to the loss of wonder that once existed. This indifference to the loss of wonder now makes human beings replace the feeling of “sacredness” with entertainment. Heidegger (1962) using the German term, *Herausfordern*, argues that technology has become hostile to both humans and nature. Humans and their technology are now hostile to nature, and technology is now equally hostile to human persons. If technology is allowed to continue this way, it will continue to destroy and degrade humans and the entire environment.

He continues to propose regarding technology, that old technologies used to follow nature and natural patterns, but present-day technologies now force nature to produce energies and other abilities. Technologies are now being used to dominate, control, manipulate and dictate what nature must produce. In his perception; Humans have become slaves to the technology they created. Heidegger (1966) avers that: “The decisive question of science and technology today is no longer where do we find sufficient quantities of fuel? The decisive question now is, in what way can we tame and direct the unimaginably vast amounts of atomic energy and so secure mankind against the danger that their gigantic energies can destroy nature” (p. 34). James (2001) has argued that Heidegger avers that humans have demanded too much of nature, subjecting nature to human ends and nature is merely a container of resources. To see technology as merely human created artefacts and as something neutral is to be blind to the real harm that it is doing to the natural world and human persons.

In Heidegger, one cannot control or stop the spread of technology. This being the case, human beings have a responsibility to meditate and reflect on the meaning and essence of technology. The mentality of treating everything as reserve and energy is dangerous and is killing the earth and humans. The negative impact of technology is not only on the natural world. Chaney (2013) argues that the new technologies can dehumanise and instrumentalise human beings who are now called “human capital” or “human resource” noting that not too long ago many employees of Foxconn were considered worthless than “the manufacture of several million ipads” (p. 20).

From Heidegger, it is apparent that the technological way of being should be re-directed. A fundamental way to re-direct humans and the earth from the onslaught of the technological machine is to recognise the danger that technology is doing to the earth and retrain it. Heidegger argues that humanity has to re-orientate herself to the natural world. Zuern (1998) interprets Heidegger on this question of re-orientation to mean that humanity need to recover the “sense of connectedness with all Being” through Art (Art as stewardship of nature) which was different from technology that is merely concerned with classifying, measuring and exploiting of nature as resource. As explained by Zeurn (1998), this does not mean all are to become artists but that all

should incorporate an artistic and poetic vision of the world and critically guide against the dangers of “enframing”.

Oil Technology and the Environment of the Niger Delta

The situation in the Niger Delta reveals that it is one of the most environmentally degraded deltas and regions in the world. Since the discovery of petroleum oil, the region has suffered from atmospheric pollution; spanning gas flaring, land and water pollution from oil exploration, and inter-ethnic conflicts over oil rights, ethnic conflicts with multinational companies resulting in destruction of farmlands, poverty, youth restiveness, ethnic militancy, massive unemployment, kidnapping and hostage-taking, insecurity of lives and properties, etc. Adeola (2009) rightly notes that the environmental impacts of oil and gas exploration in the Niger Delta include deforestation, toxic waste dumping, destruction of soil and water, frequent oil spills and leakages, gas flaring, and health problems.

It is clear that if oil was not discovered in the region, the problems listed above would not be present at least in the way they have occurred. With the discovery of oil, oil and gas technological machines, tools, equipments, etc., have been brought into the region to explore and prospect for crude oil and other petroleum resources. Most of the pollution and other problems, such as poverty and underdevelopment are caused or precipitated by oil activities involving use of technology. Oil technology in the Niger Delta includes pipelines, seismic equipments, transportation trunks and vehicles, oil rigs, etc. There is hardly any stage in the production and processing of oil and petroleum that does not involve technology. Much of this technology is what has done harm to the environment of the Niger Delta.

One common occurrence in the Niger Delta is gas flaring. This is observable both day and night especially at night when it is dark. Gas flaring is glaring in the refineries in Ekpan near Warri, and in Portharcourt. One can also observe gas flaring in Ukwuani and Isoko areas in Delta State. Gas that could have been channelled to other useful purposes is emitted into the atmosphere on a daily basis. This gas that is emitted into the atmosphere causes health hazards to humans, animals, and plants. Many people suffer from terrible diseases because of acid rain compounded by gas flares. Gas flames cause damage also to the land and water bodies. People's farmlands are destroyed. Many wildlife and even domestic animals in the region are now endangered species. There are equipments and machines that can be used in the process of exploration to stop gas flaring and harness gas for other useful purposes. But oil companies in a bid to save cost have refused to adopt those technologies.

Oil exploration activities often involve a great deal of communication and transportation activities. Oil equipment especially new ones, have to be transported to site for use and to oil wells and rigs. The movements of these equipments are through heavy duty vehicles, large trucks, trailers, and ships. New roads have to be created for these trucks to access oil rigs and exploration sites. In the process, peoples' farmlands are destroyed, valued and sacred ancestral sites and traditional groves are felled. Valuable species of plants and animals are destroyed. Pipelines for transporting crude oil crisscross almost all areas in the Niger Delta. These pipelines go through farmlands,

residential areas, etc. Ojatorotu (2010) reveals that as a result of oil exploration in the Niger Delta, untold economic hardship among the people has continued unabated, and Shell and many other oil companies live in denial of the environmental degradation they have caused. Shell often blames oil spillages on sabotage. The land and water surfaces in many areas in the Niger Delta are polluted and contaminated with poisonous chemicals from oil spills, broken and decadent pipelines, and the deliberate emission of by-products from the oil exploration process. The Amnesty International (2009) report on the activities of Shell and other oil companies, reveals how the exploration for petroleum resources have produced both pollution and poverty on a massive scale in the Niger Delta. It is glaring that technology though useful, has brought grave harm and destruction to humans and the natural environment of the region. There is need then, for it to be transformed.

Heidegger's Notion of Technology and the Niger Delta Environment

The United Nations (1972) in her Stockholm Declaration, indicates that science and technology has a role to play in environmental protection and mitigating environmental problems. The principle 18 of the Declaration states that: "Science and technology, as part of their contribution to economic and social development, must be applied to the identification, avoidance and control of environmental risks and the solution of environmental problems and for the common good of mankind." This paper argues that technology in itself is not evil. Technology is necessary for human beings to continue to adapt to and manage their environment for human welfare, wellbeing, and sustainability of nature. Technology is to be used for the good of human beings and nature. The above quotation is right in identifying that technology can be used to identify and avoid environmental problems. In the case of the Niger Delta, oil technology can be used in a meaningful manner to explore for nature's resources such as oil while equally protecting the environment. But the nature of the region is not merely a resource. It has intrinsic value also and the good of non-human lives should also be protected without discounting genuine human needs to use nature.

Heidegger highlighted the fact that technology dangerously treats the world or nature as simply a big warehouse or reservoir of resources to be forced to produce energies and other things for human usage. He implies that it is wrong to simply see nature as a source of resources to be exploited and commanded to produce more to meet human needs. This mentality of seeing nature as a resource is what has driven technology to demand too much of nature. Multinational oil corporations are driven by a Western capitalist profiteering spirit that sees everything in terms of profit. Whatever cannot produce profit is seen as useless. The oil multinational companies care little or nothing about the eco-cultural values of the Niger Delta people. When they are creating roads to transport oil equipment and to lay pipelines, they care nothing for sacred ancestral groves of the people. They fail to realize that nature is not simply a resource to satisfy human needs. Johnston (2006) opines that for Heidegger, technology should not spiral out of control rather resources should be used in "accordance with nature" (p. 169).

Heidegger will agree with the fact that much of the environmental devastation in the world, and by implication the Niger Delta, is rooted in a Western metaphysical mindset that sees humans as masters and lords of the universe. It is an anthropocentric mindset that sees non-human nature as lacking value unless it is useful to human beings. It is very important to move away from the anthropocentric mentality of seeing the Niger Delta merely as a resource. Oil multinationals mainly see the Niger Delta as a resource and property to be mined for financial income. They rarely care about the wellbeing and ecological good of the Niger Delta people. This is a fundamental reason why there is continuous environmental degradation in the region. In the Niger Delta, even in areas where oil companies carry out their businesses, many of the surrounding villages and towns lack the basic amenities of life, and they are degraded and polluted. The indigenous persons and others who reside in the Niger Delta matter very little to the oil multinational companies. The region is simply seen as a means to an end. The corporate social responsibilities of oil multinational companies are often Machiavellian. This implies that they are simply done to placate the people, reduce their anger over their deplorable situations, in order to foster more exploitation of the environment and make more money for their global capitalist interests, and for the interests of Nigeria's government that condole their behaviours and activities .

In considering how to apply the thoughts of Heidegger to the Niger Delta, one should take notice that not every aspect of Heidegger's life or thought should be applied. Blitz (2014) has noted that Heidegger's affiliation to the Nazi party's ideology and his harmful actions towards Jews are a troubling one, but his followers often want this aspect to be ignored and not counted against him. By implication, the affirmation here is that there is need for respect of the human rights of the people of the region, and they should not be allowed to suffer from any environmental racist attitudes and actions from oil multinational corporations. As it is understood, Nazism is a form of racism. A challenge with Heidegger is that he is not strong in highlighting the problem of injustice. The problem in the Niger Delta is not just that of harmful technology. The harm done by that technology is driven by ideologies and other systems of thoughts that perpetuate injustice. It is human beings who make use of technology. It can hardly be denied that some of those who control the oil technology in the Niger Delta region are driven by racist ideology. They don't seem to think that those who are indigenous to the Niger Delta have a right to the use of their land. If they are not racist, why will they be indifferent to the Niger Deltans' cry for justice? Massive oil spills in the region caused by weak and old oil technologies are often ignored; whereas this will not happen in Western countries. Gbadegesin (2001) has argued that toxic waste disposal in the Niger Delta, and oil exploration have deprived people of the use of their lands, decimated the lives of many and caused environmental pollution in the Niger Delta.

This paper is not against the use of technology in the region, what it opposes is exploitation and damage to the environment. Rolston (1988), a foremost founder and father of environmental ethics corroborates Heidegger's emphasis on benign use of technology to ensure that little or no damage is done to the fragile ecosystems of the Niger Delta. That is in tandem with what Alawa (2016) relates about Heidegger that he is not against the development of science and technology but its wrongful application. With Heidegger, it is necessary to reiterate that in the region under study there is need

for technological re-orientation to ensure mindfulness of environmental sustainability. Implying that oil technology should be used for the entire biotic good of the region.

Conclusion

In summation, the paper clarified some concepts that grounded this work. It examined and revealed that Heidegger moved beyond the understanding of technology as tools and instruments to discussing the essence of technology. It was revealed that the essence of technology is clearing in which things are revealed. The dominant mode of this revealing that is characteristic of modern technology is one in which nature is merely seen as source of resource for human instrumental use. This has led to exploitation and degradation of nature. It has equally made man oblivious of poetic and imaginative ways of being with nature. There is need for a critical recovering of ways of man living in harmony with nature through artistic and nurturing pathways for the benefit of humans and nature. The paper drawing wisdom from Heidegger argued for a non-anthropocentric mindset that sees intrinsic value in the environment and so works to create technology or use technology in such a way that it does little or no damage to the essence of the environment. In Heidegger, the conclusion can be taken that oil technology in the Niger Delta is not evil and perhaps inevitable but technology should be used in such a way that it protects the biotic good.

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THE MANO RIVER UNION: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

The Mano River Union was an Economic Union, which involved three geographically contiguous countries in the West African sub-region, namely, Republics of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Liberia and Sierra Leone founded the Union in 1973, Guinea joined in 1980. The major objectives of the Union included, the harmonisation of the economic and industrial developmental activities of the member states for mutual benefits. For this, the Union depended on wholly on the natural resources available within the member states. However, the technology and knowledge to develop the resources were absent and so the Union had to depend on foreign aid for its activities, especially with regards industrial development. Consequently, the Union suffered serious problems regarding realisation of its objectives for various reasons, ranging from political, social and economic considerations.

Keywords: Mano River Union, Political Factors, Economic Factors, Social Factors

Historical Background

This paper examined the origin of the Mano River Union. It is pointed out that the Mano River Union (MRU) was an economic and customs Union established in 1973 by the republics of Liberia and Sierra Leone. Later in 1980, the republic of Guinea-Conakry joined. These countries are geographically contiguous. The peoples of Sierra Leone and Liberia had interacted commercially and socially as early as the 19th century. Also in the 19th century, strong and sustained moves were made to unite the peoples of these two countries as one. The MRU was therefore the culmination of efforts begun a long time ago to unite the two peoples.

The Mano River Union was an economic and customs Union between the republics of Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea. Liberia and Sierra Leone founded the

Union in October 1973. Seven years later in 1980, Guinea sought and gained membership of the Union. These three countries are geographically contiguous¹.

Historically, Liberia and Sierra Leone had a long standing relationship that predated colonisation in this part of Africa. The kingdom of Kailahun² which became part of the present day Sierra Leone had through its leader, Mana Siaka, established some kind of relationship with the inhabitants of the territory that later became part of Liberia as far back as 1780. However, hostilities and threat of take-over of his territory and its capital Kailahun, forced Mana Siaka to sign a treaty with the British who had already established a presence in the region.

Mana Siaka believed that the treaty with the British would offer him and his subjects some kind of protection from the belligerent tendencies of his neighbours. In 1911, the British colonial government in Sierra Leone and the government of the republic of Liberia signed an agreement which recognised the river Mano as the natural and formal boundary between Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Before this agreement however, commercial activities and interactions between the peoples of Sierra Leone and Liberia had been carried out extensively before and during the nineteenth century³. Also in the nineteenth century, strong and sustained efforts were made toward uniting the peoples of the two territories.

Two eminent personalities championed these efforts. One of them was Edward Wilmot Blyden, a leading Liberian intellectual and political activist of his time. He was the first to advocate for a joint Liberia-Sierra Leonean citizenship. The other veteran was William Grant, a member of the Sierra Leone legislative council and an ardent supporter and admirer of Blyden.

In 1874, both men established a newspaper called the "West African Reporter". The main aim of the paper was to foster unity among English-speaking West Africans in general, and Liberians and Sierra Leoneans in particular. The Mano River Union can therefore be regarded as the outcome of efforts at unity which began a long time ago by neighbours who shared a lot in common.

When the Mano River Union came into being in 1973, it was imperative for there to be a document in which would be embodied, all the rules and regulations guiding the organisation. This document would be the constitution or charter of the Mano River Union.

In this regard therefore, legal experts and technicians, intellectuals, academics and professionals, were invited from the then two member states of Liberia and Sierra Leone to draft the charter of the Mano River Union. A document was finally produced and agreed upon by both Liberia and Sierra Leone, being the two founding members of the Union. Later in 1980, the republic of Guinea, having gained membership of the Union, became a signatory to an amended and modified version of the charter.

¹ E.C. Edozien and E Osagie, *Economic Integration in West African Countries* (1978)

² Kailahun was one of the 12 districts in Sierra Leone.

³ J.D. Fage, *A History of West Africa*, (1969), pp.28-33.

The document came to be known and referred to as the Mano River Union Declaration⁴. It spelt out in a detailed and comprehensive way, the composition and structure of the Union, its various committees and institutions. The document also clearly spelt out the functions and duties of the principal officials of the Union, also laying out their mode of appointment, transfer and redeployment within the union.

The Mano River Union had its headquarters in Freetown, Sierra Leone. In its first years after establishment, the Union expended much of its energy and resources in building the necessary institutions required for the establishment of a Customs Union. Important protocols giving effect to treaty provisions in regards to trade and customs were adopted. Also, the Union set out to establish an elaborate and effective secretariat. The secretariat was located in Freetown, Sierra Leone, and was staffed with nationalities drawn from the three member states⁵.

The staff was charged with the responsibility of evolving efficient and effective policies geared towards improved basic documentation, collection and collation of basic information upon which the technical work of the Union could be built, and to formulate the Union's policies and programmes, which should be characterised by developmental and integration goals.

Contributions of the Mano River Union

By 1980, the Union had been steered towards sustainable and progressive industrial development with the establishment of the Mabole Fruit Juice Factory in Makeni, Sierra Leone, and a timber processing factory in Gbanga, Liberia⁶. Free movement of persons and goods within the member states was facilitated and enhanced by the removal of all customs barriers. Infrastructural development was embarked upon extensively to the extent that foreign countries particularly those from Europe were impressed and prepared to offer assistance. West Germany and Holland particularly, took interest in the industrial activities of the Union. These countries offered to train citizens of the Union in the industrial sectors and offered scholarships for study in their countries. The European Economic Community (now the European Union) also offered substantial aid to the MRU.

Many observers had speculated that all these European nations offered assistance perhaps to have easy access to the abundant natural resources available in the member states of the MRU. Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea all have reasonable deposits of diamonds, gold, iron ore etc. All MRU member states are coastal countries. This could mean a great deal to these European nations who also eyed the virtually untapped sea resources that these states had in great quantities.

⁴ MRU Declaration 1974, amended and modified in 1980 when Guinea became a member

⁵ As provided for in the MRU Declaration, 1974/1980

⁶ The very first two MRU industries to come on stream.

The Mano River Union at Work

The primary objective of the MRU was to foster economic development of the member states by the creation of conditions favourable to an expansion of the mutual productive capacity of each member state; and also to secure a fair distribution of the benefits from economic co-operation among the member states. To achieve these broad objectives, the Union established a series of industries and commissions revolving around commerce and trade. The Mano River Declaration had clearly outlined the modalities for industrial co-operation and economic integration⁷. The industrial output in the member states would depend on the combined markets of the member states.

To enhance the development of the MRU and to realise its objectives, a complex institutional system was established. At its peak was the Union Summit of Heads of States and Governments. This comprised member states and or governments of member states and it was the supreme institution of the union. This summit convened when it deemed necessary to deal with matters submitted to it by the Union Ministerial Council⁸. The Union Ministerial Council was the central institution of the MRU. It formulated the machinery by which the Union was run. It had the function of ensuring the proper functioning and development of the Union. The council also gave directives to sub-ordinate institutions of the Union through the secretariat. The Ministerial Council considered and approved the annual budget of the Union, and it also determined the financial contributions of each member state⁹.

The Chairman of the Council was elected by the council members. The council held its ordinary session once a year. Special sessions were however convened as and when necessary on the decision of the Chairman in consultation with the Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Union.

The Decline of the Mano River Union

The problems that faced the MRU could be discussed under three main headings, namely; political, social and economic. Most importantly however, the civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia marked the beginning of the decline and the subsequent moribund state of the MRU in the early 1990s. It has been pointed out that the MRU had a promising and bright future at inception. However, instability crept in.

Political Factors

When the union came into existence in 1973, Siaka Stevens and William Tolbert were in power in Sierra Leone and Liberia respectively. These two leaders were conservative dictators who had no regards for democratic ideals or principles and tolerated no political opposition or social criticism from any quarters. Their peoples were socially and politically and even economically marginalised because ignorance and poverty, prompted by illiteracy were the lot of their populations. The ruling elite monopolised

⁷ See article 7a(b) of the MRU Declaration.

⁸ One of the councils of the MRU as provided in the MRU declaration 5a(ii)

⁹ See MRU Declaration 12b(iii)

political power and economic resources were generally personalised and squandered with impunity. In Guinea, the third member of the Union, the social conditions were not different from the other two members. But Sekou Toure operated a sort of pseudo-socialist form of political economy where private means of production was not encouraged. Sekou Toure brought every means of production under state control, and political decisions for his over eight million people were made only by him and his anointed proxies. Sierra Leone and Liberia had a confused blend of political economy characterised by capitalist affinities. In Sierra Leone, Asians-particularly the Lebanese, controlled the economy with the tacit approval of the government, which benefited from their often corrupt commercial dealings.

In Liberia, the biggest industry was the rubber industry owned and managed by a US tyre company-Firestone¹⁰. This company it was believed virtually assumed the political and economic control of the country under the Americo-Liberian leaders up to 1980. In April 1980, a bloody coup took place in Liberia led by Master-Sergeant Samuel K. Doe, an indigenous Liberian. Samuel Doe happened to be the first indigenous Liberian to rule the country after one hundred and thirty seven years of Americo-Liberian rule¹¹. The government of William Tolbert was overthrown and replaced with Samuel Doe led government.

Meanwhile, the leadership in Sierra Leone took the goings-on in Liberia in bad faith and so became apprehensive about the new leadership in that country. Stevens of Sierra Leone made no pretext about his attitude toward the new leadership in Liberia. An atmosphere of mutual suspicion and animosity was generated. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were scaled down tremendously. Tension grew and accusations of connivance between Sierra Leonean president and the executed Liberian president William Tolbert to steal Liberia's money which the new regime in Liberia believed was kept in Sierra Leone, raged on. There was so much acrimony between them, it took Sekou Toure of Guinea a great deal of efforts to settle the disputes between Sierra Leone and Liberia. However, both countries had expelled their respective citizens from their countries before any settlement took effect. Diplomatic ties were almost cut off.

Siaka Stevens rightly or wrongly believed that the new leadership in Liberia was harbouring and training Sierra Leonean dissidents who were bent on getting rid of the government of Sierra Leone. Liberia of course denied the allegations.

In the 1990s, a great deal of tension also took place between Liberia and Sierra Leone. Charles Taylor, one of the rebel leaders who fought the war in Liberia declared war on Sierra Leone, a co-member of the MRU. When the war broke out in Liberia, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) waded in to bring peace to that country which is a member of that organisation. A West African peace monitoring group known as the Economic Community Peace Monitoring Group in Liberia (ECOMOG) was established to ensure peace in Liberia. This group had a basically

¹⁰ Firestone is the US company which manufactures tyres, and it established the first ever rubber plantation in Liberia, which was also an industrial concern.

¹¹ These are descendants of freed slaves resettled in Liberia by the US government.

military character with troops contributed by all sixteen member states of the organisation. It had its quarters in Sierra Leone from where the peace agreements signed by the various warring factions in Liberia were monitored. Violations of these agreements were taken very seriously by the ECOMOG high command.

Charles Taylor's group known as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) was the largest and strongest and better armed of the fighting groups in Liberia. Charles Taylor, who believed that he could get a quick and easy victory if ECOMOG did not interfere in Liberia, blamed Sierra Leone for his lack of (quick) victory. He therefore "declared" war by instigating and financing the rebel group in that country known as the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) led by a deranged army photography known as Foday Sankoh who was a corporal in the Sierra Leonean army.

The civil war in Liberia began in 1990 while the one in Sierra Leone broke out in 1991. For fourteen years in Liberia, war raged on and for twelve years in Sierra Leone, one of the worse wars in the continent of Africa raged on with atrocities never before seen in a civil war.

Economic Factors

The countries that formed the MRU were among the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) of the world, and predominantly raw material producers. There was no meaningful and sustainable industrial development. Rather, they were essentially markets and consumer oriented economies which also imported even their basic needs. Agriculture could be said to be primitive in the sense that it could hardly feed the populations of the member states of the Union. Consequently, the economies were weak and precarious.

An organisation like the MRU would rely and depend, by and large, on the regular financial contributions of the member states. Even the administrative running of the organisation required a great deal of finances. This was not forthcoming and where it was, not regular. In the case of the member state of Liberia, dues were not paid since 1985. The organisation had a number of projects to be executed. The international contributors and donors became disenchanted with the situation in the MRU, and also withheld their dues and aid to the Union. Germany was one of the donors. A German foreign office spokesperson complained that the German government had not seen any impressive progress in the MRU and was not happy about the social and political situation in the Union. Therefore, until the situation improved, Germany had no choice but suspend any form of funding which was meant to help in the industrial development of the union.

As at 1990, Liberia and Guinea had not sent dues to the MRU for six years. The headquarters of the MRU was located in Freetown Sierra Leone. The government of Sierra Leone, having been frustrated by the attitude of the other member states, was forced to reduce staff at the headquarters drastically. The offices at the MRU were finally shutdown in 1999. The MRU went into a coma which it has not recovered from. It is important to note that even though the MRU is moribund, the instruments establishing the Union are still intact.

Social Factors

On a social plane, arguments still go on whether the MRU, while it lasted had any special impact on the member states. It has been pointed out that the populations of the member states had little awareness about the activities of the MRU. In fact, some did not even know about its existence while those who did, tended to blame it for the problems they had in their countries.

In Liberia, there was a general perception that the high cost of goods and services in the country was a direct consequence of its membership of the MRU. The Sierra Leoneans on the other hand believed that the scarcity of goods in their country was prompted by the country's membership of the MRU. Guinea, more or less, paid less attention to MRU matters and so regarded its membership of the union as a casual affair, so was noncommittal. It paid more attention to national pursuits and Guinea therefore looked forward to France for political and social affinities and not the MRU. Liberians on the other hand were more anxious about being Americans in every aspect of their social lives than giving any serious attention to a union whose future they were unsure of. Sierra Leoneans seemed to be laden with the problem of being more MRU than Sierra Leonean. This may be because; the real symbol of the MRU in form of the organisation's headquarters was located in Freetown. The headquarters was a massive eight storey building easily seen from any corner of the city centre with a big sign board which read "Mano River Union Headquarters". Any resident of Freetown will explain to a visitor what the MRU was. Sierra Leoneans felt proud that the headquarters was located in their country even if they understood nothing about its functioning or benefited nothing from its activities.

Another important factor for the decline of the MRU was the existence, more or less, of the ECOWAS. Even though the MRU preceded ECOWAS, the latter is a far more elaborated and extensive organisation in terms of character and outlook. Also, ECOWAS had far more resources and political leverage and a far more formidable standing in the West African sub-region than the MRU. ECOWAS also promises a brighter and more certain future for economic and social integration and development in West Africa. This has therefore made the MRU less effectual. ECOWAS comprises all the sixteen states of the West African sub-region as members.

In the light of the above, it can be asserted that so long as the MRU was faced with such fundamental problems, among others, the Union had no choice but to find itself in the present state in which it is. However, there is a belief in certain quarters that there is a need to revive the Union because the ideals for which it was established were laudable and if well-articulated, achievable. Whether reviving the Union is possible in the foreseeable future, is completely another topic of discussion.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it is important to restate that the major motivation for the establishment of the MRU was the integration of the economies of the member states for enhanced

economic and social development of their citizens on mutual basis. This was what actually prompted member states to identify their economic interest in integration.

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STATES CREATION AND ETHNIC-MINORITIES' CONUNDRUMS IN NIGERIA: AN INTERROGATION OF THE HISTORY AND REALITIES FOR NATION BUILDING

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Abstract

This paper is a historical presentation of the trends in the agitations for and creation of States in Nigeria. It is meant to be a mirror for understanding the past as we try to fine-tune a comprehensive political reform agenda for the country in the 21st century. In the light of the above therefore, the paper brings to the fore the genesis, trends and dynamics involved in the advocacy and creation of States in Nigeria. The paper raises some vital questions. For example, to what extent did the State creation exercise address or solve the problem of minorities that was meant to?; What has been the basic criterion for the creation of States and to what extent could this be said to have been transparent and objective?; How do we say that the creation of States exercise has improved the poor man's lot?; Is the continuous multiplication of States the only mechanism Nigerians can think of and should continue to rely upon to resolve political problems arising from problematic federal system and to bring 'development' to the people in this 21st century?. Therefore, a true federalism rather than the incessant multiplication of States will better resolve the minority conundrums being lorded over by the majority ethnic groups.

Keywords: States creation, Ethnic-minorities, Nation building, Agitations, Minority/Majority Conundrums

Introduction

Nigeria, a federation with over 250 ethnic, sub-ethnic groups, multiple religious identities and interests in addition to varying cultural, historical and politico-economic experiences makes the agitation for states creation on certain parameters (solving minorities' problem), an aspect of structural processes that requires not only to be historicised, but interrogated within the context of minority interests. The unending advocacy or agitations for states shows that there is a problem in identifying and application of the mechanisms for resolving contentious political problems affecting Nigeria's federalism for a long time. From 1861 when the issue of creating colonial administrative units began among the various colonial interests, to 1957 when Nigerians began to partake in the matter till date, states creation and the agitation for more have been viewed variously but especially as a means among other things, to better protect and not to sacrifice the rights of minorities to expediency (Ashafa and Gora 2008).

History has shown that there is no modern or defunct nation in the world that has not taken its fair share of problems over nation-building. In this case, global menu of problems like civil wars, revolutions, counter-revolutions, secession, and regicide, genocide, ethnic and religious conflicts and so on had been experienced differently across the globe. This is also the case with our federation, which apart from the sad but needless civil war, has been experiencing its own share of difficulties and problems especially in dealing with the so-called minority interests (Eteng 1996, Awa 1983). Ethnic minority agitations in Nigeria have been a problem even prior to the country's independence. How to solve such problems have led to the creation of states, local governments, boundary adjustments; the institutionalisation of the Federal Character principles as well as zoning and rotation in power sharing (Aku 1992; Osaghae 1998) to accommodate their interests and fears side-by-side with the interests of majority ethnic groups. Though states creation in Nigeria appeared to be an exclusive military terrain due to its dictatorial character, the end of military regime and the re-inauguration of democracy in 1999 has given pessimists an opportunity to express concern not only over the political and economic interests of ethnic minorities, but the fate of Nigeria's unity as a nation. And because most of Nigerians' attitude hardly seems to sincerely care much in solving these problems, once and for ever, the agitation for the creation of states has continued till date. That Nigeria is getting into deeper and deeper into troubles with its corporate existence as a nation is no comfort to millions of Nigerians, African men, women and children.

The paper raises some vital questions: For example, to what extent does the state creation exercise address or solve the problem of minorities that was meant to?; Is the continuous multiplication of states the only mechanism Nigerians can think of and should continue to rely upon to resolve political problems arising from problematic federal system and to bring 'development' to the people in this 21st century?; What other principle(s) should we begin to look at and which is to be constitutionally appropriate and practicable to address the arrant multiplication of states as an old fashion means of addressing Nigeria's minorities' problems?

Understanding the Pattern of Agitations for States Prior to Independence

The agitation and advocacy for states creation in Nigeria began in a manner as to alter the structure of the existing 3 Regions. In each region, there existed strong protestation against the arrangement based on certain existing circumstances which we shall later come to see. The fears being entertained by the agitators who were also minority groups were later discovered by the Willink Commission to be legitimate and genuine in each of the regions as we shall also come to discuss.

1. Agitation in the Western Region

Here, the agitation was to split the region into two namely: Western and Mid- Western regions. The latter was to consist of the Provinces of Benin and Delta, with a little boundary adjustment that would add the villages of Sobe and Ijagba to the Benin Division. This was based on the notion that people with distinct ethnic group and historical antecedent should be politically limited in one region of homogeneous composition. Championed by the Mid-West State Movement, the agitation was that all Edo speaking people be limited in the new region, while The Ibos of Asaba and Aboh be merged with their kith and kins in the eastern region as demanded by the Action Group while the Ijaws of the east and west be grouped in the Western region (Willink Commission 1958).

2. Agitations in the Eastern Region

The agitations were more proliferated as four new states were being demanded. These were an Ogoja State, a Cross River State; a Calabar-Ogoja-River State (COR) and a Rivers State. This could be attributed to the existence of various ethnic and sub-ethnic nationalities that made up the region. Those who agitated for an Ogoja State consisted of the various minority elements of the former Qgoja Province and championed principally by the Ogoja Province Union (OPU). The main contention was to get separated from the central body of the dominant Ibo population, as well as the Efik and Ibibios whose relatively larger population combined together was a source of concern to the minorities.

While this was so, the agitation for Cross River State was due to the desire to unify the Efik language and the Ekpe society who were banded by years of trade and mission activity, the COR State had its strong support from various protagonists. To the protagonists of such a state, the combination of the various ethnic nationalities from these areas together minus the Ibos would give them equal advantage of population that none could actually predominate over the other. The ethnic and historical affinity in Uyo, Eket, Enyong, Ikot, Ekpene, Abak, Opobo and Ogoni division, made it attractive for the non-Ibo populace. But the Ibos were vehemently opposed to the demand for a COR State (Willink Commission 1958).

The Rivers State area as agitated for according to the Willink Commission finding, was to consist of the whole Rivers Province, made up of such Divisions as Brass, Degema, Ogoni, Port Harcourt and Alioada in addition to the Ijaw Division to be detached from the Western Region, as well as such as Opobo, Andoni and Ndoki were

to be included. These communities entirely lived in the creeks and swamps of the Niger-Delta. The Rivers State agitation was championed by the Council of Rivers Chiefs also known as the Rivers Chief and Peoples Conference.

3. *Agitation in the Northern Region*

Unlike in the Eastern Region where the States agitated for were many, in the Northern Region it was only the Middle Belt State that was agitated for. The area to be covered by this separation was a bit complex to the Minority Commission, but the main thrust was that it should cover areas where pagans and Christian population were strong and Muslim population was comparatively weak in the region. In fact, the area for this state falls outside the dominance of the defunct Sokoto Caliphate, and this area was to be detached from five Provinces, namely, Benue, Plateau, Niger, Adamawa and Zaria.

In other words, what the Middle Belt State agitated for was to consist of such areas as Ilorin, Kabba, Southern parts of Bauchi and Zaria Provinces, Numan Division in Adamawa as well as Muri and Wurkum Districts in Adamawa Province. The movement or agitation was championed by the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), which metamorphosed from the Non-Muslim League (NML) originally formed by Pastor David Lot (Dudley 1986 and Whitaker 1970).

As we shall come to discuss, even though the Willink Commission discovered the genuineness of the fears by the minorities agitating for states as a means of allaying their apprehension in an independent Nigeria, it did not recommend the creation of any single State. Rather, the Commission recommended for the entrenchment in the independent constitution remedies, other than the creation of states. These among others included, the guarantee of fundamental human rights, and the absolute implementation of democratic practices to assume the apprehensions of the minorities (Willink Commission 1958).

The departing colonial regime that set up the Willink Commission in the first place was not favourably disposed to the idea of creating states in Nigeria. Capitalising on the anxiety for independence with immediate effect, the regime made the creation of states conditional so that if states were created, independence would have to be postponed. The nationalists agreed for independence without the creation of states and the British left Nigerians to solve their own problems on the matter their own way.

Originally, the fears of the minority ethnic groups prior to independence were what prompted the agitations in the first place. The tripod nature of the regional structure in which three major ethnic groups predominated in each was a serious source of apprehension to the minorities. In fact, they felt matters would be worse for themselves if independence was granted without restructuring the regional arrangement, especially that their rights to self-determination could be sacrificed to expediency. In each of the regions, there were certain prevailing conditions, which necessitated the fears and the agitations depending on the historical exigencies of inter-group relations amongst the minority groups vis-à-vis the majorities. But this could be seen under the followings:

- a. **Fears of autocratic Governments** – In all the regions, the major ethnic groups were in control of the parties and the governments. And in each Region, there were

accusations of certain dictatorial tendencies and less tolerance to the oppositions coming largely from the majority groups in government against the minorities. In the Eastern and Western Regions for example, Azikiwe and Awolowo respectively, were alleged to be dictatorial, with a legendary zero-tolerance to the opposition groups (Willink Commission 1958). In the Northern Region, despite the 'One North, One People' slogan, the Premier's party, the NPC, supported by the Native Authorities (NAs) and reinforced by the feudal nature of the emirs, was said to be allergic and contemptuous to opposition coming from the minorities. Thus, left as it were up to independence, the minorities feared they would be in for it.

- b. **Resistance to domination and discriminations** – In the 3 regions, minorities felt they were being subjected to mere second class citizens as they were made to bear deliberate and systematic discriminations when it came to opportunities in the public service. That the majority apart from their dominance of the legislative and executive positions, also filled up the public service by their proportional numbers and by virtue of being in control of the governments. In the North, even though the majority ethnic groups were left behind in western education, the criteria for employment into the public service was said to be riddled with the discriminative tendencies of the NAs. This, the minorities alleged, would strangle their upward mobility at independence if separate states were not created and thus hamper their rights and in fulfilling the principle of self-determination.
- c. **The fears of the future of Local Government system** - In the 3 regions, it was the tendency of the governments controlled by the majority ethnic groups to centralise, monopolise and to even gradually arrogate to themselves all the powers of the local governments. This also was to put the rights to self-determination for the minorities into a serious strain and so the agitations for separate states.
- d. **The manipulation of public order** – The Willink Commission had confirmed its discovery of how the majority ethnic groups in the 3 Regions behaved in a manner as if their isolated group interests were synonymous with the regional interests. And equally, they were confronted with the allegations that the majority ethnic groups hardly recognised the existence of other inhabitants in the regions except themselves. Thus, the public and other law enforcement agents were alleged to be dominated by their groups who were subsequently used by the governments to intimidate oppositions in the name of public order. In the Northern Region for example, the impartiality of the NA Police and Judges (*Alkalai*), the intimidating and unrestrained attitude of the emirs' bodyguards or the Dogarai, generated a lot of concern for the Middle Belt State agitations (Willink Commission 1958, see also Kukah 1994).
- e. **Social and Economic Factors** – There was no restriction at which these factored in the agitation for states prior to independence. In the Western Region for example, the government was accused of spending huge sums of budgetary allocations on developing and assisting in the production of cocoa, the major export commodity from the Yoruba area of the region. This was said to be at the expense of, if not at the expense of rubber, palms and timber production in the Mid-West area. While perpetuating this, the same Western Regional Government again turned

round to initiate a policy to introduce rubber production in the Yoruba area in a manner as to perhaps ruin the economic life-wire of the Mid-West people. In the Eastern Region on the other hand, the NCNC government was said to be more disposed to awarding all contracts to the Ibos only. In the North, minorities were concerned with the flagrant use of detested and contemptuous expressions and social practices that affected them (Willink Commission 1958).

- f. **The Issue of Legal System** – This generated a lot of concern among the minority groups as to demand for separate states of their own. In the Eastern Region for example, the changes in 1956 of the administration of justice, which gave the minister power to appoint, suspend and dismiss members of County and District Courts, provoked waves of protestation by minorities. In the Northern Region, there was a general apprehension against what was viewed as anti-Christian Missions as well as the Muslim law that discriminates along faiths and gender.

These were mainly synthesised from the lots of issues that factored the agitations for states prior to independence. Though the Willink Commission agreed that the existence of these grievances were genuine, it viewed that the creation of states would not be the solutions; instead genuine democratic practices would go a long way to solve them.

States Creation and Better Federalism in Resolving the Minority/Majority Conundrums

We have noted elsewhere the nature of pre-colonial migrations, peopling of the Nigerian area and how there were intermingling, assimilations and intermeshing (Ashafa 2011). This we said resulted in the difficulty to actually make a demarcation of ethnic typology in the pre-colonial period. But even though colonial rule had changed this trend, it had not reversed it. In some cases, it rather augmented the movement of people through the establishment of '*Pax Britannica*' and other politico economic policies as in the exploitation of the tin resources in Jos.

The important question here is who is a minority? It should be noted that in the real sense, of the over 150 million Nigerians, the minority are those few hundreds of elites in the Presidency, among the Governors, the Legislatures, Political Parties and bureaucrats in the public and private enterprises who among others, are enjoying so much from the enormous commonwealth of the nation at the expense of other larger number of Nigerians. And the majorities are those impoverished Nigerians outside the above categorisation. Because the majority is impoverished and pauperised, they hardly appreciate the relevance of tolerance and respect for civil and civic responsibilities. And because they feel deprived and marginalised, they viewed that the only way to access power and resources is in the process of competition, to deny everybody else but self the status of indigeneship either individually or collectively as an ethnic group. Therefore, being a 'majority' is a license to claim certain political office as a birth right because the 'majority' votes comes only from numerically larger ethnic groups, whose votes count who wins the elections. On other hand, being a 'minority' is to accept that second class status of citizenship to only qualify for those not so important political offices determined by the numerically larger ethnic groups because after all, one

belongs to those whose votes would only compliment than determine who should get what in an election. The fact that holding political office has been a means of acquiring stupendous wealth and to enrich whom one wants to be rich in Nigeria by whatever means legal, this spurred social movements like the *Boko Haram*, which sees the only licenses of getting such offices (Western education) has been bastardised. And if care is not taken, we shall be breeding the feelings of hatred towards democracy.

On the other hand, the minorities as we seem to understand or misunderstood is non-existent, and if at all it does, it is an admission of inferiority, a stereotype, psychological and political naivety by falling into the trap of the so-called majority. This is because anyone from the so-called grandiose and self-acclaimed and historically non-factual 'majority group' must have come from yet a small or assimilated clan, which itself cannot make a 'majority'. Therefore, people would remain as a minority only when they lack the capacity while remaining docile to be so categorised. It should be noted that the politicians were the authors of this 'minority' 'majority' diatribe in Nigeria and not God who created the ethnic groups. Here, a group is a minority only when it prefers the stereotype of falling in the trap of being irrelevant in the political fate of greedy political office seekers and their godfathers.

We are saying so because no constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria ever said or imputed anything on the opportunities, comfort, welfare and advancement of Nigerians based on their numerical affiliation. After all, will the Hausa in Sokoto, Zaria, Kano, Sokoto and Katsina be in majority without those years of assimilation of other minority groups into it as we've noted already? So too are the Yoruba or Igbo wouldn't have been among the so-called 'majority'. We only allow ourselves to be played around by politicians when they want to advance their comfort zones at our expenses and at the expense of germane federalism that requires equality in our collective aspirations.

The circumstances that led to the creation of states in Nigeria never made such measures to solve the problems with our federalism. Instead, when states were created in 1967, the former champions of ethnic minorities obviously became the avid beneficiaries. In this case, we argue here that states creation and the agitation for more has been an elites affairs to satisfy their quest for power and the wealth that comes with such power. This is so because the creation of states has failed to solve the problems of ethnic minorities, but rather aggravated it.

Sadly, people come to see the creation of states and local governments as a means of bringing development to the people, which only means physical infrastructure. However, because there has been too much centralisation of wealth at the federal and state levels, it then entailed that access to power and resources was only through inclusion at federal and state levels. However, states and federal contracts involved enormous resources allocated for physical infrastructure in the name of 'development', the agitations for more states have continued unabated.

At the same time, the existence of these states as 'development' centres in relation to governance and conduct of elections further created the problem of minorities, majorities, indigenes and settlers. Our elections are based on 'majoritarian democracy', which has been unable to guarantee the protection of ethnic identities, and

their interests to arrest the cry for domination and marginalisation in relation to power balance and power acquisition. This 'majoritarian' democracy has equally not guaranteed equal power sharing and access to resources between the different ethnic elements at the federal, states and local government levels. Sadly, because of this 'majoritarian' democracy, politicians neglect minorities because their votes were seen not too tangential in determining the outcome of a winner in an election. That was how ethnic minority areas have been transformed into Government Rejected Areas (GRAs) and the people became Government Rejected Citizens (GRCs), so to say. At least, that has been the feeling all over the federation that generated the usage of such terms or phraseologies as 'marginalisation', 'domination', and 'neglect' exclusion into our political vocabularies.

Again also, the elite-induced States and LGAs creation as incessant fragmentation of Nigeria into political entities on majoritarian, not only created further 'minority' feelings, but further reduces the political spaces in territorial terms, which becomes smaller and smaller than it used to be in the 1950s within which Nigerians can comfortably lay claim of indigenous status. In this manner, it also reduced some citizens into 'settlers' and disqualifies some to be 'indigenes' within a larger political landscape. For example, a Southern Nigerian of the 1950s has today been reduced into an indigene of Lagos, Cross rivers, Bayelsa, Ondo, Ekiti, Imo or Akwa Ibom State as the case may be, in a manner that we are building nationalities at the expense of citizenship, which actually accommodates the elites' political interests for maneuvering, power acquisition and wealth grabbing than anything to the contrary.

Nigeria with over 250 ethnic nationalities is made a federation in order to meet the particular but various needs of the communities who agreed to its establishment. This is because it is only in a federal structure that one can find such conceptual phraseologies as 'pluralism', 'unity in diversity', 'devolution of power', 'local people deciding on their local priorities' etc. All these are meant to give the impression that in a federal structure, people will develop a civic culture, which is germane in the survival of the whole superstructure so that through good governance, the image of collective identity, collective development and collective survival becomes the target than in rhetorical terms that we seem to do our things in this country. Sadly, however, because nobody seems to care about developing a sound and germane civic culture in governance and in inter-group relations, Nigerians were being divided into 'minorities,' majorities', 'indigenes' and 'settlers'. This is specifically in order to allow few gluttonous people to exclusively participate in governance as a means to corner and monopolise all the political space and the resources that go with doing so even if it means other citizens are denied same.

Federalism is relevant to a plural society. It is designed to meet the particular needs of the communities who variously establish it. Through such conceptual phraseologies in a federal system like 'pluralism' 'unity in diversity', devolution of power', local people deciding on their local priorities' etc., gives people in a federation a civic culture, which is germane in the survival of the whole system. Generally speaking, the political and economic culture of a federal system in terms of aggregate premises of governance is to a large extent, antithetical to the aspirations of individuals and interests that constitute it. That is why there is the need to work out a federalism to

ensure that though nobody is fully unhappy, but certainly not the type that everybody will be happy with the solution. But when federalism is allowed to work on injustices for the greater interests of a few, perhaps based on certain primordialities (ethnicity, religion, regional affiliation etc.), then pockets of contestation would undoubtedly emerge to affect its inner logic of the federation.

In Nigeria, federalism is not only in trouble but also seems too fragile to absorb the cancer of obvious disintegration at a time that the leadership seems to be in a state of infirmity, if not paralysis. Beyond the questionable background to the Nigerian nationhood emanating from its colonial antecedent, today, the political, economic and social issues surrounding a pragmatic and better parameter of human development, comfort and welfare within the aggregate premises of good governance, are largely antithetical to the wishes, aspirations, dreams, goals and interests of the majority of the communities that formed the Nigerian federation. That is why in our federation, for whatever illogicality, only a few of the over 150 million Nigerians are happy with the way things are going in the country. Perhaps, most of us are being made to live below human levels, we tend to wrongly view our relationship as citizens based on disharmony or conflict on the ethnicity and geographical area of where we come from rather than in a manner as to confront those making the lives of generality of the citizens worthless and meaningless in a midst of plentiful but wasted resources. In this case, while it breeds the pockets of disturbing dissents, contestations and conflicts by creating identities to search for comfort zones being manifested in the form of 'minorities' vs 'majority', 'indigenes' vs 'settlers', among others, it means therefore, that unless we collectively and genuinely address these problems most sincerely, we would continue to witness repeatable problems of crisis at the expense of our collective good and survival both as a people and a nation struggling to move ahead in the 21st century.

Be it federal or whatever, it is natural that man must live in a community and community life forms the foundation, which all civilizations sprawled and on which the 21st century is being built upon. While one can decide who to marry and live with, and which society one would want to live in at a point in life, nature has made human beings differently in a manner that nobody was given the opportunity to choose who his parents and great grandparents were or from which ethnic identity one should belong to. This made human beings to have peculiarity in their positive identities. But while some people elsewhere succeeded in transforming such different positive identities to enhance their capacities to transform their individual and societal misfortunes into bounteous opportunities, we in Nigeria are only capitalising on our differences to further sink into the abyss of national misfortune and catastrophe. The polemical and energy dissipating than productive debate about 'minority', 'majority', 'indigene' and 'settler' was perhaps because rightly or wrongly, "we" feel that "some" or "others" among us had subjected "us", "others" into unacceptable level of rewarding relationship in the federation. Therefore "theirs" had an overbearing impact on "our" search for the comfort zones federalism should naturally provide for all.

Conclusion

What we laboured to argue in this endeavour is that it doesn't take much to understand that we live in a complex federal system that historically speaking, is making it difficult to appreciate and respect our diversity, so that majority of Nigerians rightly or wrongly either feel marginalised, dominated or deprived. Even though there is no nation that does not experience difficulty in nation-building, ours seem too repeatable with no hope to its end. The Nigerian area for centuries had been a melting pot for people, cultures, polities and ideas that make the country complex today. The issues of 'minorities' fears and interests have been causing a lot of havoc for political and economic reasons. This tends to over-value the question of states creation exercise in solving the problem. While we so much emphasise our differences than what binds us a people in a nation whose potentials had been wasted, in the form of ethnic identity interests; the basis for the incessant agitation for more states, one may, if after 50 years of federal practice, the country has anything to show for the presence of 36 States in terms of development and deserving peace apart from self-centered, self-imposed and God-defying religious and political leaders, decayed infrastructures, wide-spread corruption, destroyed educational institutions, death traps, lack of electricity, kidnappings, banditry and armed robbery, total environmental degradation and infrastructure collapse?

Today, Boko Haram is an insignificant minority group whose deadly activities have once again ignited the question of national unity and survival. This means we must not sweep the genuine fears and aspiration of what we generally refer to 'minorities' in our federal set up. We must believe in ourselves and ability to solve our problems. While doing so, we don't need to look elsewhere or upon others. No person, country or organisation for example, saved Yugoslavia when it was disintegrating. Even the OAU could not save Ethiopia when Eritria seceded after more than a decade of warfare. Even Sudan is still battling with what they could have sat down with Southern Sudan to resolve. That Nigeria is daily sinking deeper and deeper into trouble is no comfort to millions of African men and women and children.

Therefore, it is important to note that what we refer to as the Federal Question and the crisis that surrounds it today is neither because some Nigerians are majority or minorities in an ethnic group nor whatever primordial attachment, rather, it is rooted in the politico-economic and social injustices that the actual majority of Nigerians are made to live in, so that at the level of governance, true federalism has long been compromised throughout the protracted military regimes in the country in a manner that it hardly keeps people happily together over the past 50 years. While federalism succeeded in bringing diverse plural nationalities together within the Nigerian project, our argument here is that it is true federalism than the unrealistic states creation that will keep plural Nigerian ethnic nationalities happily together. In this sense, a better or true federalism rather than the incessant multiplication of states will better resolve the minority conundrums been lorded over by the majority ethnic groups.

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CHALLENGES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AS A DISCIPLINE AND DEMOCRATIC SUSTAINABILITY IN NIGERIA

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Abstract

Political Science is known as the ‘master science’ and the handmaiden of democracy. As one of the oldest academic discipline in human history, it has contributed to the democratic development of many societies, particularly Nigeria. With the plethora of political challenges bedeviling Nigeria as a nation with seemingly no proactive solution in sight, the relevance of the discipline needs to be questioned. The paper assessed the role of Political Science in democratic sustainability in Nigeria. Adopting analytical and critical methods, it has become evident that Political Science is not living to expectations as a discipline as the handmaiden of democracy. Poor funding of researches, romanticisation and adoption of Western bourgeois/ capitalist paradigms, poor facilities and technology, abdication of intellectual integrity, inactivity of the Nigerian Political Science Association, among others, are the identified challenges limiting the impactful contribution of the discipline. For the discipline to make a meaningful contribution in democratic sustainability, the paper recommended deconstruction of Political Science from bourgeois scholarship, adequate funding of researches and programmes, publication and adoption of policy oriented researches and provision of facilities to enhance the teaching of the discipline.

Keywords: Democracy, Democratic Sustainability, Discipline, Political Science, Social Science

Introduction

Political Science as an academic discipline is one of the oldest in human history. The discipline engages in a scientific analysis of the rudiments of the political and socio-economic institutions and structures of government. An orderly organisation of the society and societal development are within the prism of the discipline. Like other social sciences, Political Science has contributed to democratic development in many societies including Nigeria. As argued by Gunnel (2004) cited in Harriger (2010), Political Science as a discipline has consistently devoted itself as a science to the understanding and propagation of democratic values. Hence, Political Science is seen

as the handmaiden of democracy although, that does not remove the fact that the Political Scientists cannot be used to subvert democracy itself even in a democratic regime.

In the recent times, as a result of myriads of political challenges facing Nigeria as a nation, critics began to ask questions as to the relevance of the discipline in proffering solutions to the problems, being a “master science”. As a result, Political Science is often viewed as a failed academic enterprise (Ayodele, 2005). A great concern has been raised as to the inability of the discipline to offer solution to many developmental and political issues bedeviling Nigeria as a nation. As argued by Ayodele (2005), if political science as a discipline analyses issues, it should have come up with politic-socio and economic solutions to a plethora of development challenges confronting Nigeria.

Conceptual Clarifications

Political Science

Defining Political Science can be elusive. It is such a nebulous concept that cannot be easily pinned down to a generally acceptable definition. As different perspectives exist on the conceptualising of central concepts in Political Science such as power, politics, influence and authority, discipline itself. Notwithstanding, it is imperative to look at how the concept of Political Science has been variously conceptualised.

Political Science can be viewed from two major perspectives: the traditional and contemporary. The scholars who constitute the traditional school are Plato, Aristotle, Gettel, Harold Laski, Gareis, Paul Janet, John Seeley, Lord Acton, among others. Their conception of Political Science has to do with study of state and structures of government. On the other hand, the modern school consists of scholars with behaviouralist orientations. Such include George Catlin, Charles Merriam, Gabriel Almond, Powell, G. Bingham, Harold Lasswell, David Easton, Robert Dahl, V.O. Key, Allan R. Ball, Shaw and Price, among others. They conceived Political Science as an academic discipline that studies power, influence and authority. Political Science is a social science that deals with systems of governance and analysis of political activities, thoughts and behaviour. Extensively, it deals with the theory and practice of politics which is commonly thought of as determining of the distribution of power and resources (Bhatti, 2018). It must be pointed out that, no matter how the discipline is conceptualised, whether from the traditional or modern view, it is much more concerned with the systematic study and analysis of politics.

Democratic Sustainability

Sustainability implies an ability or capacity of something to be maintained to sustain itself. Ogundiya (2009) defines democratic sustainability as having to do with regime maintenance and upholding of the key political institutions as the only legitimate framework for political contestation and adherence to democratic rules of the game. It is a consistent and sustained practice of democratic principles. The building of a sustained democracy involves strengthening of certain institutions such as the electoral

system, political parties, respect for human rights and judicial independence (Valenzuela, 1990).

Democracy can only be entrenched and sustained when the rule of law and fundamental human rights are respected and the governance is based on accountability, transparency, equity and justice. In Nigeria, efforts have been made to allow democracy, to be entrenched in the face of challenges confronting the nation, hence, Political Science as a discipline has a critical role to play.

The Contributions of Political Science to Democratic Sustainability in Nigeria

It is not a hidden fact that the discipline that is saddled with citizenship training and development among other social sciences is Political Science. As an academic discipline, it plays pivotal role in achieving democratic sustenance by moulding and developing good, effective and efficient citizens. Citizenship training is one of the goals of political science. This occurs through imparting the knowledge of government and administration. Also, in educating the citizens to know their rights, duties and obligations and perform them, go a long way in bringing—about democratic sustainability in the country. In a situation where the citizens do not know their rights and duties, the development of the society will be hampered. Public advocacy, political mobilisation and orientation on social issues have engaged the minds of the social scientists, particularly the political scientists in both the democratic and military regimes in Nigeria. With other social forces, members of the Political Science community have joined hands to protest against many social and economic policies that are not beneficial to the Nigerian people.

Right from the colonial era down to post independence era, citizens have been enlightened and educated on their rights and this has worked tremendously in liberating the Nigerian people from the colonial and authoritarian governments, even after independence. Proper citizenship training which is very important to good governance and democratic sustainability has been the attention of the discipline right from the outset as an academic discipline in Nigeria. Through citizenship training, Nigerians have become interested observers and participants in political arena. Though, the discipline might not have all answers to political issues and problems but can educate students in citizenship.

Through rigorous researches and publications, Political Science has been able to make discovery and disseminate truths about politics and government in Nigeria. There have been insightful debates generated as a result of the discoveries made by some eminent political scientists who are radically inclined about some of the socio-political challenges facing Nigeria as a nation. Expository theories have been developed to analyse the development challenges confronting the nation. The likes of Claude Ake, Bade Onimode, Adele Jinadu, Bayo Adekanye, and many others, have used their intellectual prowess to analyse issues and proffer solutions to Nigeria's problems. For instance, Claude Ake's classic book *Social Sciences as imperialism* (1983) succinctly unearthed the challenges inherent in Western Social Sciences as an analytical model for African problems. Also, the *Rising Poverty Equals Rising Conflict* propounded by Bayo Adekanye has been a useful explanatory model for explaining the

prevalent conflicts in Nigeria. In addition, through researches carried out in the discipline, recommendations have been made towards addressing policy issues in the country. The recommendations have been useful to the legal draftsmen, constitution makers, and legislative, executive and judiciary members in the art of governing.

Apart from preparing individual citizens for certain careers, Political Science provides academic and professional teaching and training for public services (Anifowose, 1999) in Federal, State and Local Government levels. If all levels of governments are adequately trained in the art of administration, it will contribute a long way to effective running of the government. Democratic sustainability will be difficult to achieve if mercenaries of government are occupied by inefficient people. Civil servants/bureaucrats who implement government policies at different levels must have mastery of the art of administration.

Political scientists in various universities and other research institutes have the duties of not only teaching and conducting researches but also engaging in community services or intellectual responsibilities. They are professionals who study society particularly the political system and systematically analyse what events mean in the overall fabric of society, politics and the state (Keman, 2018). There are two types of intellectuals; the traditional and organic intellectuals. The traditional intellectuals are the teachers, priests and administrators while the organic intellectuals are those connected to classes or enterprises that used intellectual to organise interests, gain more power, get more control (Said, 1994 cited in Jinadu, 1997). As argued by Jinadu (1997), the traditional intellectuals teach in various departments of Political Science in Nigerian universities and by the virtue of providing sources of advice and legitimisation, they can also be called organic intellectuals. The political bureau set up by the former head of state, President Ibrahim Gbadamosi Babangida in 1986 is a good example. Political scientists bridge the gap between the theoretical and practical politics to assist citizens in making decisions on national issues. This is the specialised role performed by the discipline. The roles played by political scientists can be productive in improving the citizens' lives. As noted by Bonnie, political scientists do participate in government as full-time employees on a temporary or career basis. A good example was the use of political scientists by President Roosevelt when the New Deal Programme was instituted; many of them were recruited into government administrative positions in order to make practical contribution towards national development. Political Science as a discipline does not only deal with knowledge impartation but practical application of the ideas acquired in the real political world.

Nigerian political scientists have at one point or the other served and are still serving at different capacities making contribution to the national development. This corroborates the view of Fasuwe (2004) cited in Bonnie (2005) that the crowning glory of academic is public service because it is seen as an honour for an academic to serve his fatherland. The intellectuals often come out of the laboratories and libraries to engage in social responsibility. As obtained in other climes, Nigerian academic political scientists have employed their expert knowledge and training at the disposal of their country to make the society a better place. Political Scientists do bridge the gap between the theoretical and practical professional politics to assist the citizens in decision making (Wasby, 1990). Some Nigerian Political Scientists have made use of

their intellectual property to channel the democratic course in this nation during the transition programmes. For instance, Political Bureau put in place during Babangida's military rule was peopled by the leading Political Scientists in Nigeria which include Professors Eme Awa, Yahaya, A.D, Oyeleye Oyediran and Haroun Adamu. Professors Eme Awa, Adele Jinadu, Tony Edoh and others were recruited at the National Electoral Commissions. Professor Oyovbaire served as the Political Adviser to the Chief of General Staff, Tunde Adeniran was the Director-General of MAMSER and Omo Omoruyi was the Director-General of the Centre for Democratic Studies. Contrarily, scholars like Adeladun have also argued against Political Scientists' engagement in government because it can lead to intellectual erosion. Also, it leads to brain drain which robs the Universities of the best intellectuals, giving rise to poorly researched but highly expensive handouts over genuine academic discipline. When top-flight academics with specialised knowledge take up government appointments in order to perform social responsibility, it might rob the academic body of not only its intellectuality but dignity and integrity as some might find it difficult to apply the paradigms, models and theories they have taught for years to problems in the society. This corroborates the opinions of Wasby (1970), Haruna (2003) and Bonnie (2005), that there are contradictions in scholars' viewpoints when they are in academic and government. Organic intellectuals often find it difficult to match the theories they teach in the classrooms with practice when they are called to apply them to life situations. Also, some of them might end up as collaborators with 'powers that be' to subvert people's wishes, becoming system compromisers. Despite the subversive tendencies that are inherently associated with the practitioners of the discipline, its roles cannot be underestimated in democratic development and sustainability of Nigeria as a nation.

Challenges Constraining Political Science as a Discipline for the Sustainability of Democracy in Nigeria

Several challenges have been hampering the adequate functioning of Political Science in ensuring sustainability of democracy in Nigeria. Political Science is unable to contribute meaningfully to democratic sustainability in Nigeria as a result of inadequate funding of research in the Nigerian universities and research institutes. Allocation to education generally is so meager particularly during this period of austerity measures. Political Science remains underfunded as an academic discipline. Most of the research projects are self-financed and are meant for promotion exercise rather than being targeted at long term research that will lead to definite solution to socio-economic issues bedeviling Nigerian society. Inadequate funding has led many social researchers including the political scientists to look out for external donor agencies and tied interests and priorities to their researches. Nigerian government remains a marginal contributor in researching in social issues.

Another challenge is the discriminatory funding of social science researches by the Federal Government of Nigeria. Nigerian government places emphasis on funding researches conducted in sciences which greatly manifest in disparity in funding post graduate education. For instance, in allocating Education Trust Fund, preference is given to funding of researches abroad while paltry sum of money is allocated to the

Social Scientists. This prevents the conduct of researches on social issues. Though scientists have a role to play in national development, funding their researches should not be to the negligence of social science researches. Therefore, there should be consilience between the Social Sciences and Sciences in advancing researches to solve societal issues.

Lack of facilities, technology and sophisticated methodology in the teaching of the discipline is a challenge confronting Political Science. Inadequate facilities such as projectors, CDs, Internet resources, among others, affect impactful teaching of the course. This often reflects in the poor quality of the students that are being churned out yearly. Manpower development has a lot to do in sustainable development. This will reflect in the implementation ability if the students are not properly and adequately trained. As argued by Ukwu (2001), there are not enough textbooks and most of the mushrooming journals end with volume 1, number one issue. This does not only apply to political science but other social science disciplines.

Another dilemma confronting the discipline is non-publication of many theses and dissertations that could be useful to policy makers and general public. On a yearly basis, projects are being written by the graduating students; very few of these are targeted at solving social problems but mainly for awarding grades. This is coupled by many thousands of theses and dissertations that are stored away in departmental and university libraries, un-catalogued, unread and unpublished. Universities are to be think tanks that should easily proffer solutions to economic, political and social problems. Many workshop and conference proceedings only gather dust in ministry archives mainly because researches carried out in many of the Nigerian higher institutions are geared towards promotion exercise.

There is high brain drain in many Nigerian higher institutions due to government's negligence of education at all levels. Incessant strikes which often paralyze educational activities serve as push factor to many political scientists. Many intellectuals that are capable of contributing to national development have run overseas for better jobs and pay packages. This was prevalent during the military administrations when Nigerian universities were locked up for many months. Many of radical and Neo-Marxist intellectuals were exiled and this depleted universities of the progress-minded scholars. Even with the advent of the civilian administration, things have not fared better educationally as many higher institutions have embarked on strikes on several occasions due to the state of disrepair of many of the institutions.

Another major factor limiting the discipline in meaningfully contributing to democratic development in Nigeria is over-romanticisation with Western paradigms which tend to shape the Third World nations including Nigeria after the Western nations. Many of the approaches, paradigms, models and concepts being adopted by African scholars in x-raying social problems are alien to African societies particularly Nigeria. No matter how appealing the paradigms are, they do not recognise the peculiarities and specificities of Nigeria as a nation. This is further aggravated by neo-liberal economic policies that are being imported and implemented in our nation which perpetuate social crises. Claude Ake explicitly revealed in his book *Social Science as imperialism* how the Western nations continue to indoctrinate African nations through

their Western Social Sciences. Hence, it has been argued that there is need for African Social Sciences which will pay attention to African peculiar situations. Also, in Political Science, the theory of political development tends to portray the Western world as being the best and therefore, Nigeria should fashion its development after the West. Ayodele (2005) argued that political research and teaching especially of the kind labeled “bourgeois scholarship” perpetually entrench colonial and Western ethnocentric beliefs. Hence, there is need to deconstruct social sciences, particularly from Western intellectual imperialism in order to fashion out the kind of government we want in our nation.

Abdication of intellectual integrity by academics in the corridors of power has contributed greatly in eroding the relevance of Political Science as a discipline. It has been closely observed that many political scientists that have served in one capacity or the other, failed to uphold the basic tenets of the practice. They have not been able to match theory with practice coupled with the fact that many of them become system compromisers possibly because of economic survival, fear of death and rejection by their family/primordial members. As has been argued by Ibrahim (1997), a central issue arises in the debate about political science and political practice as to whether the members of the academy should enter the arena of practice because many of the scholars tend to be misused by the politicians for the purpose of subverting the good state and good governance. Majority of political scientists who offered their services to politicians do so in a way that consciously subverts their training and professional commitment. They end up being sycophants and use their skills to enable their bosses to acquire and use power to subvert the good state and good governance; hence, they subvert the professional integrity of the discipline. Some intellectuals have played prominent roles in shaping the character and content of governance but as pointed out by Ayodele (2005), their contributions can hardly serve as motivation and inspiration to seek more experts, as one is not convinced of their input in causing or influencing positive change in the society. There are political scientists who rejected public service but remained committed to their professional callings and there are some who served meritoriously upholding the integrity of the discipline.

The passive activity of the Nigerian Political Science Association limits the contribution of the discipline. The association does not make much impacts nowadays compared to what obtained in the past. Though, conferences are organised yearly but most of the outputs are published for promotions rather than application to political issues threatening corporate existence of Nigeria as a nation. As argued by Olaopa (2016), Nigerian Political Science Association as a professional body needs to organise and coordinate pedagogical issues in order to have positive impacts in the teaching and application of the discipline. The need to connect theory and practice in analysis of political problems in Nigeria is important.

Conclusion

The paper examined the relevance of political science as a discipline towards democratic sustainability in Nigeria. Political scientists are in a unique position to provide leadership in significant realms of the society in their specialised fields such as

public administration, international relations, political economy, comparative politics, political philosophy/theory, among others. Democratic sustainability which encourages sustainable development requires the efforts of all stakeholders particularly the leaders and followers. Also, most institutions in Nigeria such as the police, political parties, electoral commissions, legislatures, executives, judiciary, regulatory institutions and security forces have poorly performed, hence, sustainable development become elusive in Nigeria. Therefore, political scientists, economists, sociologists and other intellectuals should come together to bring about social engineering to make Nigeria achieve sustainable development particularly during this era of globalisation. Also, attention should be given to adequate funding and publications of policy-driven researches targeted at solving social issues, provision of education facilities to promote teaching and research, change in the leadership attitude towards education generally, encouragement of long term researches targeted at solving socio-economic issues, deconstructing Political Science from bourgeois scholarship, establishment of democratic institutes to train and retrain public office holders, collaborative/integrative research among social scientists in tackling socio-economic issues and reintroduction of political philosophy to be taught as a subfield of political science in order to ensure probity, justice, fairness, accountability and good governance.

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**TOLULOPE... HEROINE FROM BEYOND THE SKIES
(PIONEER NIGERIAN FEMALE
COMBAT HELICOPTER PILOT)**

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*Ayon a yon!
Wo 'Boro bi se yon galegale
Wo Boro
See!
See how
This Exquisite Beauty from the skies
Glides, and bestrides
Our awe-stricken world;
She gallops and saunters
Foraging the skies;
See!
Our warrior in the skies
Our woman of wars.*

Yes!
I have borrowed
One Ajon's* cognomen
To decorate *Yeyeyedo's*** offspring
From far atop the ancient hills of Ufe***.
This one is a warrior in the air
She is a warrior in a deluge of prayers.

Tolu!
You emerge fresh
From the early morning dewily-dawn
And the warmth of your early sunrays

Talc our gaunt, cadaverous skins

Curing the bitterness of the vapid Harmattan Season
Of your December birth.

You came

With enlivening suntan of new sun rays
And we relish its soothing balm;
Soon enough it dawned in the dawn
That a new Messiah had arrived
From above the vaults of
The Ancient hills of Ufe,
–Even in the **KDJ** that house your umbilical cord
And the Diasporan ground of your recent nurture
With a periscope of redeeming forms
Permute the chaos of our world.

Tolulope,
You are the lone cotyledon
That sprouts, and breaks open the glacial mound,
Promising the fruition of fresh phalanges of green beans
To the delight of subsistent farmers
The uncanny lyrics of Agbo**** can now be raised;
(Eni buru Elere mo je'Gi
No matter how dry the lands
The farmer of beans will eat fresh fruits):
Every generation must perforce produce its own Martyr
Your innocent eyeballs,
Very early in the morning
Have begun to drown the drought of our harrowed land.

Your promise
-That in the fullness of your time
You will fly the kites and planes of war
Rid our harassed and troubled land
Of murderous bandits, kidnappers,
A-K 47 –carrying herdsmen of dubious stock,
Cure our land of Boko Haram-
Has begun, just after the dawn
Of a freshly ripening day
To yield bountiful harvests;
Bringing mirth to the sorrow-surfeited souls-
Of our hapless land-
Where insecurity keeps our mind's eyes open
All night long.

And, suddenly, suddenly
Came the killer of thunder –
Who brings certain death to the lightning in the stormy rain,
Breaking into the roaring socket of the sky
Routing the death-laden north-east forest,
Where hundreds of virgins before their teens

Have been converted into hapless mothers
From unknown, patters—
Has been slashed down
By mere freaky villains from yet uncovered destinations;
And yet unraveled motives.

And then,
The ardent hero-giant of our clime,
The maiden model of our time
Who harassed the forest mauling demonic dare-devilry argots,
Aiming to rid our land of death-dealers,
Was halted, midrib.

Abruptly, so abruptly,
Before the moon has fully formed its song
On our nation's thirsty lips
Awulele—thunderous ululations— have melted into wailings
Yangandan re-re-ja- praise chants— have exchanged batons for dirges
Our festival drums have fallen into sullen silence;
Joys of jubilation yielded space to mournful mourning;
Yes, a symphony of dirges has spread
Across the surface of our earth.

Tolu our ardour heroine,
Carrying the torch ahead of the youth of the future—
Men and women;
Daughter of Arotile—
With a promise to supply the pillar that powers the house erect
(that's the rendering of your name and the promise of your coming)
Only yesterday,
You led the land to victory song.
Today,
All that is left in that barn of harvest is a bouquet of tears
And the gnashing of sorrow sharpened teeth.

Tolu,
You're our rarest gift from the gods
(As your hurt and hurting mother confirms)
Whose early morning exploits
Daze and dazzle the world to stupefaction.
All we awaited, in the bright sunshine before yesterday,
Before the blight of gruesome death descended upon us
Was the *Obitan* nuptial tunes
Camwood on your hands and wedlock waters on your feet
(after more chivalrous epaulettes have been won)
Now, the house water-pot has been shattered

And the Palm-wine gourd broken into smithereens.
All the festive drums from Okunland have gone suddenly silent;
And the festive songs of *Agbelege, Agbo, Obitan, Ejigi, Are iyawo, Tetebiare* ****
Are hushed or gone raucous before the un-appointed day:
All choric voices from the cherubic choirs have gone mute;
On the whispering tales of end-time?

We were just witnessing the rise of a new Amazon
Sauntering forth from among the Galaxies of stars
To rev hope into our beleaguered Earth,
When the deluge of salt-water,
Welling forth from depths of sorrow,
Wrought by villainous forces of darkness on the prowl
Overcame our land,
Spawning a dreadful darkness on a bright sunny day.

I ask you, great daughter of our land;
Is this the death of dawn battling the eyelid of dew
Or a journey in search of an enduring Boon?

In the twilight of the eclipse of the dusky sun
And a flourish of light from a new moon,
Do we await the restoration of fresh hope
From the seeds that you have begun to sow?

I know
This story is not a flashy dash of an Elephant
Nor a brief occurrence of joyful times;
You enthused a bundle of hope;
An avalanche of early morning blessing
Whose sweetness we have begun to relish
In our season of drought

Dear Doyen,
Look down then from the Great beyond,
Hovering the sky with your iron plumage
With fresh plums of myriad pumpkin yields,
And farm harvests as new seasons grow—

Hmm!
If we mend our sordid ways
Bequeathed by the amblyopia of predators
And cut and tread new paths to the future.

Adieu too soon,
Minted morning icon

Joining the ancestors after mission hastily accomplished,
Having planted your many selves of heroes and heroines among us here;
Continue to return to us several, several times,
As ululations of your immortal self
Thunder like cleansing rain from the Mangrove to the desert dunes.

*(Your epopee has not been born;
The tongue to write your song still clings to the roof of our pen... with unformed
alphabets)*

**Ajon is the Legendary/anthropomorphic Queen of Kirriland in Bunu, Kabba-Bunu
Local Government, Kogi State, Nigeria*

*** Yeyeyedo is the heroine turned Deity of Ufe (Iffe), Ijumu LGA, Kogi State where
Tolulope's parents hail from.*

**** Ufe is the alternative/original name of Iffe.*

***** Festivals, ceremonies, rites from Okunland (Northeastern Yoruba people in Kogi
State)*

***** Agbo is a major Raffia Masquerade in Okunland.*

***** KDJ – Kaduna Junction; so it was known in the 70s.*

ODE TO MAY

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Sing, May, sing
Sweetly like mayflies
Out of neon rebirth
And cropless green
Keenly shoots
Of nursery buds
Enticing, invoking
The magnificent smile of the Virgin Mary
With a tender muse
Of rodents and green nectars
From sudden cloud

O brilliantly, freshly
Of pure fragrance
Drooling, blooming
From April showers
The yielding Maia, sing
To man, meaning me
As now, meaning always,
Whenever you come
Throbbing like May crocus
Sing! May!! Sing!!!
To numb ripples.

POWER AND THE GLORY IN TIME OF THE PANDEMIC

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The crown and the crescent
Stand side by side on the scale of value
In the face of the coronavirus
Among the people of the land of the Sheiks,
Great scholars and custodians of the crescent.

But when the pandemic required
A measure of preference of value
Between the crown and the crescent
Their leaders put their faith in the crown
And closed the doors of the house of mercy
To throng the palace and worship the king.

The crescent stood stilted over the silent minaret
The mosque yawned with emptiness
As worshippers were barred from prayers
Against the spread of the pandemic.

And the three faithful Imams
That led worshippers in prayers
Were they not vilified for defying state law,
But the king that died in the pandemic
Was he not venerated with great crowd for burial
In defiance of state law.

It's better to abandon the house of God in time of need
Than keep the palace of the king empty in time of death,
So the state set aside its law against gathering
To enthrone a new king with fanfare.
And the people that booed the clergy
Now bowed before the new king
Pulling great crowd for the coronation
In defiance of state law.

THE LIMIT OF SCIENCE

Where science fails to explain
Traditional sense fills the gap,
Not with empirical evidence
But with imperial intelligence,
Like the virus science fails to cure
But native intelligence knows for sure
That for every ailment there is a cure
Nature provided in the woods
A fact that leaves science still in the woods.

A virus veiled in the gullets
Is it not a disease of gormandizers,
Then defeat the gluttons
The global economic terrorists
Devouring human resources
Pillaging natural endowments
Of nations and all humanity,
And then is the virus not defeated?

And who but Wuhan
The centre for the zoonotic disease of gluttony
And Hubei the hub of the gluttons
Relishing every flesh and feather,
Where but there is the origin of the pandemic
The centripetal force of epidemics
Where science ends and sense begins.

Abubakar Othman

I WORK NO MORE

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CAST AND CREW

Jane	Tina Oden
Obika	Ikenna Onwuegbuna
Ike	Inye Kem Abonta
Enyidia	Nwedobong Ubeng
Caretaker	Larry Zuka
Artistic Director	Inye Kem Abonta
Music Director	Nah Kofie
Technical Support	Tee Mac Productions

CHARACTERS

Ike	-----Retired civil servant
Enyidia	-----His wife, a petty trader
Obika	-----Ike's nephew, a medical doctor
Jane	-----Obika's wife
Caretaker	-----Representing the landlord

EVENING

(A sitting room; Obika is putting some clothes into a travelling kit. Jane, his wife, comes in.)

JANE

Are you leaving this night?

OBIKA

Yes, right now. I told you.

JANE

Surely you can leave in the morning and still get to Onitsha. It is only five or six hours to Onitsha. People do not embark on night journeys these days unless it is extremely important. It is too dangerous, Obika.

OBIKA

Jane, please don't start this again.

JANE

I am not starting anything. You know, yourself, how dangerous it is to travel by night these days. The roads are terrible, infested not only by potholes but by armed bandits and kidnappers. I am just worried about your safety, that's all. If something happens to you what are we going to do? Why are you risking your life, Obika, why?

OBIKA

I will not sleep a wink if I do not leave Lagos tonight. In fact, I have not been myself since that youth corper told me what is happening to my uncle? I told you how this man denied himself in order to send me to school. I hope my journey is not too late already. I am not waiting a minute longer. *(Stops as he is about to go back to the room for more items)* You still don't get the picture, do you? *(Goes in and comes back with more clothes)*

JANE

Until this moment I thought I did. I understood that you owe your uncle some favour, and I agree completely. But right now, you are acting like someone with some guilt on his conscience. Is it a sense of gratitude or guilt that is driving you, darling?

OBIKA

(Coming back) Exactly! Remember I told you that many people I owed some favour died before I could reciprocate their gesture. Some died before I could help them, and others died because I kept procrastinating. Yes, you are right. There is a sense of guilt in this. I will not forgive myself if same thing happens with my uncle. That is why I am not waiting a minute longer. Delays, I have learned from experience, are dangerous. I will take my next breakfast in Onitsha, with my uncle. *(Lifts his luggage about to make his exit)*

JANE

A second! Are you forgetting something?

OBIKA

(Thinks for a moment and then remembers) Oh I am sorry. *(Goes and kisses his wife goodbye)*

JANE

So, when are we expecting you back in Lagos?

OBIKA

Hopefully in two days time, in a morning bus, of course.

JANE

That's alright. Just be careful. And greet your uncle for me.

OBIKA

I will. Just take care of the house, okay?

JANE

Sure! And when our son wakes up and asks me...

Obika

Just tell him that something came up and I had to rush to Onitsha to see my uncle.

JANE

Ok. (*Handing him an envelope*) My token of appreciation to Uncle Ike.

OBIKA

Appreciation? What did he do for you?

JANE

You told me all he did for you.

OBIKA

I know exactly what he did for me, but I don't know what he did for you. You haven't even met him yet.

JANE

Can't you see? If he did not fund your education how on earth would I have met this wonderful man? (*They regard each other for a moment*)

OBIKA

You think too much. (*Leaves*)

MORNING

(*Mr. Ike's house. He comes out with his tools to go to work. He stands hands akimbo looking up to the ceiling, lost in thought. As if talking to someone up there*)

MR. IKE

What have I done?

Whose property have I coveted?

What heinous crime have I committed?

Why has life chosen to toss me about like a rag in the flood?

Why is life putting blocks on my way and dragging me in the mud?

First, a civil servant without regular salaries,

Now, without a gratuity or a pension.

I have become a labourer in my old age

Begging for crumbs and odd jobs that can barely feed my family.

My children are in the streets selling sachets of water when their mates are in school.

That is not the life I chose for them!

When will it all end? When will my tribulations end? I have worked all my life and what good has that done. I am not going to work today, or any day. I WORK NO MORE!

(He slumps into a chair. Enyidia comes in from outside with a 4-gallon container of water on her head. She sees her husband).

ENYIDIA

Thank God you have not gone to work. I met our landlord's wife on the way and we got talking. Let me put down this load and I will tell you all about it. *(She goes through the room door and comes back shortly, exercising her neck and using one end of her wrapper to wipe sweat off her face and neck)* She told me that an agent brought a man who needs an accommodation urgently, and that the man is ready to pay five years rent in advance. Five years! Papa Adaku! You know what that means, don't you? The landlord has been very compassionate with us all these years. We've not been able to pay his rent yet. But I doubt if he will let this chance slip through his fingers. And the whole world will bear witness that he has been too patient with us. He has his own problems, you know. Papa Adaku, what are we going to do? *(Ike did not move. She looks at him closely, shakes him a little and then more violently with panic in her voice)* Papa Adaku! Papa Adaku! Can you hear me?

MR. IKE

(Violently, to Enyidia's shock) Off course I heard you! I have been afflicted by all kinds of ailments, but deafness isn't one of them, at least not yet. I heard you.

ENYIDIA

You heard me?

MR. IKE

(In one breathe) The landlord is coming to eject us from his house tomorrow because I have not been able to pay rent for three years and someone is carrying a bag full of five years rent advance to give him and he will be a fool to resist, and what am I going to do about it? *(Breathes out)* Nothing! Enyidia, nothing!

ENYIDIA

What? Did I hear you well?

MR. IKE

I don't know.

ENYIDIA

Oh my God I hope he has not lost his mind as well. I can't handle this situation alone. God don't let him loose his mind...

MR. IKE

Amen! (*Turns away*)

There is a knock on the door.

ENYIDIA

(*Jumps with fright*) That must be the landlord. Oh God! He has come so early. (*Moves stealthily towards the window to peep out. Comes back and whispers to her husband*) It is the caretaker.

MR. IKE

Bid him welcome. Since when did I become a fugitive in my house? What crime have I committed that I will run and hide when I hear a knock on the door? Open that door wide and let him in. (*Enyidia opens the door and the caretaker comes in*)

CARETAKER

Mr. Ike I salute you.

MR. IKE

I salute you too. How are your people?

CARETAKER

We are fine, and yours?

MR. IKE

We are alive and we thank God.

CARETAKER

Yes, we thank God. (*Clears his throat*)

MR. IKE

Please sit down. I have no kola to offer you. But of course, I am sure you know that already. (*Caretaker only clears his throat.*)

CARETAKER

Please, don't worry yourself about kola. We eat kolanut when we have it. If we don't, should we steal? Don't worry yourself.

MR. IKE

I am not. When you have so much to worry about you don't worry anymore. (*Caretaker clears his throat yet again.*) But I am sure you were not sent here to clear your throat.

CARETAKER

What?

MR. IKE

Do you realise how many times you have cleared your throat since you walked into this house?

CARETAKER

You are a very funny man Mr. Ike. No matter the situation you remain your funny self. Everybody will miss you in this neighbourhood.

MR. IKE

I will miss them too, for sure. What did he say?

CARETAKER

Thank you. (*Clears his throat again*) I was given this message since yesterday but, I hadn't the courage to deliver it. But it was meant to be an urgent message, so this morning I decided that it will do no good keeping it.

MR. IKE

The landlord sent you.

CARETAKER

Yes.

MR. IKE

God bless him. There are no two people like him in this country. I hope I will be able to repay his kindness in this life. Believe me, his benevolence shocks me. I am neither his brother nor his in-law yet, he allows me to live in his house rent free all these three years. And, look at me, always hoping that I will be able to show him how grateful I am one day somehow. That man, I owe him my life.

CARETAKER

But...

MR. IKE

Whatever line of action he decides to take now I will not blame him. I will not. Since this year he has gone from giving us one-month notice, to two weeks, to one week and now...

CARETAKER

Well, I am relieved to hear that because he told me to tell you that the flat is needed in two days' time.

ENYIDIA

Two days?

CARETAKER

Yes! (*Getting up to go*) I have to go since you have a lot to pack in such a short time. It is a pity you have to leave this way. You are such a nice man. You do not deserve this. That was why the landlord could not come to tell you himself. He has no choice. He needs money badly.

MR. IKE

Yes, I know. Thank you very much for your concern. (*They shake hands and the caretaker hurries away*) I need money, too.

ENYIDIA

Two days, Papa Adaku! Where are we going to anyway? I suggested a long time ago that we better go back to the village, but you said no.

MR. IKE

And I am still saying no to that. There must be a way out of this. (*He paces up and down and then*) How much do you have on you?

ENYIDIA

I can only tell when the children come back with today's returns. At the end of today my share at the Daily Contribution will come to four thousand five hundred Naira. But, what will that solve in this matter?

MR. IKE

Perhaps the village will not be a bad idea, after all. Just for a short while. You and the children. I will remain here and see if they will pay me my gratuity at least. Don't worry. Just start putting our things together. I want to go out and see what I can do. (*Enyidia goes into the room and Mr. Ike thinks for a while. He is about to go out when somebody knocks on the door. Enyidia rushes out from the room*) Enyidia I have told you... look you will get a stroke if you carry on this way.

ENYIDIA

That must be the people that will throw our things out.

MR. IKE

So what? We need help with the packing, don't we? Here it comes (*He opens the door and stands looking speechless at the caller*) Is this Obika I am seeing, or his ghost?

OBIKA

(*With his travelling bag slung down his shoulder*) It is me uncle. I am not a ghost.

MR. IKE

Obika!

OBIKA

Uncle.

MR. IKE

Obika my son!

OBIKA

Uncle it is me.

MR. IKE

This is unbelievable. Please come in. You have been in America for so many years I thought you will never come back again. When did you return?

ENYIDIA

Obika, Obika. Hei! God is wonderful. Eh-eh!

OBIKA

This is your wife? I wouldn't have recognised her on the way. I saw her only once.

MR. IKE

Yes, as a new bride.

OBIKA

Yes.

ENYIDIA

I would not have recognised you either. You were very young when I saw you last. See how mature and robust you are looking now.

OBIKA

Oh! Old age is setting in.

ENYIDIA

And what a time to come, too. Did you dream about us?

MR. IKE

Em... Enyidia, find something for him. (*To OBIKA*). What I would do if I could is to slaughter a goat before you sit down. That is what a moment like this calls for. But let it be.

OBIKA

Uncle, you slaughtered all the goats and cows you could for me when you paid for me to read medicine in the university. Maybe you have forgotten but, I will never forget that you had no house, no wife, no child, no car, nothing at all and your salary was barely enough to feed you. How you did it, I still cannot tell.

MR. IKE

Only a fool would let a brain like yours be wasted. But let's forget about that for now. I suppose you will need to take a bath first before eating. (*Calls*). Enyidia! (*Finds her still standing there*).

ENYIDIA

(Stepping away from Obika) Papa Adaku, just a moment. Where will I get the something to give him?

MR. IKE

Get something from mama Ada. I will pay her later.

ENYIDIA

Unless you will go to her yourself, I will not do that because you know she will not give us even a matchstick on credit. Hasn't she made it clear enough?

OBIKA

Uncle, I hope you are not bothering yourselves for me.

MR. IKE

No, I was just asking her to put water for you to bath.

OBIKA

Don't worry. I will do all that in the hotel. I came straight to this place to let you know that I am around. I will lodge into a hotel and clean up, then I will come so we can talk about your rent, and other issues, as well.

MR. IKE

How did you know about that?

ENYIDIA

I said it. He must have been told in a dream.

OBIKA

Well, sort of. I saw Chioma Anozie in Lagos yesterday, and she told me everything, including the amount of money involved.

MR. IKE

Chioma is in Lagos?

ENYIDIA

Have you forgotten that is where she has been posted to do her Youth Service?

MR. IKE

Chioma. Our landlord's daughter?

OBIKA

Yes, is it not Anozie she answers?

MR. IKE

Yes, I don't know what I was thinking. Oh, so it is in Lagos she is serving?

OBIKA

Yes.

MR. IKE

It is a small world. How did you recognise her? She was very small when you left.

OBIKA

I saw her folder at the Youth Corps' Camp Clinic and asked her who she was and she told me. And she also told me everything that has been happening to you. So when are you expected to vacate your flat?

ENYIDIA

In two days o. I was even packing when you came in.

OBIKA

You don't need to pack anymore. That is why I have come.

ENYIDIA

He finally ejected us because somebody agrees to pay him five years rent in advance.

OBIKA

Don't worry, he will not eject you.

MR. IKE

Are you saying you are going to...to...clear...

OBIKA

Yes I am. And, the only way to make sure this situation does not repeat is to pay subsequent rents in advance. The question is: do you still like it here? Would you like to continue living in this house?

MR. IKE

I love it here. Nice memories. This is like my home. The landlord and his family are like family to me and my family.

ENYIDIA

And, to our children, too.

OBIKA

That is all I need to hear. You love the place and you love the people. Then you deserve to live here.

ENYIDIA

We are owing three years rent. Three years plus, actually.

OBIKA

I know.

ENYIDIA

And you are going to pay all that for us?

(Enyidia begins to dance around. Mr. Ike watches her a while and then joins while Obika is amused. Enyidia embraces him and Mr. Ike follows.)

OBIKA

You have done enough dance for one day. We do not have any time to waste now. Why don't you follow me to the hotel so I can change after which we will go and see the landlord. I also have a message for him from his daughter. *(Suddenly remembers)* Oh! My wife says I should give you this. *(Hands an envelope to him)*

MR. IKE

Oh really? She doesn't even know me. God bless her. I like her already. *(But Obika is already on the Phone)*

OBIKA

(On the phone) Hi honey! ... They are well, but the situation is worse than I envisaged. ...Yes, I will. Yes, they are ecstatic. Call you later. ... Love you too. *(Hangs up)*

Ike

Your wife?

OBIKA

Yes. Let's go.

IKE

I would have loved to thank her.

OBIKA

You will do that in the evening.

IKE

That's ok. Enyidia, in case anyone comes while I am gone, you know what to tell them.

ENYIDIA

Don't you worry. Leave that one to me. See you soon. *(They leave and Enyidia does some more dance steps before going into the room).*

CURTAIN

The play history

This play was first performed at the Congress Hall of Nicon Noga Hilton Hotel, Abuja on 12th November 2005, during the Second Annual ECK Music Festival.

