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IKENGA, after which the journal has been named, is a cult object of the Igbo-speaking peoples to which traditionally is attributed success or good fortune in the professions or in life generally. It is also closely associated with the right arm with which a man hacks his way through life. IKENGA could, therefore, be briefly described as the Igbo god of achievement. The journal is dedicated to the critical study of the fortunes of the black man down the centuries, and of his contemporary problems and dilemmas. Its interest covers the entire spectrum of African Studies.

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**SOCIAL MANIPULATION AND THE RISE OF BABY MAMA  
SYNDROME IN NIGERIA:  
SPOKESMAN FOR THE ORACLE AS PARADIGM**

**Cindy Anene Ezeugwu**

**Introduction**

Single parenting which in the contemporary times have come to be popularly known and identified as baby mama or baby daddy phenomenon until recently, is almost foreign to our society and considered as a misnomer to our cultural values. In the words of Uchenna, Azuka- Obieke, “where they exist at all, they are ignored or tagged as exceptional phenomenon”(117). Contemporary Nigeria is fraught with the challenges emanating from baby mama challenges which is escalating into a dangerous trend and it is like an infection that is catching many women like wild fire. Many are shocked at the rate at which these ladies are so comfortable with having babies outside wedlock without any form of legal or marital commitment from the men. Azuka- Obiek pointed out that;

The aggressive influence of Western culture has impacted so much on traditional family value in Nigeria. This coupled with increasing socio-economic demand on traditional family life and the attendant social complexities have worked to erode strong positive family values associated with traditional Nigerian families. Consequently, single parenting hitherto an aberration in the recent past is now gaining societal acceptance, but not without its negative tendencies (117).

A baby mama can be viewed as a woman or mother who is not married to her child’s father. The baby mama coinage is originally from Creole in Jamaica meaning ‘baby mother’ Peter L Patrick explains that “the term baby mama and baby definitely imply that there is not a marriage, not even a common law marriage , but rather, the child is an outside child” (228). The term baby mama is used to define an unmarried young woman of child bearing age who has had a child or more outside wedlock for a man who she is not legally married to. It is often used when the relationship is simply sexual with no marital strings attached. One of the biggest challenges associated with this syndrome is that the relationships between baby mamas and baby daddies are more often than not fleeting, unstable and prone to violent, stalking, blackmailing and numerous court cases, threats to life and insecurity. Thus, boyfriends and girlfriends move in and out of the homes to the detriment of the children. The woman may or may not be in an intimate relationship with the man. She may determine to have the baby because of some sort of position of fame which is attributed to the man, who may either be wealthy, a celebrity or a powerful man who is connected in the society. Many times, many of these baby mamas try to use the children as a weapon to get the man and what he has to offer. Many people consider the term baby mama as an offensive term used by a man to describe a woman whom he has a child or children with but is not married to her. Compared to ex-wife or girlfriend, the term ‘baby mama’ is often viewed as derogatory and has a

negative connotation because many women in this category are viewed as desperate, gold diggers, emotionally starved women who deliberately have these babies with a view to trap or keep the men, become popular, or to have access to child support payments as is the case for women living in the western world (40). A baby mama can be from any tribe, religion, country, social status or class.

The western imported culture of baby mama is now so appallingly common that it is even celebrated most especially in the entertainment industry. In the foreign scene, celebrities in the likes of Kim Kardashian and her sisters, Halle berry, Dwight Howard, Eddy Murphy, Michael Jackson among others make having children outside wedlock look like no big deal given the fact that many of them are rich, famous and have attained the celebrity status in their endeavours. In the African scene, Nigeria in particular, the likes of Onyeka Onwenu, Tuface Idibia (now 2Baba), Wizkid, Tekno, Davido, Flavour, Linda Ikeji, Genevieve Nnaji, Ibinabo Fiberesima, among others all have children outside wedlock. It is a sad situation that many of our celebrities who we look up to as role models are projecting the baby mama trend as a norm. While many of our musicians would prefer to maintain a hyper sexualized image of happening guys who know how to 'love them and leave them' a Jamaican parlance which has found expression in describing these unwanted women and pregnancy scourge.

A stereotypical view held about some baby mamas is that some of them are lazy, advancing in age, poor, uneducated, insecure and may only set out to trap men into getting them pregnant or trick them into making them believe that they are on pills just to lure them into unprotected sex. Their aim being that the men may marry them since they already have children for them. They use these children as pawns or weapons to get what they want from the men responsible for their pregnancies, a bait that most times fail.

Many baby daddies have problems putting food on the table of their baby mamas as a result of hardship, unemployment or outright rejection. Thus many of the baby mamas end up depending on their own parents, siblings, neighbours and friends for their means of livelihood and sustenance. A shocking array of young women may be brought into the troubles of baby mama issues and sometimes some can get into conflict with some other women who may also be seeing their baby daddy and who may also have a child for the baby daddy. Academic experts view these other women as "romantic rivals". Many people in the likes of Peter L are of the view that the baby mama concept is a borrowed norm from the western decadent culture, who because of the high rate of divorce, adopts the baby mama ideology to avoid paying alimony or being forced to vacate their property for the women. This brings us to the issue of some people trying to dodge marital responsibility while at the same time wanting to enjoy marital bliss without being married.

Many Africans are known to copy many western values or try to manipulate our own social values without weighing or bothering to understand their implications. Some see the baby mama concept as a modern way of making babies outside marriage to appear acceptable. This is viewed as damaging the moral fabrics of our society, and one wonders why a woman will go through nine months of pregnancy to

have a child for a man who is not interested in marrying her. The researcher is of the view that this may be viewed as an act of desperation instead of love. Or why a man would want to have a child with someone but would not want any form of commitment with that person.

In Africa, Nigeria in particular, it is often believed that children bind couples forever and going by this assertion, one wonders why a man will knowingly have a child or two with a woman outside wedlock and then move on to have more children with other women. Still another school of thought in the likes of Azuka-Obieke, Rev. Fr. John Ushi, among others, view the term as suitable for morally bankrupt persons that are devoid of dignity, prestige and responsibility. Many baby mamas are not financially stable while some are seen as gold diggers who are out to reap from their baby father's fame. Talking from the medical point of view, some medical personnel are of the view that it is becoming increasingly difficult for some women to bear children after their wedding as a result of either nature, what we eat or inhale as a result of pollution, ill health or many of the chemicals that are used as drugs which we take, hence the fear of procuring abortion if they mistakenly get pregnant is also a contributory factor to this menace. Abortion is seen by many people as an action which may later lead to infertility or damage the uterus and is making some women to keep any pregnancy that comes out of extra marital affairs. Some women opt to have children out of wedlock especially when they are advancing in age and are unsure of getting a husband.

Elementary definition of syndrome often describes a consternation of symptoms; things, events etc related to a certain condition, it can also be defined as a predictable pattern of circumstances, behaviours, events etc associated with a particular social condition. Arising from this assertion, pregnancies and child bearing outside wedlock are the social condition we are dealing with in this study. Baby mama syndrome therefore is the constellation of circumstances, people, events, relationships, behaviour and negative effects related in any way to two people making a baby together when they are not married to each other. It is not a medical or psychological diagnosis although some of the negative effects on individual baby daddies and especially on baby mamas and their children can be both psychological and medical. Most times, many of the baby daddies do not have the intention of marrying their baby mamas especially if they are already married, not compatible, poor or younger than their baby mama. Some women will argue that they would rather be baby mamas than to become second wives. The number of illegitimate births in our country every year is huge and this phenomenon is gradually eroding part of our cultural values with lasting negative effects on individuals, especially children, government and the society.

Single parenting popularly known as baby mama did not just arrive in Africa, although it is widely frowned at, but with modernity, liberalism and enlightenment in the society, it is beginning to be seen as one of the ways of avoiding divorce especially when the man is not ready to settle down. Doyel Robert who writes from the point of view of a family judge in Florida for several years states that "he has been involved in over fifteen thousand restraining order cases, as well as thousands of

dependency, custody and paternity cases. Thus, his concern about the prevalence of unwed births and identifying the problems, led him to write a book about it. Doyel posits that “jealousy, poor impulse control, unrestrained sexuality and the inability to get a grip on their lives and their future are some the reasons for baby mama syndrome” (42). One of the many issues ravaging our society is that in our society, many people no longer value the nuclear family system as they once did. Divorce is on the increase and the value for relationship is being eroded on daily basis and the effect is that many people are beginning to lose interest in marriage. Some of the resultant effects as Doyel states include “violent behaviour, insecurity and psychological trauma” (38). The children are exposed to physical dangers, neurological problems, depression, loneliness and domestic violence. As Maduwesi, E.J. and Emenogu E. rightly pointed out, “the sons to fathers who commit acts of domestic violence are likely to be batterers too” (10), the children end up being the victims.

In light of the foregoing, the researcher is of the view that there is an urgent need for us to focus on rebuilding and sensitizing the families which is believed to be the most important unit of human existence on the to revisit our rich cultural values. We need to search for the real value of self worth and the need to always know the value of abstinence, mutual respect, restraint, self control and a sense of direction which is fast being eroded by western ideas.. The young ones must be made to understand that there is no more to manhood than sowing wild oats without feeling obligated to be permanent fixtures in the life of the children they beget. our girls must know that being a woman is much more than big hips and breast enhancement or the easy money they at times receive from randy men and their by friends. Therefore in view of this, children need to be loved and protected by their parents at all times without subjecting them to unnecessary rancor, bitterness and undue publicity and unwarranted court cases. They also need to be taught what is right to enable them counter the effect of what they are exposed to through the traditional and the new media. Our so called celebrities who are supposed to be our role models and their willingness to imitate the lifestyle of Hollywood artists, essentially a race to the bottom. There are certainly many worthy things they can copy from their lifestyle without emulating the habit of deliberately bearing children out of wedlock and proudly moving about with the title of baby mamas as if it is a kind of trophy. Research has shown that children raised by single parent have been shown to be twice likely to misbehave.

A 2003 study in America have revealed how the absence of a father could expose the children to early sexual activity and teenage pregnancy (19). The research yielded that one third of the girls whose fathers left home before they turned six ended up with teenage pregnancy compared with just five percent of girls whose fathers were there throughout their childhood (20). The research also states that “children whose fathers commit acts of domestic violence may likely turn out to be batterers” (20). Confirming this claim, Azuka- Obieke while speaking on single parenting posits that “children profits psychologically and academically when both parents provide aspects of an orderly and nurturing home life” (33). Lending their

voice, Hetherington E.Mand Stanley Hagan states that “children raised in single parents’ homes when compared to their peers from traditional two parents home are at risk for a number of less desirable outcomes and such outcomes leads to concurrent psychological and behavioural difficulties” (42). Toeing the same lines, Ortese (1998,63) and Agbo (1997,98 ) added that “the reason for these differences in ‘well- being’ is that children from intact homes regardless of sex develop good personality and they hardly have complex because they are secured in the love of their parents” (98). Theatre over the years has been a veritable tool for moral rectitude and it has been used as a medium of sensitization, orientation and as tool to exterminate many cultural, political and social vices in the society. Thus, the role of theatre in inculcating cultural values in people is an age long stance. To this end, Uche Nwaozuzu posits that; “theatre is a tool for change, because it sensitizes individuals about their conditions in the society and then tries to better these conditions and enhance mass transformation and orientation” (49).

Theatre practitioners over the ages have been into performances with a view to raise moral and social questions about our way of life. During the Classical era, theatre was used to draw attention to the gods and the evil inherent in disobeying them. The Romans used theatre to promote the Roman Empire, while it was used to propagate the virtues of Christianity during the Medieval period. During the Elizabethan era, it was used to entertain and to celebrate royalty and the nobles. Modern theatre is a product of industrialization and technology. African drama and theatre which is mostly performative in nature often draw attention to social, cultural and societal issues. Every performance therefore has a motive and a mission to accomplish and it has remained consistent in molding and shaping the affairs of man. Drama as an integral part of the theatre is an art form and an imitation of life on stage. It symbolizes the actions and incidents typical of those we experience in real life. To this end, drama has the obligation to restructure the society, condemn anti social vices and immoralities baby mama menace inclusive which is plaguing the contemporary Nigeria society. In the light of the above, this study uses Emeka Nwabueze’s play *Spokesman for the Oracle* to examine the issue of baby mama phenomenon, its causes and effects on the mother, father, and the child in particular and the society at large.

### ***Spokesman for the Oracle: A Synopsis***

The play is centred on a middle class family in contemporary Nigerian setting. Chidi a successful business man and husband to Oyibo has an amoral past with Nneka, and this fact is made known by Amadi (Nneka’s father) who exposes Chidi’s sexual affair with his daughter. Nneka was a student in a school that Chidi headed as a principal in his younger days. Amadi shockingly reveals that Nneka has an illegitimate son from that relationship whom she dumps into a pit toilet but is saved by Chidi. The child was later taken by Chidi and his wife Oyibo as their own child and is named Ikem. Oyibo does not have a child of her own so she bestows motherly love on Ikem an intelligent promising young boy who aspires to be a medical doctor. The peace and unity in the family is shattered with the news that Chidi’s baby mama is back for her son and has resolved to do anything within her

reach to achieve her mission including lying with the oracle's name and calling Oyibo all manner of derogatory names. The play comes to a messy end when Ikem gets to find out the truth about himself and realizes that the lady he unknowingly sleeps with at a party is his real mother, he becomes psychologically and emotionally shattered and goes into a state of neurosis, rejects his family and is taken away by Dr. Ezenagu, a psychiatric doctor.

### **Manifestations of baby mama traits in *Spokesman for the Oracle***

As a result of what they encountered in the hands of their baby daddies, many baby mamas are known to ferment trouble especially when they get to meet with their baby daddies after several years of being abandoned. The confrontation at times gets messy especially when they encounter their rivals. In Nneka's situation, she is denied access to her child on the pretext that the child died long ago and this is captured from the encounter between Nneka, Chidi and Oyibo thus:

**NNEKA:** don't you think it's necessary for me to know my son? It was unfair of you to have hidden yourself from me and claimed that the child was dead so your childless slut would have somebody to call her mummy.

**CHIDI:** Gently...

**NNEKA:** Why should? I was prepared for her. She was sensible to run into the bedroom...

**CHIDI:** Why this misplaced aggression? She's done nothing to you?

**NNEKA:** She was the one who advised you to say that the boy had died... (47-48).

From the exchange above, Nneka devices all manner of means to see if she can engage Chidi's wife in a fight by pouring all manner of vituperations on her, a trait which many incensed baby mamas are known for. Thus, when that fails, Nneka picks up the blame game by accusing Oyibo of being the brain behind the non disclosure of the where about of her son (Ikem) for a long time. Baby mamas most times on confronting their rivals are known to attempt to transfer their aggression to them just to vent their anger of being used and dumped. A trend that has the capacity to degenerate to threat to life, violence and insecurity. Another ill effect of having a child out of wedlock is the problem of dropping out of school as a result of several factors which include inferiority complex, abandonment, and loss of concentration, divided attention, paucity of fund to take care of the baby and still be in school. All these inhibitions also played out in *Spokesman for the Oracle* and this is evidence from Nneka's statement thus, "I may not go to university but I am up to date and I have a son who is now in the university" (48).

Many lines in the play, portrays the issue of immorality, deception and lies, traits that many baby mamas encounter and are known for. Nneka, Chidi's baby mama is embittered that Chidi abandoned her for a long time because of his lawfully wedded wife Oyibo who she believes is preventing him from seeing her. Nneka in her opinion, sees herself as better than Oyibo, Chidi's wife a career driven Pharmacist and Chidi who she says denied and rejected her and her child when she was in

secondary school and still goes behind to claim the baby and lied that the child had died, these accusations by Nneka is captured below:

**NNEKA:** He is traveling with me tomorrow. I'm sure you don't have leave any objections. Unless he refuses to travel with me, we shall this town tomorrow. He must know who his real mother is

**CHIDI:** Not that real mother who threw him away when he was ...

**NNEKA:** It's better than a mother who claims what she doesn't own. And its better than a father who rejected him while he was still in his mother's womb, denied his real mother and caused her to throw him away... am sure he will know who to blame after he has heard the whole story (48-49).

Rejection is often one of the major challenges that baby mamas encounter in their relationships. As soon as they get pregnant, the story changes and the once dotting boy friend or sugar daddy suddenly turns to a monster, denies the woman and her pregnancy and many of them out rightly rejects even the babies as soon as they are born. Many times, the woman is left with no option than to either raise the baby alone, give the baby up for adoption, and in some instances like the scenario in *Spokesman for the Oracle* where Nneka threw away her baby after delivery. In some extreme instances, some out of frustration and depression kill their babies.

Ikem who is a product of an amoral affair has no other siblings, except a career driven foster mother and a business minded father, who has little or no time for him. Ikem's parents know very well that his two friends are morally bad but choose to keep mute. The resultant effect is that Ikem finds companionship in the mist of these two irresponsible friends Ossy and Offoma (probably as a result of loneliness) who exert strong negative influence on him. As the plot of the play further unfolds, an appalling revelation of an act of incest between Ikem and Nneka is uncovered. Ikem under the influence of alcohol unknowingly sleeps with Nneka his biological mother at a party organized by offoma. This abominable act further destroys the family bond in Chidi's family. Chidi through his amorous way of life brings chaos and destruction upon his house hold and this is captured in the lines below:

**OYIBO** to (CHIDI): You have murdered happiness in this family...you have destroyed the future of your own son, marred his life and made him a walking corpse (78).

Oyibo's lamentations above clearly depict the plight of many of the children born out of wedlock. Many of them on realizing their true identity end up emotionally and psychologically wrecked while some go into a state of neurosis. Oyibo's words above explain the outcome and effect of many amoral acts in Nigerian setting. A situation that has lead to the destruction of many homes and wrecked many lives, Chidi's family inclusive. Chidi employs the use of a psychiatric doctor in the person of Dr Ezenagu who arrives to examine Ikem's mental and emotional state of health.

## **Conclusion**

The researcher is of the opinion that in most cases, women are the ones who bear the brunt and the stigma associated with having children out of wedlock. The study advocates that women should learn how to be extra careful in their relationships to avoid unwanted pregnancies. This is because a man can impregnate a woman and deny the paternity of the child and go out to marry a woman of his dream without anybody raising an eyebrow as is the case between Chidi and Nnenna in *Spokesman for the Oracle*. In as much as it is the responsibility of the man to get protection before indulging in sexual acts where he cannot abstain from it, the women should also go an extra mile in taking precaution so as not to run into problems. Most times, the baby daddies don't care about the baby mamas and the babies but in few instances, few of them care only for the child or children they have together.

Baby mama is not synonymous to being a wife and question arises about what happens to the baby mama when the man decides to marry someone else or if his cash flow is no longer steady as before? Question also arise as to whether the woman may be ready for all the drama involved in trying to get an upkeep for the child from the man who denied her when she was pregnant? This is in addition to the effect of the stigma that may hinder the woman from getting her dream husband or the impact on her family and the society. This also brings us to the big question of why have an unprotected sex if you are not sure of the future?, and why mortgage your future because of few minutes of unnecessary pleasure or fame thereby jettisoning one's personal dream and aspirations. While the children end up being the victims through being inflicted with physical, mental, psychological, social and emotional injury and trauma. In the final chapter of the book, *The Baby Mama Syndrome and the Rest of us*, Doyel proffers remedies to the scourge which includes but not limited to "contraceptive, abstinence, sex education, prevention" (9). He further avers that "children born out of wedlock may be subjected to neglect, abuse, violence and poverty" (10).

The researcher concludes by stating that baby mama phenomenon is a cost to humanity, a security, mental, psychological and emotional challenge to the children involved, depreciation to the healthcare system, a burden to humanity and a bad cultural reference to the society, yet not much has been written or done in this area in terms of research despite the danger it portends to the society. Azuka- Obieke suggests that "single mothers have a harder time making ends meet and as a result of the financial strain experienced by many baby mamas, they tend to be more anxious, depressed and overwhelmed with parenting issues" (115). Baby mother syndrome is fast becoming a burden on the numerous sectors of the social system. It impedes development; its continued escalation is morally anti culture and a great threat to the future. The study recommends The researcher recommends sensitization, abstinence, education, sex advocacy, and use of contraceptive, among others as some of the solutions to curtail baby mama menace, a menace which often exposes many of these children to traumas as experienced by Ikem whose fate and mental state, we may not be able to determine.

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## **GOD AS A METAPHOR IN NIGERIAN DRAMATIC LITERATURE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE**

**Agatha N. Nwanya**

### **Introduction**

The word “God” or “gods” is a phenomenon mostly used in every day conversation. Virtually every custom and tradition in the world has some kind of belief and understanding about God. The uniqueness of this word is reflected and measured with ambiguity amidst its cosmic transcendence. The most common conception about “God” is that He is a spirit and an invisible being, creator of all things. But what has remained a mystery today is the abode or where God inhabits. Though Christian theologians insist that God lives in Heaven, (a concept that been interpreted diversely to mean place, experience, and His state etc), this doctrine remains largely a mystery to non-Christians. However, the belief in existence of Supreme Being called God remains a dominant feature of every race, tribe, or culture. WhhelmChmidt, in his *The Origin and Growth of Religion: Facts and Theory*, maintains; “There is a universal belief in God or many gods all over the world” (56). In other words, belief in either the Supreme Being called “God” or polytheistic pantheons called “gods” is part and parcel of non-material culture. Ardent believe in the Supreme Being called God stemmed from man’s consciousness and his conception of supernatural forces that control the entire universe. Ironically, whether at period of antiquity or modern technological era, man, persistently acknowledged the presence of transcendental being other than himself. It is this consciousness that motivated man to give God different names depending on his relationship and perception of his power. For instance in Latin, the word “God” or “deity” is referred to as “Deus, it is “Elohim” in Hebrew; in French, it is simply “Dieu”, while Spanish call God, ‘Dios’. Similarly, Italians refer to God as “Dio” etc. Many scholars especially theologians have tried to unravel the mystery about God. MoltmannFilogen for instance, opines that “God is the subject of his own existence” (1). He represents a living entity, an invisible spirit. Interestingly, diversity of knowledge in God resulted in various myths and cults about God. Ancient Greek, for instance, held a polytheistic belief which featured gods such as the god of Jupiter, the sky god associated with lightening and weather; Mars, the god of war; and Diana, the god of agriculture. Romans worship the Greek goddess Artemis, the goddess of women, associated with fertility. Minerva was the god of Art (Craftsmen) Greek God, Hercules was a patron of travelers and labourers, while Apollo was responsible for agriculture and bumper harvest. Belief in these gods and goddess heavily influenced Greek Arts such that Phallus, a male reproductive organ is a symbol of the god, Dionysus the god of fecundity.

German made useful contributions in his study of local names of God in Kenya. According to him, the Akamba call God “Muhengu” and “Mumbi” meaning “The creator”. In the modern time, they refer to God as “Ngai”. This name is also used for lesser “gods” or ancestral spirits (185). In Africa, particularly Nigeria, the

belief in supreme God is antithetically linked to that of several deities and pantheons. There are so many deities and pantheons in different cultures across Nigeria and every ethnic group has various names for God Almighty and deities. The Yoruba has many "Orisa". According to their mythology, "Orisa-Nla" was the maker; and Orunmila was the God of wisdom regarded as a "Universal King". Among the Yorubas, the Supreme Being is known as "Olorun" meaning "Owner of the sky". Ogun is a violent and destructive God of war and also the God of iron and metallurgy. He is said to be of creative essence and patron of artisans and hunters. Sango is a God of Thunder and Lightning. According to Yoruba theology, Olodumare was original name for God. He is the Almighty and eternal creator. Similarly, the Igbo call God the Supreme Being, "Chi-Ukwu" or "Chukwu" meaning, "The Great God". They believe in the Almighty God "Chi-na-eke" often written "Chineke" which means "The God that creates". Chukwu-Okike-Obioma is the Supreme Being worshipped by all Igbo people. The Igbo elders offer Him kola in every ear morning ritual. In Hausa, God is called "Ubangiji", "Allah Tsarki". For the Benin people, God is called Osanobua, which also means "Oghene" in Urhobo, "Aondo" in Idoma, and "Abassey" in Effik. For Obudu people in Ogoja province, God is called "Unim". Similarly, Bikwara and Obaniko people of Cross River State refer to God as "Bujim".

Over the years, belief and worship of gods began to pave way to worship of human beings. The thinking that "man" was made in the likeness of "God" and therefore "a small god" who is not only visible but accessible also began to occupy human thoughts and actions. This later perception of man as a "small god" who is not only visible but reachable resulted in what is often referred to today in general parlance as "hero worship" institutionalized and sheltered under the auspices of "god fatherism" and "personality cults". Within and across Nigerian cultures, men and women who distinguish themselves in certain areas of human endeavours are often accorded high recognition and respects. Unfortunately, however, in the present dispensation, status, fame and position are opposed. Sound moral, accountability are no longer attributes of good personality. What counts more are two things; wealth and power which have become the "Oil-wheel" of the society and have created disequilibrium in the social strata. Consequently, wealth and status in Nigeria, place a man in a position of authority; a kind of demi-god who dictates the dynamics of the society. Consequently, the word "gods" in Nigerian Literature is infested with all manner of adulterations. It is corrupt for reckless leaders soaked in impunities. Corrupt, for leaders at rivalry or in opposition to one another. Above all, gods in Nigerian Literature also suggest superiority, genius, and pace-setter. In a nutshell, symbolic use of the word, "god" in dramatic literature refers often to human beings and deities. This study is a step towards deconstruction and reconstruction of meaning of "gods". In view of this, the paper takes a look at God from three perspectives; the level of supernatural Supreme Being; the level of supernatural forces called deities or pantheons; and the human level, called "hero worship".

Derrida, a poststructuralist argues that the meaning of a text depends upon how a particular reader, interprets it (681). This assertion confirms the belief that "the language was a self-contained system of signifiers" (116). In respect to the word

“God” for instance, the connotative meaning refers to God Almighty, The author and finisher of our life; the Omnipotent Omniscience and Omnipresent Being. The other signifiers are various categories of people and deities share the attributes of God. This research beams its search light on this other signifiers” in respect of textuality of “gods”. Metaphor as a figure of speech is a symbolic representation of objects. In Greek, the word “metaphor” means to “transfer” or “carry across’. Metaphor carries meaning from one word, image or idea to another. It is a figure of speech that identifies something as being the same as some unrelated thing for rhetorical effect, thus highlighting the similarities between the two. In other words, It is a type of analogy and is closely related to other rhetorical figures of speech which achieves their efforts through association, comparison or resemblance – including allegory, hyperbole and similar. Comparison of two unrelated objects is the basic function of metaphor. Unlike other figures of speech, metaphor, as implied comparison is made between two different things that actually have something important in common. It serves as a yardstick for deconstruction and reconstruction of the word “gods”. Use of “gods” as metaphor in most Nigerian dramatic literature heightens aesthetic appeal of the dramatic text. Aristotle once opined that metaphor adds beauty to written words. According to Richard (127) metaphor is made up two parts: tenor and vehicles. The tenor is the subject to which attributes are ascribed while the vehicles is the object whose attributes are borrowed. Greek playwrights introduced metaphor into dramatic genre. For instance, Sophocles writes in *King Oedipus*, “There is an unclean thing, born and nursed on our soil, polluting our soil which must be driven away, not kept to destroy us” (28). Here “an unclean thing” is a metaphor referring to “King Oedipus himself”. The “abomination” which King Oedipus committed has polluted the land. In the above quotation, the tenor “unclean thing” and the vehicle “polluting our soil” have carried meanings expressing the state of affairs in Thebes. Consequently these expressions metaphorically allude to King Oedipus himself who is guilty of patricide and incest. But this type of metaphor is heavily coded in irony. Again, William Shakespeare inundates us with many examples of metaphor. For him, “All the world is a stage” (*As You Like It*, Act 11 scene vii) and “Life but a walking shadow” (*Macbeth* Act 5 scene 5). Moreover, he reminds us that “there is no art to see man’s construction in the face”. These symbolic metaphors form the nexus of his use of language in most of his works.

### **Deconstructing Gods as Metaphor in Nigerian Dramatic Texts**

Nigeria got her Independence from Britain in 1960. Since then, the dynamics of events has left the general feeling that Nigeria is not economically independent. This condition is further compounded by nepotism, visionless leaders who re-cycle themselves in the corridors of power. The thinking in some quarters is that these leaders are vampires; they are like cankerworms eating up the fabrics of the nation. One only needs to study most Nigerian Postcolonial Literature to feel this impulse. In dramatic genre, Wole Soyinka set the stage with his metaphysical plays such as *Dance of the Forests* (1963), *The Road* (1965), *The Madmen and Specialists* (1971), *The Bacchae of Euripides* (1973) and *Death and the King’s Horseman*. (1975).

Beginning from Ola Rotimi's adaptation of Sophocle's *Oedipus Rex* as *The Gods Are Not to Blame*, the frustration of Nigerian masses after Independence is a pointer to a bizarre state of affairs in the nation. Rotimi vividly represents both the colonialists and the political elite in an equivocal term- "The Gods". They are the gods of our time. Like the almighty "God", they possess the capacity to "make" and "unmake" by dictating the tempo of political, economic and social endeavours of humankind. In *The Gods Are Not to Blame*,

Written after a decade of Civil War, (1967-1970), Rotimi claimed in an interview with Oluwale that Nigerian/Biafran War was caused by ethnic jingoism (83). He explained that "people who had once taken themselves as brothers before 1966 were freely killing one another". For him, therefore, the understanding of the word "gods" operates at two levels in the text: the political explanation and the supernatural explanation. According to Ola Rotimi, the political nation – gods are mainly, America, Russia, Britain and France. During the Civil War, while Nigerian Federal Government was blaming France for supporting Biafran, Biafran was blaming Russia for supporting Nigeria and both sides blamed America for playing double standard (103). The second level is the supernatural gods of Yoruba culture such as "Soponna", "Ela" "Sango" (11) "Orunmila" (12) and "Ogun" (13). Rotimi believes these traditional gods of our fathers are not to be blamed either because they cannot make someone to do something which he does not want to do. For him, "a person chooses his destiny before he comes into the world and every destiny has a role in the entire purpose of human interaction" (81). Bolajidowu explains this ideology further in his book, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief*. According to him, the Yoruba believe generally that everybody coming into the world is predestined by "Olodumare". The destiny is doubly sealed and therefore unalterable.

The playwright went further in the interview to argue that we, Nigerians, should not blame those nation-gods in international politics for our suffering and death. Rather, we should blame ourselves. He reasons that as long as we, Nigerians, let foreign nations to decide our destiny, they will continue to dictate for us. He compared them with our native gods that feed on sacrifice. Our natural wealth, oil and other raw materials are what these gods in world politics want; they are sacrifices they feed on. Rotimi blamed Nigerians for allowing "tribalism" to divide them.

However, not all African literary critics share this opinion of Rotimi as far as his dramatic text; *The Gods Are Not to Blame* is concerned. Some, taken a clue from the original Greek text from which the work was adapted believe that Odewale is a victim of fate. Critics like Nwahunanya has argued that

Odewale's loss of his reason, which made him not to spare the man who called his tribe "bush" in the first place, could be more a part of the inexorable cycle of the destiny that must be fulfilled, than it could have been due to a sense of patriotism, or even a consequence of "tribalism" as Rotimi suggests in the interview (141).

Some shades of opinions also feel that Nigerian destiny resides in their hands. Such people believe strongly that what Nigerians need is to chart a new course that

will be goal-oriented instead of apportioning blames of failures and seeking escape goats where there are none. Okagbue is of this stand point when he argues that “the Europeans may have put wedges into the cracks of the African world. But it was the Africans themselves who created the cracks that weakened the texture of their wall, and sometimes it was Africans themselves who led the Europeans to the cracks (71). Evidences of corruption and vices of various degrees that have bedeviling African nations since their independence laid credence to these facts. Alachi James, in his attempt to write back to Ola Rotimi, concludes emphatically that *The Gods Are to Blame*. In his dramaturgy, he shifted emphasis on the gods from “the evils of colonialism” to “evils of post- colonialism” and from the monsters of colonialism to the devils of post colonialism. In order to deconstruct politics of African underdevelopment, he placed his blames not on international “supreme gods” but on national “demigods” represented principally by Nigerian Police Force and Nigerian Educational system – Akanya, an orphan, is the central character, a prototype of Soyinka’s Ogunian hero. Akanya in Alachi’s dramaturgy graduates from an innocent village boy to something closer to a monster as a police sergeant on a road block. His many escapades on women land him in trouble.

Alachi’s *The Gods Are to Blame* tells a story of a peasant boy Akanya, destined to seduce his brother’s wife and devour his sister as a police boss. At the age of ten, he receives this prophecy at the shrine during his initiation ceremony. He runs away from home and takes shelter in the house of his native. But he is driven away from the man’s house by the son. Later he finds himself in a city in the house of a childless couple, Abutu and his wife, Onyetu. Here again, destiny plays on him. Onyetu brings false allegation against him when her attempt to seduce him fails. Akanya’s ordeal continues in the hands of his school principal. When the Nigerian Civil War breaks out, he is recruited into the army and later transfers to the police force. It is at road block as police sergeant that he seduces his sisters, in collaboration with his other three accomplices. At home, his father Ugba dies at the shrine while trying to save his only remaining son. On discovering that he is the rapist they are searching for in their family, Akanya kills himself. Nwanya (5) observes that in Alachi’s *The Gods Are to Blame*, there is a deliberate use of contradiction and contrast equivocating the past in the present. Unlike Rotimi, Alachi employs multi-ethnic characters in his presentation of a doomed nation. These characters cut across Nigerian Culture. The dramatist boldly makes a case for the proletariats in the society. He blames the “power that be” (The gods) for all the failures crippling the Nigerian nation. His point of argument rests on the fact that the upper class exploits the masses and the economy brazenly.

Interestingly, the metaphors of “gods” introduced in Nigerian Dramatic Literature have been adopted by many third generation Nigeria playwrights. There is OjoBakare’s *The Gods and the Scavengers* (2006), Alex Asigbo’s *War of Tin Gods* (2002), Ahmed Yerimah’s *The Salient Gods* (2002), and of course, Julie Okoh’s *Who can Fight the Gods* (2002). The metaphor of gods has been variously employed to demystified corrupt and inept leadership system found in many government institutions and sometimes among politicians themselves. In OjoBakare’s, *The Sods*

*and the Scavengers*, the prologue lucidly presents the “gods” as follows: “We are scavengers, we main men. Our land is sold to the gods that we make with our votes” (3). The revealing code is highly symbolic. It points to politicians as the “gods” while the “voters”, Nigerian masses are the “scavengers”. The image of scavenging dominates the entire text. For instance, there is the image of the scavenger’s retinue visit to refuse dump to search for food. This image appeals to our sense of despair, agony and penury. It is a metaphor of Nigerian masses wallowing in abject poverty in the midst of plenty. The playwright further explains this in a more vivid manner. “We make them our gods and they loot our treasury” (3). Bakare uses images of poverty and wretchedness to illustrate the impunity of the gods on the rest of the masses. The scavengers make do with palm kernel nuts as food and “digging” or “cracking of rocks” as the only source of employment or empowerment. With bare hands, under the scorching sun and in the heavy rain, the scavengers toil to get at least a square meal. These images must have been catapulted from Igbo culture. The extent or level of poverty in Igbo culture is often depicted with “cracking of stones and cracking of palm kernel.

It is quite unfortunate that Nigerian’s apex institution of learning has lost focus in terms of providing qualitative training, skill acquisition and sound knowledge to its growing citizens. It is a known fact that the appointment of Vice-Chancellors and other top managements is never based on merit. The military politicised this exercise along ethnic, religious and even political lines. Consequently, mediocrity, god-fatherism and personality cult crept into the system. The dramatist captures this in a conversation between the Dean and the Rev. Father Thus: “We have to obey the will of our gods” (67).

Fascinatingly, “gods” as used in dramatic texts alludes to someone powerful, someone or some people who exercise some form of authority over others; a kind of dictator. It rates to mention here that there is no more enabling environment for serious academic research, publication and learning. Emphasis has been shifted to acquisition of money and other material wealth. The attitude of most top managements in tertiary institutions is becoming embarrassing. Some Vice Chancellors have turned themselves to admission merchants, ready to sale university admission to the highest bidders. Contract inflations, over invoicing, imposition of loyal cult boys as students, union leaders, employment of cultists as security personnel are all ploys employed by some nefarious top management in tertiary institutions in order to perpetuate their stay in power. Ironically, the Deans, Heads of Departments and lecturers have also learnt from their masters. The level of sex scandals involving lecturers and their students (sometimes lecturers and their Deans and Vice-Chancellors) attest to the high rate of corruption and decay in Nigerian Ivory towers. In the words of the playwright, “these are supreme gods and demi-gods who determine the tempo of politics in apex institutions of learning.

Among the five plays under review, only Asigbo’s *War of Tin Gods* differs from the rest. The dramatic text is a satire and adaptation of Aristophanes *The Frog* and Esiaba’s *Gold, Frankincense and Myrrh*. In classical Greek drama, Plato organized competition for Greek dramatic poets in Athens during Dionysian festivals.

The three Greek tragedians, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides together with the comedian poet, Aristophanes were present. In the play *The Frogs* (405BC) Dionysus visits Hades and judge a poetry competition between Aeschylus and Euripides. The contest which the chorus tactfully calls “war of words” revealed much about the characters of Euripides and Aeschylus. For Aeschylus, Euripides was simply “a crippled merchant and a person of rustic ancestry”(88). He charged Euripides with profanity. His major sin was that “he filled the stage with cripples and beggar and built his plots on social decadence such as incest and he is a hater of the gods”. Conversely, Euripides considered Aeschylus as mountebank and impostor whose poetics are merely “verbiage, paddled with pretentious Polly-syllables”. He further claimed that Aeschylus cheated his audience by presenting passive characters who at every opening scene kept quiet on stage. Worse of all, he romances with the gods and places man’s destiny in their hands (Act 2, 18).

Similarly, Asigbo’s dramaturgy begins with conflict of opinion between Aba and Akin who are apostles of two Nigerian great dramatists; Wole Soyinka and Femi Osofisan. The argument centers on whose poetry is sublime and at the end of the argument, it is suggested that a similar contest be organized for WoyeOgun and Emi Eshu. Unlike the other previous studies, the metaphor of gods is applied positively rather than negatively. The “gods”of Asigbo’s dramaturgy are more productive than destructive. The play thus, can be best described as closeness of fiction to reality in terms of characterization and language. His characters such as Pa Tutola, Aba, Aki, Chebe, Zulike, Prof. Woye, Prof. Emi depict characters and personalities we know in real life. For instance, Pa Tutola connotes Amos Tutola, one of the earliest pioneers of Nigerian fictions. Tutola is noted for his famous prose, *Palm Wine Drunkard* published in 1946. Aba and Aki, no doubt are epitomes of EsiabaIrobi, a great Nigerian playwright and advocate of mass revolution. One only needs to read his plays, *The Hangmen Also Dies*, *Nwokedi* and *Cemetery Road* among others to fully appreciate this fact. BakareOjoRasaki, a playwright, choreographer and critic of theatre is personified as Aki. Rasaki is a great apostle of Femi Osofisan and believes strongly in his revolutionary aesthetics that promotes mass action against the proletariats.

### **Conclusion**

What can be considered the common factors among the gods are power and authority. But these vestiges encourage “enslavement” of their subjects. Apart from the Supreme God, all the other kinds wield power and authority. The metaphor of the gods reverberates more on negation. The human gods, for instance are found everywhere as dictators and impostors. They share common identity, wickedness and exploitation of the less privileged. Worse still, they mask themselves as leaders, politicians, foreign ambassadors, directors and managers and captains of industries as well as heads of institutions and establishments. In the presence of this third degree of gods, there are rivalry, squabble, competition and oppression. Sadly, enough, it appears nobody is ready and willing to fight the gods. Julie Okoh is apt in her presentation of the gods of the ivory towers. The human gods in particular, remain an

enigma to the African society. One cannot explain woeful failures of African nations in the comity of nations. In global politics, Africa is a disappointment, in the global market and economy, she performs abysmally poor and her security is the greatest disaster in the world history. It is, indeed, a double tragedy so to speak because the gods have remained provokers and at the same time mediators. So far, the only little light in the tunnel is found among African intelligentsia. They have remained indefatigable mouth piece for the continent. Thus, the likes of Soyinka believe that “the man dies in all who keep silent in the face of tranny” (13). Attempt by Asigbo in *War of the Tin gods*, to reverse the order of dwindling interest in arts and creativity is, therefore a welcome development; it is a subtle call, not only to the younger generation to renew interest in creative writing, but for the intellectuals to know that the power to restore the dignity of mother Africa is in their hands. In the opinion of Asigbo, the nation has been traumatised and in need of political Messiah. This can only be achieved through “mass uprising” “mutiny”- revolution.

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## **IN SPITE OF FEMINISM: GENDER DYNAMICS IN THE NOVELS OF ZAYNAB ALKALI**

**Stella Okoye-Ugwu & Umar Sadiq Abubakar**

### **Introduction**

Many African female writers and critics are of the view that the need for the girl-child education is invaluable. This is because it is the only key to the self-actualization of the woman. Nevertheless, with the acquisition of education, financial and social liberation, Alkali never fails to lay emphasis on the family and its importance. This she does by creating a void in the lives of her heroines, which would make them yearn for their men.

Furthermore, besides education as a liberating tool for the woman, other themes in Alkali's works include determination, virtue and shattered hopes revolving around their romantic illusions. Her female characters later in life get their dreams shattered and are disillusioned. This is more evident in *The Stillborn* as the girls all nurse different dreams. Most of the issues raised in her works are similar: they all reflect the life of the woman in northern Nigerian-setting. For instance, in *The Stillborn*, the introduction of Li and her thoughts expresses her feeling of being trapped (1). This is evidently expressed through her thoughts in the first scene while returning from school. It is further shown in her complaints about their house, which is suffocating (3). Then the relationship between grandma, mama and Li does not show any affection. Although they are all women belonging to different generations and all part of the family, their relationship is not cordial unlike that of Magira Milli and her grandchildren. Li's restlessness is responsible for most of her actions but it turns into a positive virtue fuelling her determination to acquire better education and actualize her new set of goals. Johnson observes that "the preoccupation of Alkali in *The Stillborn* goes beyond the theme of women's emancipation to dwell on the human predicament in a society undergoing rapid transformations. Her apprehension of the human predicament is naturally and understandably feminist, and her social visions emanate largely from the predominantly feminine perspectives of the literary world she created in her novel." These perspectives are in the main matrifocal, meaning the view is woman-centred as indeed the concern.

It is apparent that as Alkali gives the woman a voice to speak up for her right, she needs to "appear authentic and realistic" to create satisfactory role models as maintained by Ezeigbo (149). Therefore, if she dances to the tune of all feminist novelists in Africa as Frank rightly observes, the character ought to be radical, even militant. This is perhaps the platform on which Mama and Seytu emerged. It is for this reason, that Ojinmah and Egya observe that Seytu becomes the new voice for a redefinition in Alkali's version of feminism and what critics call a radical shift in her feminism or womanism, seen in the development of her characters (148). *The Stillborn* offers Li enough conviction to put up with the marriage institution in the face of all its shortcomings whereas *The Descendants* does not afford such simplistic

conclusions. The women here are rather too militant and deeply engrossed in their career pursuits without any mind for the sacredness of marriage. Kassam observes that “Alkali’s major significance is in her projection of the female character in search of liberty and recognition but accommodating of the other sex. In this way, she creates the image of a woman who, in spite of the ascribed stereotypical role imposed on her by patriarchal and religious system, works towards self-development and fulfillment.” In molding this kind of womanhood, Alkali steers a middle course between the demands of tradition and the exigencies of modernity. Within these restrictive pattern of life, Alkali creates characters who dream and struggle to find fulfillment, a fulfillment which is never fully satisfying without the marriage component of life (120). In *The Stillborn*, Kassam argues that the central character Li struggles to shrug off the constraints of traditional and patriarchal hegemony. In this way, Li acquires prominence and her life story “acts as a gravitational force pulling the complex threads of the societal relationships together” (120).

Indeed, Li’s actions and experiences flesh out meaning in the story, revolving as they do, around the question of love, hope, betrayal, disillusionment, generational conflict and moral degeneration. Central to *The Stillborn* then is the experience of a woman whose aspirations remain unfulfilled but who, within the changes in her life redefines her priorities. The experiences of the women in this story thus give meaning and significance to the title of the story. The female characters, Li Awa and Faku around whom Alkali weaves the story are drawn to their individual dreams of marrying men of their choices and living wonderful lives. Li dreams of a perfect marriage with Habu Adams in the city after both of them would have qualified as a medical doctor and a grade one teacher respectively. Faku dreams of happiness as Garba’s wife in the city while Awa is inspired by the prospects of good life with Dan Fiama. In the end, however, betrayals, frustrations and despair become the reality. As Li tells Shuwa her daughter in a dream, “it is well to dream, child...” But it is also important to remember that like babies, dreams are conceived but not all dreams are born alive. Some are aborted others are stillborn (*The Stillborn*, 104).

Furthermore, Kassam argues that “in spite of having different personalities, lifestyles and ambitions, all three young women have their dreams shattered by the restrictive gender codes permeating society.” The vortex of the unfulfilled dreams led to a major transformation in the women. Of course earlier, traces of this change had begun to manifest in the heroine, Li, who on completion of her primary education at thirteen comes back to the village with a new consciousness of things which tended to repress her. “After a few weeks at home, Li began to find the atmosphere in her father’s compound suffocating. She felt trapped and unhappy. Already, she missed the kind of life she had lived at the primary boarding school, free and gay. At home the little ones were too young to understand the restrictions and the older ones too dull to react” (*The stillborn*, 3).

From the outset, therefore, Li provides a lead to what to expect as she tells Awa her sister, when the latter challenges her of talking like a heathen. “I’d be much happier. At least I could go ease myself without having someone breathing downs my neck demanding to know where I have been to” (3). At this point Li appears as a

sharp contrast to her sister, Awa, who does not possess the same boisterous spirit and who lacks the courage to defy some of their father's repressive instructions. Unlike Awa, Li is not prepared to be caged or confined within a patriarchal structure that would inhibit her quest for freedom. This is the area of potential confrontation between Baba and his children. After all, the high-handedness of Baba alienates him from his children. Here lies the difference between Kaka and Baba. Although Kaka, the grandfather, represents a fading generation and tradition, he connects more with Li than Baba. This relationship demonstrates that there is a certain level of generational conflict which Alkali subtly hints at, first, between Kaka and Baba and then between Baba and his children especially Sule and Li.

In Li, Bamikunle sees "the latest generation of Africans eager for a measure of social freedom," especially in her struggles to reconstruct an affirmative image by questioning some of the presumptions which silence the voice of the women. This is why in spite of Baba's overbearing and high-handed nature, Li had the power to stir such emotions in him. He thought she was impudent, but it wasn't just this that worried him. It was something else. He hated to admit it even to himself, but there it was, those piercing eyes that stripped him naked and saw through his soul; assessing, judging and condemning him, weighing his strength against his weakness (*The stillborn*, 9).

Nevertheless, Hajjo does not allow these disparaging and debasing remarks to discourage her. Right from the beginning of the novel, we encounter Boni who cannot hide his pride at his daughter's and granddaughter's achievement as he openly brags, "my daughter and granddaughter are wonderful children". We also encounter Nana Ai's grandfather who appears to live only for his granddaughter. The narrator tells us that, "Some people said he was a hard man, devoid of human feelings. Only the child knew her grandfather well enough to see past the iron cast of his self-control, to the slow, deep stream of love and tranquility that ran beneath. He possesses wisdom that surpassed the understanding of a child, and Nana sometimes wished there were others to partake of his close teachings"(12-13).

On the contrary, it is the female characters that are shown to revel in petty jealousy of their fellow females; particularly towards Nana Ai whom they envy as can be seen by the conduct of the girl. Nana fights at the fountain when she goes to wash her cloths. The girl insinuates that Nana Ai is not good enough to have gotten admission into the prestigious Queen's College without getting assistance from her grandfather: "You know better than I do, Nana Ai a daft girl, like wayward goat, does not get admission into the best secondary school in the North just like that" (*The Virtuous Woman* 16) and the attitude of Laila towards Nana Ai.

Similarly, Grandma's fierce and sharp tongue (53) is not limited to men. Even with Li, she does not have any good words capable of building up the young woman. Another thing evident in *The Stillborn* is the general aggressiveness towards the girl child from both the home and society. The situation in the home is suffocating, and outside the home, she is not free from the glare and criticism of everybody as seen in Li's encounter with Habu at the market. Dreams are a

predominant factor in all Alkali's works. All her heroines conceive dreams, which end up shattered, as in *The Stillborn*.

The power of a woman's intuition and foreknowledge is reflected in the novel when Li, although much younger, warns her father of an impending accident and tries to dissuade him from going to the prayer house (9). He waves her warning aside, goes and is lucky to be one of the survivors of the accident. Sule's visit to Li at the school is another such incident, but in this case, it is linked to superstition (95). *The Stillborn* concludes on a hopeful note that the woman should not stop dreaming but keep living and hoping, possessing the determination to strive to actualize her dreams. Having husbands who are both unloving and unlovable, the relationship between the three girls and their husbands is affected either by physical or emotional severance (Koroye 47). However, at the concluding part, Li who had conceived another dream and actualized it decides to return to her husband.

"Why, Li? The man is lame," said the sister. "We are all lame, daughter of my mother. But, this is no time to crawl. It is time to learn to walk again." "So you want to hold the crutches and lead the way?" Awa asked. "No", answered Li. "what then, you want to walk behind and arrest his fall?" "No, I will just hand him the crutches and side by side we will learn to walk" (105). This shows Alkali's commitment to the preservation of the family, which is one of the major characteristics of feminism. Although women are encouraged to pursue education, get liberated and succeed with or without their husbands, consideration is given to the survival of the family. This is why Li, the most determined and self-willed of the three girls, strives hard to make it alone, and at the end decides to go "hand him the crutches and side by side... learn to walk" (102). Thus, although she nurses the idea, it never occurs to her that she could be whatever she wants to be with determination and hard work.

However, *The Virtuous Woman* is a love story about the easy and principled life of a young beautiful woman named Nana Ai, as she discovers love at first sight and the strangeness that often accompanies such a feeling. The village of Zuma has just been blessed with the news that two of their daughters, Laila and Hajjo, have made it into the prestigious Her Majesty's College at BirniDala. Even though the two girls are not the first to enjoy this privilege (already a student there is Nana Ai, but now on a holiday), the entire village often takes the pride that one of their own are in the popular school. This is because Her Majesty's College is the kind of school mostly attended by children born with a silver spoon in their mouths. But the girls have got different reasons they are excited about attending the new school.

Alkali's *The Stillborn* and *The Virtuous Woman* portray strong female characters such as Li, Awa, Faku, Grandmother, etc. and Nana Ai, Laila and Hajjo. These are female characters whose characterization negates the stereotypical roles ascribed to females by the patriarchal society. In *The Stillborn* particularly, we observe the unique qualities of Li, one of the major characters, right from the beginning. Though her school mates are happy at the prospect of returning home after the successful completion of a school year, we are told that "Li felt alone although she was among friends and age-mates, none of whom was much older than herself" (

1) and wonders if something is wrong with her. Even at home, she “felt trapped and unhappy. Already she missed the kind of life she had lived at the primary boarding school, free and gay. At home, the little ones were too young to understand the restrictions and the older ones too dull to react. They all seemed to accept the situation as natural...” (SB, 3) We are therefore not surprised when Li becomes a catalyst that encourages her elder sister, Awa, and her friend, Faku, to break the strict code that threatens their full integration into the social life of their cultural milieu by, among other acts frowned upon by their father, sneaking to traditional dances and being so forward in the courtship of Habu Adams, the man of her dream contrary to the norms of her society. It is little wonder then that later in life, once Li and Faku discover that their aspirations cannot find full expression within the confines of their marriage relationships, they break loose and become success stories on their own. In other words, these characters have taken their destinies into their hands; a trait common with feminist works of art.

A similar scenario of strong female characters plays itself out in *The Virtuous Woman* through the depiction of Nana Ai, Laila and Hajjo: three young ladies who have defied traditional beliefs on the position of the woman in the kitchen in her husband’s house where she is expected to produce as many children as possible and satisfy all his whims and caprices. In this novel, we see a parent expressing pride at the success story of his daughters, “My daughter and granddaughter are wonderful children” (3). The pride this parent feels at his daughter and granddaughter gaining admission into the prestigious Queen’s College coupled with similar achievements by another girl in the village, Nana Ai, four years earlier and the gratitude of their parents go a long way to portray a society that has accepted a woman’s ability to operate at par with her male counterpart in society as can be discerned from their meeting, journey, friendship and intimacy with Bello and Abubakar, both students from King’s College. The spirit of friendship that transpires between the girls and the boys is shown to be devoid of the usual inferiority complex that characterizes women in similar company. This depiction of boys and girls operating at same level in pursuit of opportunities hitherto considered the exclusive preserve of males is so beautifully done that the report of Dogo’s male dogmatic statements must be understood as the remnants of a past that should be best forgotten. A close perusal of the novel actually shows a society that does not reinforce such strong sentiments Dogo Expresses:

What is the use of sending a female child to school? If she turns out well, the man she marries gets the benefit of her education. If she gets spoilt in the school, I get the blame. It’s my name that gets dragged into the mud. It’s my house that becomes her refuge. Whichever way you look at it, the father of a female child is the loser. Let the girls stay at home and help their mother; when it is time for them to marry, let them marry (47).

Having developed female characters who strive to change the perception of women, what Alkali is trying to do through her writing is to fight all oppressive constraints on women. This is purely a feminist struggle for emancipation from discrimination and subjugation. Hence, the prominence given to African cultural

beliefs about certain things like patriarchy and subjugation, especially the place of the family. This is why in all of Alkali's novels the female characters struggle for emancipation, but certain cultural virtues are preserved. Therefore, irrespective of the woman's achievements the African woman still needs a man in her life. However, the difference is that unlike Li who returns back to Habu, Seytu does not return to Yerima or Lawani. She goes to seek her love, fulfillment and self-freedom elsewhere. This shows a more radical woman who is not liberated only financially, but emotionally. Therefore, a consideration of the thematic focus of Alkali's novels shows that she is predominantly concerned with issues relating to the emancipation of women. Her novels revolve around women issues, challenges and attempts at emancipation.

However, the dynamics of gender plays out in the relationships of the female characters. When striving or competing for something, women sometimes allow strife and contention to make them antagonist of each other. The clash, fight and struggle permanently put them at loggerheads. This conflict permeates the life of a woman and it is strongly reflected in the writings of African female writers. A close consideration of the relationship between the female characters in Alkali's works shows evidence of gender conflict.

Li plans to marry Habu Adam, her boyfriend and go to the city so as to escape her father's patriarchal restrictions. She dreams to be a grade 1 teacher and her man a medical doctor and live in the city like, "the white men in the village mission hospital" (55). This is also considered as Li's puberty period. After their marriage, Habu excuses himself to go to the city and prepare for Li to join him later. Unfortunately for Li, the reality of marriage and the city life becomes an illusion, contrary to her expectation. Habu abandons her in the village for four good years waiting. Finally, when she is conveyed to the house of Habu in the city, she "found an unsmiling welcome awaiting her" (69). As Li is anxious to escape her father's patriarchal rules and unnecessary orders, she also dreams of marriage that is attached with love. But her dream of marriage to Habu appears contrary to her expectation. She doubts if really this is the Habu she knows in the village. Li nostalgically queries:

Where is my man? ...That boyish man with incredible smile and mischievous twinkle in the eye? Where is that proud, self-confident, half-naked lover that defied the laughter of the village and walked the length and breadth of the village just to see me? ...This man wasn't the man she used to roll with on the sand in front of her father's compound. (70)

The reality here is that, the marriage Li considers as her redeeming factor from her father's patriarchal oppression now turns out to be another oppressive structure. Alkali here attempts to show that, the solution of a woman's plight does not depend entirely on any man. Again Faku, a very good friend to Li, also finds out that romance and love are inconsequential in marriage and she is also disillusioned herself. Garba, Faku's husband, avoids her and never sleeps with her, and this makes her unable to do anything about the futility and horror of her marriage.

The mother and child relationship, which is expected to be very cordial because of the physical and psychological bond, is lacking. Mama in Alkali's *The Stillborn* is not a major character. As a mother, it is expected of her to be very close to her daughters. She is "hard of hearing" (7) and a passive member of the family not having any special relationship with any female character in the novel but with grandmother it is different. Grandparents in Africa have a special place especially in the lives of their grandchildren. Bungaro writes that "In most African stories, it is the grandchildren who learn lessons of wisdom and strength from the grandmother" (76). Grandmother in *The Stillborn* is very loud and aggressive. Apart from her outbursts (53) about men, her relationship with the house is not cordial especially with Li her granddaughter. Therefore, seeing Li pick the ten-shilling note given to her by Habu (31), she uses it as a source of blackmail instead of giving her the proper counsel she needs at that stage of her life. Grandma in her usual queer manner ensures that she extracts some of the money from Li. "Not a lot are lucky enough to earn money in the market place these days. And from what I heard, the young man is rich in spite of his loin cloth..." (35)

Furthermore, the incident at the stream involving Li and the women is another clear case of gender conflict. Li suffering abandonment a second time feels so rejected. Since culture forbids her to return to Habu's house if he does not come for her, she tries to find a new lease to life and once again tries to enjoy male attention. This angers the women at the stream as some of their husbands are her suitors. At the slightest provocation, they pounce on her heaping insults on her. They say, "Let's have a look at what our men are dying for" (84) calling her names like "unsaddled Horse!" "The vulture that isn't anybody's Chicken!" "Rich man's plaything" (85). All these insults come from fellow women like her, who as women are supposed to sympathize with her present condition.

In *The Virtuous Woman* also, the same conclusion can be drawn. In fact, evidence that would indict Alkali of feminism is sparser in this novel than in *The Stillborn*. This novel can best be described as protest against all sorts of vices constituting a bane to the progress of Nigeria. Right from the beginning of the novel we hear Alkali speaking strongly against sentiments of class consciousness that have become the bane of development in our country. When for instance Hajjo and Laila get selected to attend Queen's College, the Chief protests: "My daughters deserve a place in the college of the woman-chief-of-the-whites. What business has the children of a common man like Boni ... in the college of the chief where only the children of the rich, those of royal blood, high ranking officials and politicians are taken?" (3).

Apart from the above, the male characters, unlike what obtains in most feminist literature, have been presented excellently. Apart from Dogo, all the other male characters do not display any feeling of male chauvinism as it is common with feminist works of art. Right from the beginning of the novel, we encounter Boni who cannot hide his pride at his daughter's and granddaughter's achievement as he openly brags, "my daughter and granddaughter are wonderful children." (3). We also encounter Nana Ai's grandfather who appears to live only for his granddaughter. The narrator tells us that:

Some people said he was a hard man, devoid of human feelings.... Only the child knew her grandfather well enough to see past the iron cast of his self-control, to the slow, deep stream of love and tranquility that ran beneath. He possessed wisdom that surpassed the understanding of a child, and Nana sometimes wished there were others to partake of his close teachings (12-13).

Some critics are of the opinion that this type of characterization of the male gender in *The Virtuous Woman* makes it hard for one to accept that the novel is feminist propaganda. However, it is safer to consider Alkali as a womanist. Even when one considers the younger male characters such as Abubakar and Bello, the King's College students who later travel with the three girls, it is hard to notice any other sentiments than civilised conduct in the way they present themselves. On the contrary, it is the female characters that are shown to revel in petty jealousy of their fellow females; particularly towards Nana Ai whom they envy as can be seen by the conduct of the girl Nana fights at the fountain when she goes to wash her cloths. The girl insinuates that Nana Ai is not good enough to have gotten admission into the prestigious Queen's College without getting assistance from her grandfather: "You know better than I do, Nana Ai. A daft girl, like wayward goat, does not get admission into the best secondary school in the north just like that"(16) and the attitude of Laila towards Nana Ai. Alkali also uses this novel to condemn poor work attitude by civil servants while at the same time attacking those in leadership positions for not doing what they are supposed to do to make life bearable for the people.

Invariably, there is the need to revise gender relations among women if they have to make headway in their struggle. The relationship between the characters in the novels analyzed, like the landlady in *The Stillborn*, is a pointer that if African women are able to resolve their gender conflict, they would actualize and take giant strides on their road to emancipation, and the survival of the family. Rich writes that: "the most important thing that a woman can do for another is to illuminate and expand the other's sense of actual possibilities" (in Bungaro 78). In other words, irrespective of the thought of cultural limits on the African woman, establishing a strong line of love from man to woman across generations will expand their actual possibilities and they would evolve as achievers.

### **Conclusion**

This critical inquiry has looked at the issue of the dynamics of gender in the novels of Zaynab Alkali. The novels portray characters that are subjugated, disappointed and abandoned by their husbands. In Alkali's novels, we are presented with central characters Li and Nana Ai who experienced a lot from their fellow women. However, in *The Stillborn*, both Li and Faku realize that their marriage relationships cannot fulfill their life aspiration. They thus break loose and become success stories on their own. In other words, these characters have taken their destinies into their hands. In *The Virtuous Woman*, Alkali depicts Nana Ai, Laila and

Hajjo: three young ladies who have defied traditional beliefs on the position of the woman in the kitchen in her husband's house where she is expected to produce as many children as possible and satisfy all his whims and caprices.

Furthermore, the writer reveals that it is the female characters that are shown to revel in petty jealousy of their fellow females; particularly towards Nana Ai whom they envy as can be seen by the conduct of the girl Nana fights at the fountain when she goes to wash her cloths. The girl insinuates that Nana Ai is not good enough to have gotten admission into the prestigious Queen's College without getting assistance from her grandfather: "You know better than I do, Nana Ai. A daft girl, like wayward goat, does not get admission into the best secondary school in the North just like that"(16) and the attitude of Laila towards Nana Ai.

The two novels under study portray gender dynamics from the angle of both sexes; that is, conflict between male and female and conflict between female themselves. In these texts, we are presented with Li and Nana Ai the central characters who encounter challenges not only from men but also from their fellow women. However, Li considers marriage as her redeeming factor from her father's patriarchal operation now turns out to be another oppressive structure. Alkali draw attempts to show that, the solution of woman's plight does not depend entirely on any man. Also the incident at the stream involving Li and the women is another clear case of intra-gender conflict. In *The Virtuous Woman*, when for instance Hajjo and Laila get selected to attend Queen's College, the chief protests: "My daughters deserve a place in the college of woman-chief of the whites. What business has the children of a common man like Boni... in the college of the chief where only children of the rich, those of royal blood, high ranking officials and politicians are taken? (3). On the contrary, it is the female characters that are shown to revel in petty jealousy of their fellow women.

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## **CHRONOTOPE AND THE FEMALE SPACE IN CHINUA ACHEBE'S *ANTHILLS OF THE SAVANNAH***

**Muhammad Dahiru**

### **Introduction**

A notable contestation in African literary criticism is about what Florence Stratton calls 'exclusionary practices' on the female writer and character (Stratton, 1994, p. 1). The exclusion of the female writer is having 'African women writers and their works rendered invisible in literary criticism' (Stratton, 1994, p. 1). The exclusionary practice on the female character is a process in which a female character is given a subordinating and secondary role in male fictions (Stratton, 1994, pp. 22-38). Both exclusionary practices have received critical attention in African literary and feminist criticisms over the last three decades. Unlike in the late 1980s, there are now lots of critical attentions on women writing in highly regarded African literary journals, alongside their male counterparts. The breaking point was when volumes 15 and 24 of the acclaimed *African Literature Today* were completely devoted to African women's writing. The creation of female characters in male literary tradition, however, remains a fundamental aspect of dispute in African literary and feminist criticism since the 1980s. Earlier on, Jones *et al* in *Women in African Literature Today* (No 15) remarked that:

there is the suggestion that African male writers are either unable or unwilling to present woman in her totality, and have therefore resorted to the use of stereotype; and that their treatment of issues that mostly concern women – issues such as polygamy, childbearing, motherhood, the subordination of the female to the male - have been jaundiced' (Jones *et al*, 1987, p2)

Many African male novelists at that period were accused of creating such stereotyped, subordinating role of the female character in their novels. Achebe, as one of the greatest African novelists of repute and 'one of the most influential voice in contemporary world literature' (Morrison, 2014, p. 1) has also been accused of showing chauvinistic tendencies in the creation of his female characters, and endorsing a patriarchal social setting that excludes the female in his fictions (Stratton, 1994). Ode Ogede reveals that 'Achebe is specifically accused of placing women in subservient roles; fashioning women in motherhood roles; consigning them to menial domestic duties; or only giving them power as priestesses or as mythological figures' (Ogede, 2007, p. 100). This accusation is mainly directed at Achebe's trilogy, especially the first novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958).

Kirsten Petersen argues that Achebe's female characterisation suggests the idea that 'behaving like a woman is to behave like an inferior being' (Petersen, 1984, np). Rhonda Cobham explores this idea of "woman as an inferior being" through examining 'masculine identity' in the literary space of *Things Fall Apart*. She argues that there is a parallel relationship between the colonial administrator and the

Igbo subjects as colonised on the one hand, and the relationship between Okonkwo as a male and his wives as women on the other. This association is about the colonial administrator's and Okonkwo's world view on using brute strength on the other to show authority. She further sees this parallel connection in religious prefiguration between Okonkwo and Abraham, for sacrificing their sons, and between Okonkwo and Jesus for sacrificing themselves for others to demonstrate this 'masculine identity' (Cobham, 2003).

A number of critics, however, believed Achebe's earlier novels are only anthropological and realistic representations of the agency of women within the precolonial Igbo culture, such as in marriage, domesticity, childbearing and other gendered roles. Ode Ogede asserts that 'critics who accuse Achebe of projecting disempowering images of women are applying Western standards of authority entirely remote and alien to the Igbos' (Ogede, 2007, p. 101). This claim is supported by Ify Amadiume who argues that in traditional Igbo society, women do not oppose patriarchal constructions according to the custom, *per se*, they rather fight for the rights to occupy their rightful spaces in both domestic and public domains (Amadiume, 2015). This suggests that traditionally, therefore, the Igbo culture accepts the creation of some special spheres as exclusive female domains, and other spheres as more male centred and exclusively patriarchal. It is in these exclusive spaces that 'women derive their greatest personal satisfaction as productive members of society' (Ogede, 2007, p. 101).

Those that defend Achebe argue that he is only recreating the reality of his culture in his fiction since the African literature in the early stage acted as historical and cultural documents showcasing the African cultural heritage. Quite often, reading his fictions through the Western standard, as Ogede (2007) argues, would always reveal biasness in a Universalist cultural perspective. As Rhonda Cobham argues, cultural realism is a universal concept (Cobham, 2003), and so the depiction of realities in a particular culture through a distinctive standpoint is not only confined to African literary tradition. In *Outside the Pale: Cultural Exclusion, Gender Difference, and the Victorian Woman Writer* Elsie B. Michie examines an example of exclusion of the English woman through a patriarchal hierarchy within feminine writing in the novels of Mary Shelley, Charlotte Brontë, Emily Brontë, Elizabeth Caskell, and George Eliot during the period from 1818 to 1870. She argues that they were excluded from becoming professional writers because it is 'a territory implicitly defined as masculine' (Michie, 1993, p. 2). Michie's examination of the nineteenth-century women writing was produced in the 1990s, a period in which not only had European feminine and feminist writer greatly flourished but even postcolonial Nigerian and African feminist writing was beginning to thrive in African literary tradition.

This paper too is significant despite the wide contributions on the discourse; a perspective through the framework of the chronotope is a new contribution to the dialogue. In addition, although significant studies adopt the framework of the chronotope, exploring female cultural exclusion through the same lens remains underexplored. For instance, Harry Olufunwa's examination of chronotopes in

NgugiwaThiang'o's *A Grain of Wheat* (1967) and *Petals of Blood* (1978) mainly argued that the two novels are 'suitable for chronotopic analysis' because they 'span the spatiotemporally significant eras of colonialism and early independence' (Olufunwa, 2006, p. 4). This paper discusses the space of Beatrice as an Igbo female in relation to Bakhtin's idea of 'commonplace, philistine cyclical everyday time' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 248) and the Igbo cosmos in precolonial and the modern post-independent epochs through the lens of the chronotopes in *Anthills*.

### ***Anthills of the Savannah and the Chronotope***

Chronotopes are 'the organising centres for the fundamental narrative events of the novel [and] the place where the knots of narrative are tied and untied' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 250). Bakhtin refers to chronotope as 'time-space' and states that it is another metaphor he derived from Einstein's Theory of Relativity (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84). As Tzvetan Todorov explains, chronotope is 'a unit of analysis for studying texts according to the ratio and nature of the temporal and spatial categories represented' (Todorov, 1984, p. 426). There are different forms, classes and types of chronotopes in the novel as identified by Bakhtin. In this paper, only his classification of chronotope under 'micro' and 'minor' chronotopes, not on his genre or generic distinction of the chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 84) are considered.

The micro-chronotopes show how configurations of time and space are represented in language and discourse. According to Jay Ladin, in such chronotopes language 'grows, in part, out of the tension between the centrifugal chronotopic implications of individual words and phrases, and the centripetal force (such as syntax) that subordinates these centrifugal energies to coherent overarching meanings' (Ladin, 1999, p. 216). How language creates a centrifugal and centripetal power struggle in time and space in *Anthills of the Savannah* is very significant in locating and understanding Achebe's creation of the female character through the micro chronotopes.

The several examples of minor chronotopes that Bakhtin provides include 'the road', 'the meeting', 'the castle', 'the salon', 'the public square', 'the provincial town', 'the threshold' and so on (Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 243-250). He interchanges some of these chronotopes with 'motif' when he uses terms such as 'chronotope of meeting' and 'motif of meeting' simultaneously in his essay 'Forms of Time and Chronotope in the Novel' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 97). This makes most of his readers invariably consider the terms 'chronotope' and 'motif' to be synonymous. So, taking the terms as synonymous in this paper, anything that stands out as a motif in *Anthills* in a form of temporal indicator and spatial reference and gives meaning to the overall central argument on female space is regarded as a chronotope.

A major chronotope is the dominant impression a reader gets from the overall image of the character created by the minor chronotopes. As Bakhtin states, 'each [major] chronotope can include within it an unlimited number of minor chronotopes; in fact [...] any motif may have a specific chronotope of its own (Bakhtin, 1981, 252). A major chronotope is made up of minor chronotopes because as 'a formally constructive category' it 'determines to a significant degree the image of man in

literature [...] the image of man is always intrinsically chronotopic' (Bakhtin, 1981, p, 85). Bakhtin further argues that chronotopes tend to interact in dialogical ways: "Within the limits of a single work [...] we may notice a number of different chronotopes and complex interactions among them" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 252). So a chronotope is an essential feature of 'dialogism', which according to Bakhtin, is 'a multiplicity of social voices and a wide variety of their links and their interrelationship' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 263). Chima Anyadike espouses about such multiplicity of voices through dualism in Achebe's early novel, in which she says 'the Umuofia society portrayed by Achebe in *Things Fall Apart* is squarely in the tradition of the modern novel best described by Mikhail Bakhtin due to its plurality (Anyadike, 2007, p. 52). Achebe himself confirmed this earlier on when he said that he presents characters with numerous points of view in a rich verbal exchange on all issues because in Igbo lore, "wherever something stands, something else will stand beside it. Nothing is absolute" (Achebe, 1975, 161).

The examination of the female character's space in Achebe's *Anthills* through its chronotopes does not mean the novel defends all the accusations of chauvinism in African male literary tradition or defends all claims in feminist discourses about the subordination of female character in African male's fictions. The novel is selected to demonstrate how it enters dialogic interaction with female and feminist voices through its chronotopic framework. *Anthills* is Achebe's last major fictional work, after a long hiatus of two decades. Although the story mainly focuses on the prophecy he made that the military would take over power from corrupt politicians at the end of *A Man of the People* (1966), it is also the story of Beatrice and his attempt to recreate her image as his new female character and a major female voice in Kangan, an imaginary country that apparently, as critics such as Morrison (2014) argues, represents Nigeria.

One obvious construction of the character of Beatrice that is certain is that she is different from some female characters in Achebe's earlier novels. She is different from Okonkwo's wives who are silenced under his tight patriarchal grip. She is different from Uzeolu's wife who is subjected to battery that infuriated and led her kindred womenfolk to threaten sexual strike on their husbands as a form of protest. Florence Stratton believes that Achebe tried to transform the status of women from that of object to that of subject' in *Anthills* (Stratton, 1994p. 158). She further claims that Achebe has 'made statements of authorial intention about the role of [his] central female characters, statements that indicate a commitment to gender reform' (Stratton, 1994 p.158). Achebe similarly reveals the same point of view in an interview when he says,

We have created all kinds of myth to support the suppression of the woman, and what the group around Beatrice is saying is that the time has now come to put an end to that [...] The position of Beatrice as sensitive leader of that group is indicative of what I see as necessary to the transition to the kind of society, which I think we should be aiming to create. (Rutherford, 1987, p. 4)

Despite these claims, this paper argues that Achebe's recreation of Beatrice remains ambivalent, if seen through the multiplicity of viewpoints in the novel. As Onyemaechi Udumukwu opines, Achebe has not only adopted the appropriate discursive strategies in *Anthills* in order to project the nature of the existing power structures in a postcolonial context but in addition, he adopts such discursive strategies in order to subvert the existing power structure' (Udumukwu, 2006, p. 196). The ambivalence of Achebe's discursive strategy lies in this projection and subversion of power structure with regard to the space of Beatrice.

### **The Chronotopic Construction of *Anthills***

The plot of *Anthills* is not developed in a causal-effect or in a linear sequence of events but rather through a pattern of episodes and the characters' 'witnesses' as narrators. The time and space order of the novel's structure is disrupted so that the reader is consistently required to re-arrange the sequence of events. This involves the use of narratological apparatus of both formal prolepsis (flashforward) and analepsis (flashback) (Vice, 1997, p. 14).

Though the events in the novel have no causal relationship with each other, yet they are all united under the same general theme of power. There are only what Bakhtin calls "'doings" that constantly repeat themselves', in which time 'moves rather in narrow circles' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 248). The plot, therefore, builds through temporal fragmentation and moves between spaces in Igbo precolonial period and in the present post independent Kangan. The plot of *Anthills*, therefore, cannot provide a direct interrogation of the space of the woman in a single story. But through the micro and minor chronotopes, however, this paper argues that the space of Beatrice is better appreciated in the novel.

### **Indicators and References of Female Space through Language**

Language is a significant feature of a micro chronotope because time and space in a novel are both configured through it. Achebe employs different forms of languages as motifs to define gender roles and relations. One example is the representations of the female status through the language of the characters. The so-called 'pidgin' Nigerian English is used as the language of the 'low' while the Standard English as the language of the 'high'. This is a significant style of defining class that Shakespeare also adopts in his plays through the use of prosaic and poetic languages of his characters. The language of Beatrice and Elewa show this class difference. Beatrice as an educated female says about Elewa, 'She seems so young. And so illiterate. What can [Ikem] be saying to her?' (p. 65). Elewa is identified as an illiterate by the reader because of her language – she speaks the pidgin rather than the Standard English. Pidgin is for those identified with 'painful slowness of half-literacy' (p. 129). So, by pitching the pidgin against the Standard English spoken by Beatrice as the 'other', the relationship between the speech actors and the speech act creates the space that Homi Bhabha espoused as "The Third Space" in post colonialism (1984, pp. 53-56).

Achebe creates the class of uneducated and voiceless female characters in Agatha and Elewa who lack what Elizabeth Isichie called ‘psychological security’ (Isichie, 1976, p. 149). Education in Igbo culture in the modern space according to Elizabeth Isichie, is the ‘*summumbonnum* of the new era’ where ‘the first Igbo who studied abroad and fully mastered the skills of the Western world [...] were the sons or close relatives of the Warrant Chiefs’ (1976, p. 160). So, while language and education empower Beatrice, in the same way they also ‘subvert the existing power structure’ (Udumukwu, 2006) for Elewa and Agatha who are uneducated in the modern space. Achebe’s narrative language further points to an ambivalent creation of space for his female characters. According to Leonard A. Koussouhon and Yemalo C. Amoussou, ‘political correctness is part and parcel of the feminist struggle for parity’ (Koussouhon and Amoussou, 2014, p. 30) in *Anthills*.

Also, while describing Idemili and the power of the deity, this masculine pronominal is further used: ‘A deity who does as *he* says never lacks in worship’ (p. 103 *italics mine*). Since Idemili is a female deity, the pronoun ‘she’ should be appropriate. But as Leonard A. Koussouhon and Yemalo C. Amoussou argue, Achebe’s use of such ‘and ocentric pronominalisation’ (p. 30) may not be a conscious attempt to subvert women’s spaces but is rather ‘influenced by [the] cultural, ideological and interpersonal context’ (Koussouhon and Amoussou, 2014, p. 28). Through language, Achebe both negates and repeats his creation of subordinating female position as he has been accused in his earlier novels.

### **The Female Space as the Last Resort**

Through different chronotopes, Achebe demonstrates that in Igbo cosmology, the past and the present are interdependent in the creation of the future. Bakhtin stresses that in historical chronotopes there is ‘simultaneous existence in literature of phenomena taken from widely separate periods, which greatly complicates the historico-literary process’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 85). The placement of the Igbo woman as the last resort is espoused by Achebe through recourse to past legends, myths and allusions to religious and literary materials, and in events, occasions and encounters through the chronotopes.

This position of Beatrice as the last resort is negotiated through the chronotope of the threshold. The legend of Nwakibie in the temple of the daughter of the Almighty’ (p. 103) projects the exalted position of the female. If a man wants to take the traditional *ozo* chieftaincy title, he must inform the ‘Daughter of the Almighty’ about his ambition, and he must be ‘accompanied by his daughter or, if he has only sons, by the daughter of a kinsman; but a daughter it must be’ (p. 103). As Bakhtin states,

A local myth explains the genesis of a geographical space [...] A locality is the trace of an event, a trace of what had shaped it. Such is the logic of all local myths and legends that attempt, through history to make sense out of space. And Rabelais also creates, on the plane of parody, such local myths’ (Bakhtin, 1981, p.189)

Like Francois Rabelais whose work Bakhtin extensively studied, Achebe also creates the 'geographical space' of the Igbo woman in the precolonial Igbo society through parody to Igbo local myths. Daughters as females were the last and final resort to have a communion with the deity. The 'images' of violence and arrogance are chronotopic representations of masculine values as demonstrated in the legend of Nwakibie who defies the social order of being accompanied by a female daughter and gets himself killed by the python. The image of taming through peace and modesty is the feminine value through the legend of Idemili (pp. 102-105). When the supreme deity observes the recklessness of power through men, he sends down Idemili to clothe the 'naked' body of 'power' and covers its destruction. She comes down in the form of a river that brings life as she flows through the community (p. 103). This exalted and supreme position of Idemili shows that it is the woman who reorganises the world which men had turned into disarray. It is the woman also who brings and gives life and saves humanity.

In the modern space, the recklessness of power of the male in the modern post-independent Kangan is revealed through Ikem's poem, the 'Hymn to the sun' (p30-33), which suggests the destruction wrought by the excessive power of Sam to Kangan. Sam is, however, tamed by Beatrice who calls him to order during the presidential dinner through the chronotope of encounter. Beatrice therefore retains the position of female space as the last resort. The reserving of the female role until all the males have failed is what Beatrice however does not want. She challenges this through religious and inter-textual references:

But the way I see it is that giving women today the same role which traditional society gave them of intervening only when everything else has failed is not enough, you know, like the women in Sembene film who pick up the spears abandoned by their defeated menfolk. It is not enough that women should be the court of last resort because the last resort is a damn sight too far and too late! (pp. 91-92).

Through a historical chronotope, she alludes to the female characters in Sembene Ousmane's *God's Bits of Woods* (1960). Like other feminist critics of Achebe, Beatrice challenges the limiting power of the female to only checking the excesses of the male and saving the world where the male failed all over. A second similar allusion is inter-textual reference to *Things Fall Apart*. Beatrice compares herself to a priestess in Achebe's earlier novel *Things Fall Apart* (1958), and she says she feels 'like Chielo in the novel, the Priestess and Prophetess of the Hills and the Caves' (p. 114). Chielo is the priestess of Umuofia in 'the novel' (which is *Things Fall Apart*) who is dedicated to the oracle of the goddess Agbala. She is a widow with two children and also a good friend of Okonkwo's third wife, Ekwefi. She is so fond of Ezinma, the only surviving child of Ekwefi whom Okonkwo loves but wishes she were a boy, which again brings to fore the idea of male preference in the Igbo culture. Beatrice resists this idea of looking up to being like Chielo who is the last resort. Florence Stratton sees the ambiguity in Achebe's claim of creating new image of the female in *Anthills* in this by revealing its inter-textual relation with *Things Fall Apart*,

which indicates ‘a desire to connect or to revise earlier images of women’ (Stratton, 1994, p.159).

The religious allusion is represented through the story of Eve in the Christian Old Testament. Woman is blamed for the woe that befell man. This is juxtaposed with how Igbo traditional lore also accuses womenfolk of causing the separation of the earth from the sky. According to this Igbo myth, at the beginning of time the sky and the earth were close together. It was a woman who provoked the sky when she banged the top end of her pestle as she pounded in her mortar or when she ‘wiped her kitchen hand on the sky face’ (p. 98), or when she always cut a piece of the sky to put in her soup, which made the sky finally moved up in anger thereby taking the supreme God away with it. Consequently, Igbo ancestors ‘without the benefit of hearing about the Old Testament made the very same story differing only in local colour and blamed the woes of man on the woman’ (p. 98). And then ‘the idea came to Man to turn his spouse into the very Mother of God’ and without the knowledge of the New Testament again, the Igbo culture identifies the woman as *Nneka*, “Mother is supreme” (p. 98).

An important chronotope that shows a ‘dialogical’ discussion of Beatrice’s traditional and modern space is chronotope of threshold during the naming ceremony of Elewa and Ikem’s baby. As Sue Vice puts it, ‘a novel’s constituent chronotopes [...] interact dialogically’ (Vice, 1997, p. 51). By presiding over the naming ceremony, Beatrice eventually takes over the patriarchal roles traditionally played by men in the culture. By this act, it signals that the female takes control of males’ roles in the modern space. But she takes over the naming ceremony ostensibly because the old man, who is traditionally expected to do so, is not present. By implication, Achebe is again giving the female the ‘last resort’ role, in the circumstance when and where males are not available. The name, which Beatrice gives Elewa’s baby girl at the end of the novel also has dialogical cultural implication:

There was an Old Testament prophet who named his son The-remnant-shall-return. They must have lived in times like this. We have a different metaphor, though; we have our own version of hope that springs eternal. We shall call this child Amaechina: May-the-path-never-close. Ama for short (p. 222).

The name ‘Amaechina’ is culturally reserved for male babies only but Beatrice gives it to a female to de-gender naming generally within the cultural space. At the end of the ceremony and *Anthills*, three female figures replace three male figures: Beatrice, Elewa and the new baby, Amaechina, replace Sam, Ikem and Chris. This further points to the last resort option for women that Achebe still ascribes to the female characters in *Anthills*; they take control only when the males are dead.

### **The Private and Public Spaces**

Florence Stratton argues that although Beatrice is as good a writer as Ikem, and as educated as Chris in the modern space, she is never presented to the reader in her capacity as a public figure. Also, although she is educated and occupies a very important office, she is never projected in her office. And despite being a graduate of

English and a writer like Ikem, Achebe never shows her literary prowess and presents her work to the reader (Stratton, 1994). This confinement of Beatrice to the domestic sphere and excluding her from the literary tradition undermine the claims that Achebe has recreated his modern female characters through the image of Beatrice.

Through the 'Chronotope of Meeting', Achebe negotiates the public space of Beatrice as a female. Chronotope of meeting, according to Bakhtin, is 'probably the most important' (Bakhtin 1981, p. 97) chronotope because the whole notion of 'time-space' is built around intersection or meeting of time and space in a narration. More often, chronotope of meeting is equally regarded as the 'chronotope of the encounter' and is 'marked by a higher degree of intensity in emotions and values' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 243). The first important meeting or encounter is between Ikem and Beatrice in her house, where they engage in dialogical interaction about the spaces of the female. Beatrice asks Ikem about his *position on* women after accusing him of 'having unclear and reactionary role of the modern woman' (p. 96), the significance of the meeting is that it reveals Achebe's ideological positions about the place of the women and his female characters. It is through the chronotope of the road that both Ikem and Beatrice attain the major 'chronotope of the life course of someone seeking true knowledge' (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 130), in which new discoveries of their perceptions about the space of female are acquired through self-knowledge.

The encounter changes Ikem's perspective on women and from thence he changed his many dialectics on them through editorials, poems and letters. He defends the inclusion of women and opposes their categorisation as subordinates within many cultural, political and economic spheres. For this reversal of focus by Ikem, who acts as the alter-ego of Achebe, it could be concluded that Achebe has reversed his early depiction of the female in the secondary positions, which he has been accused of in his earlier fictions. But although Ikem changes his perspective on the position of the female, he is not specific about the role that females should play in the public spheres. Achebe's standpoint on the recreation of Beatrice, therefore, remains dialogical.

### **Sexuality and the Female agency**

Another major Igbo female agency given to Beatrice is freedom of sexuality. Through the chronotope of encounter, Ikem, as Achebe's 'I/eye', considers his relationship with Elewa, his girlfriend, as mainly sexual. But Beatrice who represents Achebe's first central female character is independent of man's control in relation to sex. She is free to choose when, where and who to have sex with, including refusing sexual advances from Sam, the head of state, and from Ikem despite their closeness. She enjoys the freedom to indulge in sexual intercourse out of wedlock with Chris in her own apartment and in her free will, a kind of sexual freedom that Igbo traditional culture does not encourage. A chastity of a girl is an image that Igbo parents try to preserve in their daughters. As Egodu Uchendu states, genital mutilation was practiced in some Igbo tribal cultures in an attempt 'to reduce female sexual desire, which promised social advantages to parents by ensuring that their daughters did not compromise their chastity, a development that would taint the image of the girl and her family' (Uchendu, 2007, p. 30).

But while Beatrice has this sexual freedom of the modern Igbo woman, she is presented as sexual object rather than an intellectual being during her sexual escapades. Chris, Ikem and Sam see her more as an erotic object rather than a female subject. She is said to arouse 'a gigantic erection' in Sam as he makes advances to her (p. 81), and that Ikem also attempts to be too close when he stays late in her house (p. 101). In the same vein, as she consents to Chris, the sexual activity is described as satisfying Chris's male libido rather than a mutual activity that she also relishes (p. 114).

### **Conclusion**

In the Igbo cosmology constructed by Achebe in *Anthills*, there is a connection between the modern space and the mythological past in a unified time-space of continuing existence to negotiate Beatrice's space. This contrasts with the western metaphysics that sees the space of time in a continued plane of yesterday, today and tomorrow only, and which has no unified connection. This is the perspective upon which most critics of Achebe viewed his treatment of his female characters. Simon Gikandi reveals that 'duality allows [Achebe], like his Igbo ancestors, to contest the central claims of Western metaphysics and its dependence on Reason' (Gikandi, 1991, p. 20). Achebe creates Beatrice within the context of his Igbo cosmology that always identifies the dynamic relationship between opposites, and which emphasises the duality of existence.

By applying the framework of chronotope to the analysis of *Anthills of the Savannah* in this paper, questions raised by Achebe's critics on his treatment of his female characters are brought together to reveal a dialogical standpoint. The cultural and modern space of Beatrice as an Igbo woman is interrogated by conflating her traditional mythological place in the precolonial past with her modern post-colonial independent position through the chronotopes in the novel. Achebe, therefore, neither completely exalts nor completely lowers the space of Beatrice as a female character but rather only oscillates the space that she occupies as an Igbo woman. Bakhtin's notion of phenomena taken from widely separate periods and 'cyclicity' of time and space should be the better perspectives to view Achebe's female characters, who he represents as existing in and through the novel's chronotopes.

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## **ASSESSING THE TEACHING OF IGBO SYNTAX IN COLLEGES OF EDUCATION IN NORTH-EAST GEOPOLITICAL ZONE OF NIGERIA**

**Uju C. Umo & Zebulon C. Iwuala**

### **Introduction**

Language is the medium through which people transmit their culture to the younger ones and to the future generations. Language therefore is an essential identity of a people, hence no tribe in Nigeria is ready to accept another language as the nation's Lingua Franca. It is through language that the young ones learn and grow to adulthood and continues the tradition of the land. According to Azikiwe (2006), "language is the vehicle for communication and the instrument for all creative thoughts". It is this medium of instruction for formal and informal learning. It involves reading and writing and this task has to be accomplished right from the primary school. Ability to read and write is very crucial in the life of a school child because it provides a strong foundation for future academic achievement. In spite of the crucial nature of language, many students do not have the capacity and proficiency to speak and write.

As Agbede (2000) posited, language is the system of rules and principles of human communication. This shows that language is a method of communicating ideas, emotions, feelings and desire by means of a system of vocal and sound symbols. It also involves arbitrary vocal symbols by which thought is conveyed from one human being to another. Grammar is one of the aspects of language used by people all over the world for effective communication and refers to either the inherent structure of words and sentences (morphology and syntax respectively) in a language; or to the study and description of this structure, published as grammar rules in books about the language (Ugwu, 2006). This rule is what is known as grammatical rules or syntax rule and these rules guide word formation and sentence formation which is dependent on the context. Syntax is the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in particular languages (Ugwu, 2006). Aja (2008) asserts that the term syntax is used to refer directly to the rules and principles that govern the sentence structure of any individual languages. According to Finch (2000) grammatical rules of any language is the rules that guides that particular language and every user, owner or learner of that language must adhere strictly to that. It is only when the user of a language master its rules that will enable him or her to make use of the language effectively. Mbah (2004) asserts that before any sentence will have meaning that it must have noun clause and verb clause. This is illustrated thus: S – NP + VP (where S is sentence, NP is noun phrase and VP is verb phrase. The proficiency of people in expressing themselves in any language depends on the peoples understanding of grammatical structures. To improve peoples' skills in any spoken as well as written expression in a language, grammar is taught at the different levels of educational institutions.

The teaching of grammar in schools is considered a difficult task by many. For example, Nwoke (2002) explained that grammar is often considered as a very boring and difficult aspect of language study by both learners and teachers. This is partly due to the abstract nature of grammatical categories which makes it almost inevitable that teachers adopt traditional and uninspiring deductive techniques of instruction and also due to the existence of equally numerous methodologies for teaching grammatical structures. Added to these are confusions created in language pedagogy by the emergence of a number of linguistic theories, each laying claim to have capacity to solve the problems in language teaching. These no doubt place a great problems on the teacher who must not only be knowledgeable in almost all the grammars and theories of that particular language, but must also be professionally qualified and competent to make accurate judgment in the selection of appropriate methodologies and activities for making the teaching of Igbo grammatical structures exciting and motivating to the learners.

In Nigerian, grammar is taught as an aspect of languages offered in the school. For example the West African Examination Council (2008-2010) states that for candidates at the secondary school level to register in her examinations, he/she must offer English language in addition to registering one Nigerian language like Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa languages. In all the languages mentioned above grammar is taught to the students. The students who offer such languages in the schools can only perform well in the examination if they are made to learn and master the grammatical structures of the language with particular reference to Igbo language.

The Federal Government of Nigeria (2004) mindful of the problems imposed by the differences in learning and speaking the local languages by different ethnic groups recommended that each section of the country should include in their secondary schools language curriculum one of the Nigerian language other than their immediate language. In line with the above most of the states in the North East Geopolitical zone of Nigeria offer Igbo language as an alternative to other Nigeria languages in addition to Hausa and English language recommended by the Federal Government of Nigeria (2004) for the North East Geopolitical Zone. The policy also recommends that the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue and since then it has generated a lot of argument for and against especially on its effectiveness and adequacy in the teaching and learning of Igbo language. Among the objectives of teaching Igbo language in school include: equipping students with basic language skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing in current and approved orthography, teaching students sound, lexis and structures of the Igbo language, expose students to available oral and written literatures, teaching promoting and preserving Igbo culture, equipping students with the techniques and principle of teaching and evaluation, motivating students to apply skills and the use of Igbo language.

Teaching is a process which involves the determination of worthwhile objectives, the selection and arrangement of learning experiences, guidance, motivations as well as testing and correcting with a view to ensuring and improving upon learning. In line with this Okoronta (2007) asserts that teaching is a process of achieving a stipulated objectives ranging from the known to the unknown. Peters

(2007) believe that teaching is an attempt to help someone to acquire or change an attitude, knowledge, idea, skill or appreciation. Corroborating with the above definitions, Greeto (2008) argued that teaching is a complex cognitive skills based on knowledge about how to construct and conduct a lesson and about the content to be taught. Greeto further stated that effectiveness of any teaching is dependent on the teachers' skills, qualification, interest as well as the ability to utilize instructional materials. Culture is also an important factor to be considered in the teaching process. According to Oboegbulem (2006) instructional materials constitute one important facilities used in teaching at all levels of Nigeria educational system employed to encourage and promote effective teaching. They include text books, journals, magazine, periodicals, pamphlets, newspaper, programme, text, posters, maps and charts. It also includes non-print materials like film strips, mock-up, slides, pictures, audio and video- ups, tapes, radio and television, transparencies and globes, various science apparatuses and chemical as well as computers. The adequacy of facilities in Colleges of Education has long been recognized by experts in Igbo languages and language education as indispensable in the teaching and learning process (Nwachukwu, 2006; Nwadike, 2008; Offorma, 2009). These scholars agree that adequacy of facilities enhance the quality of instruction and provided direct sensory experiences of seeing, touching hearing and smelling which are necessary ingredients for understanding and learning. According to Okoronta (2007) teaching refers to a particular profession in which people may be engaged. Teaching is a complex process which means that there are enormous number of activities which a classroom teacher may be involved in as part of his study. Interest of a teacher is one of the basic things needed in teaching if it is to be effective.

Interest is what shows how a teacher is devoted to his/her teaching. Greeto (2008) asserts that teaching objectives can only be effective if only develop interest in what he is teaching. In other words teacher's interest leads to realization of curriculum objectives. It is only when a teacher has interest in what he is teaching that he will be able to devote extra time, goes to class early and teaches with humility carrying every student along. Skills is what Ugwu (2006) referred to as the strategies adopted by the teacher in the classroom to ensure that the knowledge impacted on the students are affected. The skill of the teacher influences to a greater extent, the teacher's effectiveness in the classroom situation. Such skills include demonstration; use of examples, motivation, repetitions, students' participation use of questioning and giving assignment, whenever a classroom teacher adopts the flowing, teaching and learning is always effective.

Theoretically, this study is supported by the behaviourist theory is propounded by B.F. Skinner in the year 1968. The behaviourism otherwise known as the school of environmentalists holds the view that a child's brain at birth is a *tabularize*. This implies that the child's brain at birth is a clean slate with no pre-conceived idea of the world view of language in the least. In the real sense of it according to this school of thought, what a child learns is based on environmental influence. The school of thought holds the view that the child mainly acquires language by imitating people's speech in its immediate environment. This theory believes in memorization thereby

committing structures of language to memory. They are strongly of the notion that environmental factors through rein-enforcement are responsible for the gradual shaping of the child cognitively or mentally or otherwise. This shows that environment shapes the language structural development of a child in any given society.

The theory is related to this study. The teaching and learning of Igbo syntax may be made possible due to imitation and reinforcement. Here, the contacts made by the speakers depends greatly on operant conditioning the environment which the speakers found themselves shape the language which they will speak along with other effects associated with them. It therefore presupposes that the environment in which the students found themselves will determine the influence each has on the other. Various empirical studies have been carried out on language teaching. Amoke (2011) carried out a research study on availability and utilization of teaching aids in the teaching of Igbo tone. The purpose of the study was to examine the availability and utilization of teaching aids in teaching Igbo tone in secondary school in Udi Education Zone. He found that most teaching aids for teaching of Igbo tone in secondary schools were not available in Udi Education zone. Also, the teachers of Igbo tone do not make adequate use of the teaching aids in the classroom because the materials were not available.

Being aware that teachers play a very significant role in the actualization of the classroom instruction in school. Odo (2008) carried out a study on the influence of qualification in teaching of English verb in colleges of education in Yola North zone. The main purpose of the study is to investigate on the influence of lecturers' qualification in the teaching of English verb in colleges of education in Yola North zone. The study revealed that the percentage of qualified teachers that teaches English verb is very low (BA.Ed. = 75%, M.Ed. = 15%) and this will ultimately affects the teaching of the subject. Ayogu (2010), carried out a research titled influence of teaching skills in the learning of Igbo drama in Eha-Amufu Education Zone. The purpose of the study is to find out if the skills teachers apply in teaching Igbo drama have any influence on the students understanding. The findings showed that skills are the basic thing needed in the teaching and learning of Igbo drama and the teachers lack such knowledge. The researcher recommended among others that it is necessary to organize seminars and workshop for the teachers where they should be exposed to the necessary skills for the teaching of drama, like demonstration and repetitions. In another development, Eze (2009) carried out a research titled teachers' interest in the teaching of English grammar in Eha-Amufu. The results indicated that teachers lack the interest needed for the teaching of English grammar. The finding shows that teaching can only be effective if the teacher devote interest to what he is teaching.

The empirical studies reviewed showed that works have been done on grammar of some languages like English grammar and Hausa grammar however; none of the above studies or any other one known to the researcher addressed the Igbo syntax. There is also dearth of records in this regards in North-East Geo-political Zone of Nigeria. The purpose of this study therefore is to assess the teaching of Igbo

syntax in this North-East Geo-political Zone of Nigeria. Specifically, the study explored the perception of lecturers on the influence of availability of instructional materials, qualification of lecturers, interest and skills of lecturers in the teaching of Igbo syntax in college of education in North East Geo-political zone of Nigeria.

### **Research Questions**

The following research questions guided the study.

1. What are the instructional materials that are available and to what extent are they utilized for teaching Igbo syntax in college of education in North East Geo-political zone of Nigeria?
2. What are the qualifications of Igbo syntax lecturers in the colleges of education in North East Geo-political zone of Nigeria?
3. How do Igbo lecturers indicate interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax in North East Geo-political zone of Nigeria?
4. What are the skills, lecturers apply in the teaching of Igbo syntax in Colleges of Education in North-east Geo-political zone of Nigeria?

### **Methods**

**Design of the Study:** This study employed an evaluative survey design. Evaluation design according to Nworgu (2006) is meant for studies that seek to provide data for making value judgments about some events, objects or materials. The design is adopted because the study is interested in making some value judgment about the utilization of instructional materials, lecturers' skills, as well as, interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax.

**Participants:** The population consists of all the Igbo lecturers and all the students offering Igbo in the colleges of education in the North-east geo-political zone of Nigeria. Using purposive sampling technique, thirty two (32) lecturers teaching Igbo language and one hundred and fifty (150) students offering Igbo language in the five colleges of education in the zone that have started offering Igbo language.

**Instrumentation:** The instrument for data collection was titled questionnaire teaching of Igbo Syntax Questionnaire (QTIS). The QTIS consisted of 18 items in three clusters eliciting information on utilization of instructional materials, lecturers' interest and the skills lecturers employ in the teaching of Igbo syntax. The items of the questionnaire were responded to by the lecturers and students on 4-point scale. The response categories for the cluster on utilization of instructional materials was Very High Extent (VHE), High Extent (HE), Low Extent (LE), and Not at All (NA) weighted 3, 2, 1, and 0 respectively whereas others used response categories of Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), Strongly disagree (SD) and undecided weighted 4, 3, 2, 1, and 0 respectively.

The QTIS was validated by three experts in language education and an expert in Measurement and Evaluation all of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. The validators examined the items for clarity of instructions, the framing and adequacy of the items. Their corrections, comments and suggestions were integrated in the final copy of the instrument. In order to determine the reliability of the instrument, the

QTIS was administered on fifteen lecturers and fifteen students from Eha-Amufu college of Education. Cronbach’s Alpha method was used to determine the estimate of internal consistency. The instrument yielded reliability indices of 0.70, 0.70, and 0.82 for the three clusters respectively with overall reliability co-efficient of 0.81. The instrument was considered reliable.

**Method of Data Collection:** The instrument for the study was administered to both the lecturers and students with the help of trained research assistants. The researcher gave this three research assistant three days training on how to administer the instrument to the respondent to complete on the spot to ensure that none of them got lost. The researcher also trained them on how to checklist or tick the available instructional materials in each school. The questionnaire distributed for the study was five hundred and twelve (512) and they were all retrieved back.

**Method for Data Analysis:** the data obtained by administering the instrument were analyzed with the use of SPSS. This consists of descriptive statistics involving computation of means and standard deviation to answer the research questions and independent t-test to test the hypotheses.

The boundaries of each response on the 4-point scale were calculated by dividing the serial width (3) by the number of responses (4) and were found to be 0.75 (obtained following Topkaya, 2010 pattern of analysis). This value was used to interpret the mean value. Based on this calculation the accepted boundaries for each response are presented as follows: 0.00 - 0.75 = NA; 0.76 – 1.50 = LE; 1.51 – 2.25 = HE; and 2.26 – 3.00 = VHE. Also for research questions 2 and 3, the boundaries of each response in the 5-point scale from 0 to 4 were calculated by dividing the serial width by the number of responses, 5 and was found to be 0,80 (Topkaya,2010). This value (0.80) was used in interpreting the mean values. Depending on the calculation, the acceptable boundaries for each response category is 0.00 – 0.80 (U); 0.81 – 1.60 (SD); 1.61 – 2.40 (D); 2.41 – 3.20 (A); and 3.21 – 4.00 (SA).

**Results**

**Research Question 1:** What are the instructional materials that are available and to what extent are they utilized for teaching Igbo syntax in college of education in North East Geo-political zone of Nigeria?

**Table 1:** Mean responses of lecturers and students in the utilization of instructional materials in teaching Igbo syntax

S/N	Item	Lecturer				Students			
		N	X	SD	Decision	N	X	SD	Decision
	<b>Utilization of instructional materials</b>								
1	Grammar textbook	62	1.78	1.03	LE	450	2.41	0.93	VHE
2	Syntax textbook	62	2.12	0.87	HE	450	1.07	1.08	LE

3	Textbook on writing	62	1.98	1.23	HE	450	1.60	1.13	HE
4	Language laboratory	62	2.40	1.34	VHE	450	1.65	0.49	HE
5	Blackboard	62	2.87	0.45	VHE	450	2.24	1.08	HE
6	Igbo syntax chart	62	1.25	0.98	LE	450	1.27	1.23	HE
	<b>Overall mean average</b>		<b>2.07</b>	<b>0.98</b>	<b>HE</b>		<b>1.87</b>	<b>0.99</b>	<b>HE</b>

Table 1 showed that that the mean scores obtained for lecturers’ perception on the utilization of instructional materials in the teaching of syntax ranged from 1.25 to 2.87 and the overall mean average was 2.07. On the other hand students’ mean perception ranged from 1.07 to 2.41 while the overall average was 1.87. From the result it can be deduced that both lecturers and students perceived that instructional material are used to a high extent in teaching syntax in colleges of education North-east geo-political zone, Nigeria.

**Research Question 2:** How do Igbo lecturers indicate interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax in North East Geo-political zone of Nigeria?

**Table 2:** Mean response of the lecturers and students on how the lecturers indicate interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax in colleges of Education

S/N	Item	Lecturers				Students			
		N	X	SD	Decision	N	X	SD	Decision
7	Lecturers derive joy in teaching Igbo syntax.	62	3.01	0.67	A	450	2.98	0.59	SA
8	Lecturers devotes time outside the stipulated period for teaching Igbo syntax	62	3.21	0.92	SA	450	3.75	1.45	SA
9	Lecturers take his time with humility in explaining Igbo syntax.	62	3.32	0.45	SA	450	3.23	1.08	SA
10	Lecturers put in his best to carry everybody along while teaching Igbo syntax.	62	2.76	1.18	A	450	3.01	1.32	A
11	He uses Igbo languages only while teaching Igbo syntax.	62	3.45	1.23	SA	450	3.67	0.49	SA
12	Lecturer research on the recent knowledge on Igbo syntax	62	3.12	1.04	A	450	3.10	1.57	A
	<b>Overall mean average</b>		<b>3.15</b>	<b>0.92</b>	<b>SA</b>		<b>3.79</b>	<b>1.08</b>	<b>SA</b>

Table 2 indicated that the mean scores obtained for lecturers’ interest in teaching syntax as perceived by lecturers ranged from 2.76 to 3.45 and the overall mean average was 3.15, whereas students’ perception ranged from 2.98 to 3.75 with

overall mean average of 3.75. The result implied that both lecturers and students strongly agreed that lecturers show interest in the teaching syntax in colleges of education North-east geo-political zone, Nigeria.

**Research Question 3:** What are the skills, lecturers apply in the teaching of Igbo syntax in Colleges of Education in North-east Geo-political zone of Nigeria?

**Table 3:** Mean responses of lecturers and students on the skills lecturers' uses in the teaching of Igbo syntax.

S/N	Items	Lecturers				Students			
		N	X	S.D	Decision	N	X	S.D	Decision
	<b>Skills lecturer's uses in teaching Igbo syntax.</b>								
13	Lecturers make use of demonstration and examples in teaching Igbo syntax.	62	1.45	0.98	SD	450	1.67	1.23	D
14	Lecturers' starts from the known to unknown while teaching Igbo syntax.	62	1.12	1.10	SD	450	2.12	0.93	D
15	Lecturers make use of instructional material at the appropriate time.	62	1.09	0.76	SD	450	1.76	1.43	D
16	Lecturers does not examine students most often.	62	3.81	1.17	SA	450	3.32	1.23	SA
17	Lecturers apply interactive skills in teaching	62	1.87	0.45	D	450	1.24	1.08	SD
18	Lecturers don't use repetition while teaching Igbo syntax.	62	2.45	0.98	A	450	1.23	1.67	SD
	<b>Over all mean average</b>		<b>1.97</b>	<b>0.91</b>	<b>D</b>		<b>1.89</b>	<b>1.26</b>	<b>D</b>

Table 3 revealed that the mean scores obtained for lecturers on the skills applied in teaching syntax as perceived by lecturers ranged from 1.09 to 3.81 and the overall mean average was 1.97. Students' perception ranged from 1.67 to 3.32 with overall mean average of 1.89. The result showed that both lecturers and students strongly agreed that lecturers show interest in the teaching syntax in colleges of education North-east geo-political zone, Nigeria.

**Hypothesis 1:** There is no significant difference in the mean opinion of lecturers and students on the utilization of instructional materials in the teaching of Igbo syntax.

**Table 4:** Summary of t-test on the difference between the mean rating scores of lecturers and students on the utilization of instructional materials in the teaching of Igbo syntax.

Status of respondents	N	X	St.d	t-cal	Df	t-crit.	Decision
Lecturers	62	1.54	.75	-2.85	510	1.96	Do not reject
Students	450	2.03	1.7				

Table 4 shows that t-calculated (-2.85) is greater than t-critical (1.96). Based on the result, the null hypothesis which stated that there is no significant difference in the mean opinion of lecturers and students on the utilization of instructional materials in the teaching of Igbo syntax was retained. Therefore, there is no significant difference in the opinion of lecturers and students on the utilization of instructional materials in the teaching of Igbo syntax.

**Hypothesis 2:** There is no significant difference in the mean opinion of lecturers and students on the influence of lecturers' interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax.

**Table 5:** Summary of t-test on the difference between the mean rating scores of lecturers and students on the influence of lecturers' interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax

Status of respondents	N	X	St.d	t-cal	df	t-crit.	Decision
Lecturers	62	1.86	.86	-0.23	510	1.96	Do not reject
Students	450	2.32	.78				

Table 5 indicated that t-calculated (-2.23) is less than (1.96) t-calculated. This implied that the null hypothesis that postulates that there is no significant difference in the mean opinion of lecturers and students on the influence of lecturers' interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax was retained hence, there was no significant difference in the influence of lecturers' interest in the teaching of Igbo syntax by lectures and students.

**Hypothesis 3:** There is no significant difference in the mean opinion of lecturers and students on the skills used by lecturers in the teaching of Igbo syntax.

**Table 6:** Summary of t-test on the difference between the mean rating scores of lecturers and students on the skills used by lecturers in the teaching of Igbo syntax

Status of respondents	N	X	St.d	t-cal	Df	Sig.(2.tailed)	Decision
Lecturers	62	1.93	.64	2.57	510	1.96	Reject
Students	450	1.17	.52				

Table 6 revealed that t-calculated (2.57) was greater than t-critical (1.96).the null hypothesis that stated that there is no significant difference in the mean opinion of lecturers and students on the skills used by lecturers in the teaching of Igbo syntax was therefore, rejected.

### **Discussion of Findings**

The discussion of the results of the study is presented under the following sub-headings:

### **Availability and Utilization of Instructional Materials for the Teaching of Igbo Syntax**

Out of the six instructional materials recommended for the teaching of Igbo syntax in the colleges of education, it was only one item (chalkboard) that was available for the teaching of the course. Hence there was inadequate availability of instructional materials for the teaching of Igbo syntax as recommended by NCCE. Non-availability of instructional materials has influence on the achievement of the objective and contents in colleges of education. This agrees with the view of Ugo (2008) that lack of instructional materials affects the objective of the curriculum which the students are taught in colleges of education. As for the utilization of the instructional materials, the findings show that chalkboard was the only instructional materials used by the lecturers while teaching Igbo syntax in colleges of education. Hence, there was inadequate use of instructional materials like grammar textbook, syntax textbook, textbook on writing skills, language laboratory as well as Igbo syntax chart by the lecturers which arises from the fact that they are not available which invariably affects implementing of Igbo syntax curriculum as stated by Ugo (2008). The present researcher urge for adequate instructional materials as well as its utilization is important in school. One can say that it is lack of instructional materials that leads to poor performance of students in Igbo syntax.

### **Lecturers Interest in the Teaching of Igbo Syntax in the Colleges of Education**

The findings of the study reveal that lecturers do not show any interest in the course of teaching Igbo syntax. All the items statement concerning how the lecturers should indicate interest for teaching Igbo syntax were all negative which includes lecturers deriving joy in teaching Igbo syntax, lecturers devoting time outside the stipulated period of teaching Igbo syntax, explaining Igbo syntax topics with examples, carrying every students along while teaching Igbo syntax, using Igbo language as a medium of instructions only while teaching Igbo syntax as well as researching on recent knowledge on Igbo syntax. The findings agreed with the observation made by Herts (2010) who asserted that before learning should take place properly, that the teacher must teach with interest. The present researcher sees it as a proper thing that lecturers should teach with keen interest. From this study one may say that it is lack of lecturer's interest that leads to poor performance of students on Igbo syntax.

### **Skills Lecturers Applied in the Teaching of Igbo Syntax in the Colleges of Education**

The evidence obtained with regard to the skills lecturers uses in teaching Igbo syntax, showed that lecturers don't apply the necessary skills in the teaching of Igbo syntax. They lack skills like use of demonstration and examples, use of instructional materials for teaching, interactive skills, repetition as well as moving from known to unknown which arouse the interest of the learners in the classroom. In view with the role skills play in teaching, Onah (2010) asserted that the use of skills is very fundamental in teaching especially the languages. Onah argued that the use of skills

arms the lecturers with what it takes to be an ideal teacher. This is due to the use of appropriate strategies in teaching to ensure the proper understanding of what is taught by the students. Greeto (2008) observed that the improvement in the skills of the lecturers is necessary in teaching, hence, it helps the lecturer to deliver the lecture at the appropriate time and method which will invariably enhanced the performance and understanding of the students in the course.

Therefore, from the findings of the study, it can be inferred that the achievements of Igbo syntax is not at the high side and this should be attributed to poor skills among the syntax lecturers.

### **Conclusion**

On the strength of the findings of the study, on assessment of teaching of Igbo syntax in colleges of education in North-East Nigeria, the following conclusions are hereby drawn.

1. There are no instructional materials for the teaching of Igbo syntax in the colleges of education.
2. The availability of Igbo syntax in the colleges of education are not qualified as they are mostly holders of BA.ED and M.ED.
3. Lecturers don't devote much interest while teaching Igbo syntax.
4. Culture influences the teaching of Igbo syntax in the colleges of education
5. The lecturers lack the requisite skills in teaching Igbo syntax.

### **Recommendations**

Based on the findings and educational implications of the study, the researcher makes the following recommendations.

1. The Federal Government should expedite action in establishing language laboratory in collages of education.
2. Educational Institutions at all levels in Nigerian should encourage the teaching of Igbo syntax through the provision of qualified lecturers
3. Lecturers in collages of education should be exposed to seminars, workshops and conference to boost the teaching of Igbo syntax. These seminars will increase the cognitive dispositions of the lecturers to teach the course in the colleges.
4. Other higher Institutions that have not established the teaching of Igbo syntax should not hesitate to do so as it will expose the lecturers and students to the rules guiding Igbo languages.
5. The Federal Government should motivate the Igbo lecturers by recognizing them and as at when due, hence they teach virtues in the colleges so as to perpetrate the culture of the people in the students.

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**HISTORIOGRAPHY OF WOMEN OPPRESSION IN NEW  
NIGERIAN POETRY IN ENGLISH:  
AKACHI ADIMORA-EZEIGBO AND KOLA EKE**

**Clement Eloghosa Odia**

**Introduction**

Literature cannot exist outside the confines of history because through the re-enactment of historical experiences and events, history is re-interpreted, re-invigorated and embellished. If it is a mistake to think of women oppression as a trite subject, it is a worse one to think of building the nation without seeking to improve the dignity and freedom of women from all socio-political inhibitions. Historically, of all victims of oppression, women occupy the apex. This essay examines women oppression from a historiographical perspective. It surveys women predicament in Nigeria with a view to providing the socio-political contexts which have entrenched patriarchal hegemony over women. The poems selected for this study contain historiographical materials that help to establish the various societal infractions against women in Nigeria. The two poets chosen for this study exhibit different ideological bent: Adimora-Ezeigbo, for example, is an avowed feminist poet while Eke is a social reformist poet who through his poetical acumen expresses reformist ideas aimed at attaining an ideal society.

Similarly, Eke's poems have not enjoyed sufficient attention probably because he is a new poet. These reasons have necessitated a comparative study of the two poets. While the above reasons are true, it is equally important to add that the need for gender balance in opinion has led to the choice of these two poets.

The study employs feminism as the theoretical standpoint from which issues are examined. Although feminism is a broad concept with universal consequence, the African feministic perspective is applied in this study. Before looking at the African feminism, an exploration of feminism generally is necessary. Rosalind Delma views feminism as a consciousness shared by both male and female enthusiasts. Thus she remarks: "It is by no means absurd to suggest that you don't have to be a feminist to support women's right to equal treatments, and that not all those supportive of women's demands are feminists" (13). The central thrust of feminism is the agitation for equal treatment for both men and women. The call for gender balance, justice and parity is not the exclusive preserve of women alone. This explains why male writers often delve into the fray to call attention to unfair treatment of women in order to chart a new direction and achieve social change. Delma is quick to add that supporting women's cause does not in anyway make one a feminist. In fact, if anything, it makes one a good human being.

Elaborating further, Delma writes that: "feminism can thus be established as a field (and this even if skepticism is still needed in the face of claims or demands for a unified feminism), but cannot claim women as its domain" (13). The field of feminism can be extended to cover men as well. Far from being constructed in simple

opposition to western feminism, feminism on the African continent constitutes a myriad of heterogeneous experiences and points of departure” (8)

It is important to note that various scholars have looked at feminist response to feminism from diverse angles and recommendations which have further complicated the issue. The African cultural practices are diverse in scope and there is need to integrate all the approaches so as to form a unified thought and action plan. This explains why the snail-sense feminism of Adimora-Ezeigbo is adopted because of the responses which the poets recommend as necessary for combating female oppression. Adimora-Ezeigbo employs the snail image to articulate the need for non-combative approach to women issues. According to her:

The snail crawls over boulders, rocks, thorns, crags and rough terrains smoothly and efficiently with a well lubricated tongue which is not damaged or destroyed by these sharp objects... if danger looms, it will draw into its shell and is safe. This is what women often do in our society to survive in Nigeria's harsh patriarchal culture (27).

The focus of this brand of feminism is the application of wisdom embedded in caution, safety and survival. Adimora-Ezeigbo understands the Nigerian socio-cultural field and knows that radical feminism will not work. Hence she encourages women to embrace the culture of perseverance and mental toughness in order to overcome patriarchal dominance. This is her vision of snail-sense feminism which she has invented to combat evil of women oppression. Femi Osofisan receives the snail-sense feminism with open arms and remarks:

Vociferous as she is for the empowerment of women, and against their marginalization in a male-dominated society, she is not for all that an iconoclast or phallophobist. She protests and denounces, but her goal is negotiation, compromise, reconciliation. Hence her preference is for dialogue, 'nkolikaa', and her advocacy for women's rights does not lead her into a hatred of men. (34)

Osofisan has identified the essential reason feminism in Africa is yet to take positive root and carry even the men along. The approach has been to see men as enemy of women. The snail-sense feminism is not a fight against men but one against the evils perpetrated against women. For example, snail-sense feminism rails against female marginalization and calls for female empowerment. It does not call for hatred of men generally. Thus snail-sense feminism is a result-oriented and problem-solving approach to ending the problems faced by women. This theory will be employed to interrogate the issues in the poems of Adimora-Ezeigbo and Eke respectively. The poetry of Adimora-Ezeigbo and Eke has received few attentions. We shall begin with Niyi Akingbe who, states that, “Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Heart Songs* criticizes a decline in social and cultural norms, which ostensibly reflects how contemporary Nigerian society has been weakened by its ambivalent positioning between poorly-digested western values and half-forgotten indigenous norms”. (27-28)

The focus of Akingbe's essay is the need to redirect societal ethos and re-evaluate the moral values in order to promote a better society. The poet appears to be content with denigrating imperial cultural formations and how they impinge on the African psyche. According to Akingbe, the Nigerian society is at its brink because it vacillates between the African values and the "half-digested" European values. Thus the critic satirises the social dynamics of societal failure. The essay does not concern itself with female oppression. Dwelling on commitment and women rights activism, Godwin I.N. Emezue steers a distinct course in Adimora-Ezeigbo's poetry. Thus the critic reworks, "Also informative of her poetry is her addition to challenging any cultural structure that is erected and sustained to demean, deform and denigrate the women. Her angst over sundry manifestations of social injustice and putsch for positive change is stridently voiced in the poem under study". (51)

Culture occupies a significant place in the poem of Adimora-Ezeigbo. Her interest is to dismantle cultural formations which impede the speed and advancement of women. Poem after poem, the poet focuses on various forms of cultural impediment and uses the opportunity to push for social change. Although social justice seems to dominate, it is important to place it within the sphere of womanist ideology. Thus feminist justice is predicated on fair treatment of all women. Christian Chukwuloo Chukwueloka and Ikechukwu Emmanuel Asika examine Adimora-Ezeigbo's preoccupation with social criticism and reformation. They argue:

Akachi unlike many poets of our time did not end her collection with the scene of anarchy, despair, desolation, wretchedness, violence, bloodshed and all other forms of vices which often leave the impression in the mind of readers that all is lost and that since one can no longer beat them or sanitise the system, one has to join them (366).

The critics pay critical attention to ways in which the Adimora-Ezeigbo's poems differ from contemporary Nigerian poetry. While others are concerned with confrontation, violence and direct physical combat as methods of achieving social reformation, she employs non-combatant or non-violence means indirectly stressing understanding, negotiation and collaboration as vital tools for building an enduring society. Female oppression which appears to dominate in her poems does not engage the attention of these critics. Amaka C. Ezeife applies semantics to the poems of Adimora-Ezeigbo focusing on, "The meaning relations (synonym, antonym, etc) of Ezeigbo's poetry in spider's web. The semantic mappings of the five poems explored, explicate the womanist view of the unjust and wicked acts which the 'powerful' uses in weakening the lives of the 'powerless'". (35) Ezeife's position draws attention to the role of language and meaning in the study of poetry, particularly Adimora-Ezeigbo's poems. By studying the choice of words, Ezeife reveals that beneath the apparently innocuous language lies deep seated power relations. The semantic approach beats out the oppressor and the oppressed which describes the relationship between men and women. The former is the aggressor while the latter is the victim.

Additionally, Ezeife opines that such linguistic relationship "expose the important unity that exists among words in a text and how such unity helps in the

meaning realizations of the idea(s) explicated in the text (35). A linguistic interpretation of the poems of Adimora-Ezeigbo contributes in expanding the meaning of the poems. Words are important to her. It shows that the poet does not deplore words arbitrarily but consciously to establish her womanist inclinations. Like other critics, Ezeife does not dwell on female oppression.

Romanus Egudu examines the poetry of Eke focusing on images of women in some of his poems. According to Egudu, Eke presents two different images: “positive non-erotic images” (5) and “negative non-erotic images” (6). Concerning the positive non-erotic images, Egudu writes that Eke “employs the model of the catholic litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary in depicting the woman, Emotan” (5). What this presupposes is that “Emotan” as a woman figure is equated to the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Catholic faith. Thus the poet sees women as “Saviour” of the sick and the downtrodden. Presenting the negative non-erotic images of women, Egudu writes that Eke sees women as “fleas who plunder and end up pauperizing the man who marries them. In Egudu’s opinion, Eke “likens all women to the flea in his poem of that title” (7).

This essay demonstrates that women oppression manifests in Adimora-Ezeigbo and Eke’s poems as marginalization and violence against women and suggesting value re-orientation and women empowerment as ways of redressing women oppression.

### **Marginalisation of Women**

One common theme which recurs in many of Eke’s poetry is the representation of women as victims of marginalization. In the poem “Enough is enough” Eke depicts women as being excluded from inheriting property: Widows cannot inherit/the land of their dead/husbands/widows are denied custody/of their children/enough is enough (OOP, 140). Understandably the poet speaks from the Bini socio-cultural background. The views are somehow representative of several ethnic nationalities in Nigeria. Therefore, it is safe to assert here that the plight of women in Nigeria is pitiable. At the death of their husbands, the widows are denied the privilege to inherit the property which they may have laboured with their husbands to acquire. This often leaves them at the mercy of their in-laws. Apart from being excluded from inheriting landed property, widows are “denied custody/of their children” when their husbands die. This situation often affects them psychologically. A sense of rage pervades the above stanza which is expressed through simple and unembellished diction to enable the speaker rail at the chains of impossibility hanging over the necks and feet of women. Social structure which limits widows from benefitting from assets left behind by their spouses infuriates the poet who indirectly canvasses for the dismantling of social restrictions imposed on women. This poetic revolt is inspired by the poet’s belief in social equality, gender harmony and national cohesion.

In another stanza, the poet adds: Married women and their/property are under/the man’s custody/a widow might be/propelled to cement/relationship with her husband’s relative (140). In what seems like a reformulation, the above stanza repeats the same idea in the previous one. The difference is that the emphasis is on the shift in

attention. The poet appears to establish the fact that patriarchal dominance remains a major issue. The control of family property usually falls to the man while the wife is a mere object to be acquired and dominated over. This situation propels her to form a harmonious relationship with her husband's relatives. The reason is that it is how she relates with them when her husband is alive that determines the kind of treatment she gets when he dies. The girl-child also suffers from marginalization thus: The girl-child lacks/mandate to own/communal or family land/daughters are denied/rights to inherit/their father's land (140).The girl-child is not allowed to own land whether "communal or family" neither is she given the "rights to inherit" her father's land because all such lands belong to the male-children. This practice is discriminatory on the basis of gender. This gender disparity agitates the mind of the poet. Consequently, he makes a suggestion on how this can be reversed:

Enough is enough  
the traditional *urho*  
style of inheritance  
can cure this ailment. (140)

The poet suggests that the Bini "Urho" system be emulated as a way of ending gender marginalization. The *urho* "style" is a Bini traditional system of sharing property according to the number of wives the deceased has. Therefore, if a man has three wives irrespective of the sex of the children, each wife is considered an "urho" (a door in Bini, Edo State, Nigeria). For this reason, each wife is entitled to inherit part of the wealth because the children of each wife stand to inherit their late father's property. The *urho* system is entrenched in Bini tradition and culture as a safeguard to protect wives and children in polygamous homes. Eke believes that this system of sharing inheritance will ensure that the rights of the girl-child are respected and guaranteed. Adimora-Ezeigbo fights against marginalization by emphasizing parity of the sexes, conveyed through non-sexist language as a way of revealing the hidden cases of linguistic discrimination. In "women being", the poet juxtaposes words which expose biases against women with alternative words in order to emphasise the need for equal treatment of women.

This position is expressed thus: The choice na your own/How-so-ever you be named/Mankind versus womankind/Kingdom or Queendom/Abi History na Herstory/Son of de soil/Daughter of de domain. (HS, 103). This poem is couched in Nigerian pidgin. A close observation of the words used in the above stanza suggests the poet's anger against verbal discrimination. Our culture tends to recognize male dominance as the norm. We find words like "mankind" when humanity would have been used. Mankind emphasises masculinity and rejects femininity. As a way of balancing the gender disparity, the poet recommends "womankind". Also, the word "kingdom" draws attention to the male gender, the king. As a response, the speaker suggests the use also of "Queendom". This will be used in communities where women emerge as rulers.As long as these gender biased words exist and are frequently used, it makes it impossible to have women fill up such positions. For example, communities are called "kingdom" which presupposes that it must be ruled

by the male. Therefore, it becomes impossible for women to aspire to the position of the ruler.

Similarly, the use of “History” draws attention to “His” which suggests that history records events about the male. This situation tends to marginalize women. Hence the poet calls for the use of “Herstory” as a way of fighting female discrimination. Other examples abound with similar discrimination. An excellent example is the phrase “son of de soil” which excludes the female from being an important member of the society. According to the poet, if there is “Son of de soil”, there should be “Daughter of de domain”.

Far from combating male hegemony, Adimora-Ezeigbo canvases “complementarity” over male “superiority” as a way of achieving a better society: Dem say complementarity/Better pass superiority/Parity or equality/Dem two good o/Nwoke and Nwanyi/Okunri and Obirin/Megida and Worigida/Embrace dis philosophy (103). A society that embraces the philosophy of inclusiveness gains more. Adimora-Ezeigbo’s brand of feminism eschews confrontation and unnecessary radical fervor against the male gender. Instead it emphasises the need for “complementarity” or parity of the sexes or gender equality. This is done through a non-sexist language. Where there is the use of “Nwoke” there should be “Nwanyi”. While “Nwoke” refers to the male “Nwanyi” is the female counterpart. It is an Igbo word which emphasises male preference. In Yoruba, we have the male who is called “okunri” while the female is “obirin”. This situation also exists in Hausa. The male is called “megida” which means house owner while the female is called “worigida” house wife. What the poet seems to be articulating is that the three dominant ethnic nationalities (Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa) are already practising non-sexism. It is our colonial heritage that has foisted discrimination against women and has since been embraced by our people. This poem is a call for us to return to our culture where the philosophy of parity of sexes is already in practice.

### **Violence against Women**

Female oppression manifests in violence perpetrated against women. This idea dominates the poem of Adimora-Ezeigbo entitled “Ripper-style serial killer”. The poem captures the plight of women thus: Lonely nights/in watery sepulchers/dregs of society:/the bodies of/five prostitutes/blight brooks/wallow in woodland/Hapless victims of/a serial killer? (HS, 85). The poem opens with a grim picture of five ladies’ murder who incidentally are “prostitutes”. These women indulge in ignoble trade, and soon they are “victims of/a serial killer”. This image of brutal murder recalls the tragic experience of most ladies in urban areas in the United Kingdom. The whole stanza breathes the sense of drowning as indicated by “watery” and “brooks” respectively. Although the water image tends to give the impression of drowning but the fact remains that these ladies were cruelly murdered and later dumped in the brooks.

This picture is characteristic of urban centres where women are brutally killed. This is why the speaker says: O Daughter of Eve/fallen and fallen again/in the eye of disgrace,/it was said you had wonderful/beginning, went to college/what then

was your problem? (84)The brilliance of this stanza is conveyed by the poet's use of apostrophe. The slain ladies are addressed as if they were alive. It also offers some lamentation for their death. The euphemism "fallen and fallen again" evokes the sense of death and the somberness which pervades the atmosphere of the poem. The ladies are victims of an unjust system. They are said to have some "college" education. The person is left wondering why these ladies find themselves in prostitution. derailed by drug/lulled by lust/goaded by greed/ripped apart by a Ripper/on the loose/Is this a note of warning/to all who are whoring (85-86). Adimora-Ezeigbo sustains interest in the above stanza through Alliterative exuberance. The killed ladies are considered "derailed" by "drug". This predisposes them to violent attacks. Also they are presented as being "lulled by lust" and "goaded by greed". These factors ("drug, lust and greed") push them to their assailant who "ripped" them "apart". It seems violence against women is predicated on the misperception of women as pawns in the hands of brutal men. They kill them without any shred of remorse. According to the poet, this is the worst form of female oppression. Eke in "Ijaw Women" exposes violence against women as a form of female oppression. This is presented in the opening stanza:

Kaiama  
Women became food for  
Sex-starved officers  
Women became food (OOP, 115)

The image of gastronomy is quite effective in describing the hunger for sex by the soldiers who have invaded kaiama village. The women are metaphorically referred to as "food" for "sex-starved officers". Implied in this image is sexual violence as conveyed through the suppressed rape against women. The poet indirectly reproves the officers for their indiscretion.

Hostages were many  
To provide sexual services  
For military officers  
Ijaw territory (115)

In what looks like an organized violence orchestrated against the host community, the women are taken hostage and they offer "sexual services" to their captors. These women are described as "Hostages" which goes to establish the fact that the so-called "sexual services" are offered against their will. The men folk have escaped into the "creeks" leaving behind their wives and children. Eke's point in all these is that in time of crisis, women are often the victims as evidenced in the above stanza. Restricted was women's/mobility/rape/inhuman degrading treatment/forced impregnation/unwanted pregnancy/enforced prostitution/torture/killing (115).

As a way of etching the plight of women as victims of violence on the reader's conscience, the poet resorts to belligerent images. The women are "forced" to have sex with soldiers. This situation results in "unwanted pregnancy". That the sex is obtained by force is considered "inhuman" and "degrading" by the poet. Thus the women in kaiama are driven into "enforced prostitution". These soldiers "torture"

women who refuse to cooperate and in the extreme case, these women are killed for refusing to do their bidding. Eke's imagination is replete with images of violence against women and through his poems he portrays women as victims of violence.

Eke's poem "Lady Tina" couches his angst against violence perpetrated against women in a gripping manner. The opening stanza presents domestic violence thus: Lady Tina is engaged/in a boxing brawl/with the father of her/children/The father of her children/begins a boxing brawl/punches her on the forehead/punches her cheeks/punches her teeth (OOP, 94). Lady Tina represents women everywhere who are victims of wife battery. Although the speaker does not tell what has led to the beating, perhaps the focus is on the violence rather than on the cause. This goes to show that the poet does not condone violence against women. The image of boxing is employed to reveal the sadism associated with the way the woman is beaten. In this boxing bout, the woman is equated to a punching bag with which her husband learns to fight. Eke does not tell us everything but leaves us to fill the gap. For example, the picture of a badly beaten woman is not presented. Without a doubt, when one looks intensely one is able to see a horrifying image of the beaten woman. The "punches" land on the lady's "forehead", "cheeks" and "teeth" leaving us with a grotesque figure of the woman.

### **Responses to Women Oppression**

The two sections dwell on the poets' presentation of women oppression. This section focuses on responses to women oppression. In the poem, "Good Life" Eke canvasses the need for women to embrace the value of moral uprightness as a way of resisting oppression from their male counterpart. Women should live/good/women should live/upright/reject life of/easy virtue (OOP, 84). The point being made is that as long as women behave themselves in a morally healthy way, they cannot be treated ill by men. The poet's admonition should be seen as a wake up call on all women. Women must reject the/virtue of necessity/must reject being/second class citizens (84). The poet has taken up the role of an activist in this stanza. There is urgent appeal for a moral redirection. It is a new voice that calls women to embrace new code of conduct. The main focus of the poet is mental or attitudinal change.

The image of a snake is used to draw attention to the danger in prostitution. According to the poet, indulging in the act is comparable to putting a snake in one's bag. Surely such an action is self-destructive. This apt image is intended to warn and discourage women from exposing themselves to danger.

The concluding stanza reinforces the message thus: On this note/we should raise awareness/of the health dangers/provide education and skill/training to enhance/women's opportunities(85). Two important strategies are provided in the above stanza: public awareness and female empowerment. Massive campaign and enlightenment is suggested by the poet as panacea for prostitution and voices confronting women. The poet stresses the health implications of it. Finally, the poet explains that educating women and helping them acquire skills will widen the base of opportunities for success for women.

Adimora-Ezeigbo in the poem “Violated Ogoni Women” calls on women to employ the strategy of breaking the silence on the threat of rape. She encourages women to speak up and speak out against violators of women’s pride and dignity: Sisters, wipe your tears/Many before you/This path have walked – /Biafra remote arena/Rwanda only yesterday/your voices/in court of conscience –/Oputa panel/ring, ring again (HS, 124-125). The poet employs historical allusion to remind women that sexual violence against women is an age long issue. Firstly, she calls attention to the Biafran civil war where many women were savagely raped by soldiers. Similarly, the poet alludes to women experience in Rwanda where they were raped. Therefore, the Ogoni women’s rape tragedy is only small when compared to those in Biafra and Rwanda. She calls on all such women to wipe their tears that no matter the “panel” that is constituted, it does not deter rapists.

The speaker adds thus: While the volume/of your voice rises/strident/announcing in public/what our culture/classifies/as taboo/no female wants to admit/a rape victim she/the stigma (125). The problem with rape is the social stigma that it attracts. This explains why many women find it difficult to “admit” it. The speaker reminds the reader that African culture brands rape as a “taboo”. Despite it, it goes on unabated and its victims keep mute. As response to this kind of oppression (sexual), the poet calls on women to break their silence: Yet, courage fails you not/resolute/you scream it: RAPE!/let all ears that hear it/tingle. Burst with pain(125). Women need courage to call the violator by his name. What the poet seems to be articulating is the need to be courageous in exposing rapists as a step in the right direction. They are to continually speak out against rape till their voices are heard and change is achieved. The brilliance of this stanza is in the poet’s deployment of auditory imagery to denigrate the culture of silence and encourage victims of rape to make their voices heard.

### **Conclusion**

This essay has shown how women oppression is represented in the poems of Adimora-Ezeigbo and Eke. Both poets are passionate about the plight of women. Uppermost in their poetic imagination is their concern with the marginalization of women. Although both of them wrote separately, it is interesting how they focus on the same subject. Marginalization operates at the cultural level. The exclusion of women from inheritance of their husbands’ property, relegation of women to the background and keeping them at home to carry out house chores, as well as discriminatory names given to men which tend to place women at the margin express the pervasive marginalization of women captured in the poems.

Having examined the two aspects of women oppression, the poets then proceed to push for positive responses to deal with women oppressors and oppression generally. There is the call for freedom for women as equal partner in development. In this regard, there is need to allow women have access to economic power or control. There is the recommendation of moral uprightness on the part of women for them to be respected in society. They are advised to shun prostitution. For this to happen, there is need for attitudinal re-orientation or value change. Finally, there is

the call on women to break the silence on rape. Rapists are to be exposed. The poets employ historical allusion to Rwanda and Biafra where women were raped. The poets remind the reader that African culture regards rape as a taboo. There is the insinuation that the civil court does not give women justice that they deserve. There is also the fear that women may suffer stigmatization, the poets then call on women to speak out because stigmatization is better than rape.

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## **NOLLYWOOD AND THE CRISIS OF CONTENT: IMPLICATIONS ON YOUTH PEDAGOGY**

**Austin C. Okeke & Kasarachi C. Okpeh**

### **Introduction**

The film medium has grown to become one of the world's most effective media for both education and leisure, with much acceptance and appeal to all people of the world. This industry has absorbed an unbelievable amount of people in the business of edification and entertainment. It has grown to absorb a whole lot of both skilled and unskilled individuals, and has consistently served as a means of livelihood to many, as well as cutting a sizeable percentage off the massive proportion that make up the unemployed in the world, Africa and Nigeria in particular. The Nigerian film industry, popularly referred to as "Nollywood", has also left its imprint on the sand of time as far as the selling of the African content is concerned. The Nollywood film makers leave nothing to chance as they creatively explore diverse subjects in order to remain relevant. Among the primary consumers of the Nigerian film content are the youths of the day who are vulnerable and highly impressionable. The implication of the Nollywood content on the above youth is the mainstay of this essay.

### **Background**

Nollywood began in Lagos State, Nigeria through the activities of an electronic equipment salesman. Mridul Chowdhury et al recall that it all started with Kenneth Nnebue, an electrical equipment salesman in Lagos who made efforts to dispose a good number of unsold VHS tapes in his store (14). With the help of his friends, he got a cheap digital camera and set out filming. In the words of Mridul Chowdhury et al; "He shot a movie along the tradition of the Yoruba Travelling Theatre and dubbed all the unsold tapes with the film... "Living in Bondage," a movie about human sacrifices became an instant hit and gave birth to the modern Nollywood. That 1992 film *Living in Bondage* could then be rightly said to have redefined the industry and marked the beginning of modern Nollywood. According to Aduku Armstrong Idachaba:

The Nigerian film industry jostled the global film industry at the end of the 1990s and the wake of 2000. In no time, the Nigerian film industry which was relatively unknown had emerged as the 2nd most popular in the world in terms of sheer number of releases, generating both critical acclaim and commercial viability (*Strategies* 159).

For an industry that started with the experimentations of a bunch of amateurs and businessmen determined to eke a living, Nollywood's shoot to the top is phenomenal. The industry toppled the United States' Hollywood that had maintained a spot below their Bollywood counterparts who had been at the helm, to occupy the second spot in the whole world as the world's second largest producer of films (in terms of quantity produced).

### **Nollywood and the Crisis of Content**

From inception, the Nollywood film industry has been in the business of education and entertainment (edutainment), and still enjoys a noble footing in the world scene. However, this status of nobility, which it has enjoyed over time, has recently come under serious criticism on account of its content. The Nigerian filmmaker, being an independent filmmaker who often has to work without the much needed financial encouragement from his/her nation is often times faced with an uphill task of making block buster movies at minimal cost. Failure in this kind of venture where he or she has no moral or financial support to try again would be so grave. So he or she is faced with choosing what flows into his film to make it successful, and this is where the crisis of content rears its ugly head.

Content in the film world today is serious business. Filmmaking has gone far past the era of merely photographing actual images in motion with the camera, as was the case during the early beginnings of filmmaking. Today, moving objects upon a screen are no longer sufficient to wow audiences across the globe. What these images cast on the screen do, how and when they do them are of huge importance now. They determine the success or failure of a film, and this is why content development, treatment and analysis before actual filming have presently become paramount in the world of filmmaking. This has been a major problem of Nollywood today; an industry that still stutters and wallows within circumscribes of the crisis of content. Even though she enjoys an enviable position in world ranking, she does that only in relation to numbers produced and not quality which is especially decisive on content packaging and detailing; an aspect that their Hollywood and Bollywood counterparts are beginning to perfect.

Disappointingly, the crisis of content has become a major factor that has bedeviled the growth of the industry and crippled its potentials of competing at the helm in the global film market. This does not mean that Nigeria has not produced good films that can stand the test in the global scene. In fact, a crop of Nigerian film directors and producers today cannot be robbed of their credits as the industry's relentless image makers with their undying efforts towards matching quality scripts (story content) with corresponding quality (technical) productions. These people enlist the services of cast and crew members, who know their onions in film, to assist in the realization of their sublime, artistic visions. Some of these individuals include Kunle Afolayan, Obi Emelonye, Stephanie Linus, Tunde Kelani and Robert Peters, amongst others. But the bitter truth still remains that most films of Nigerian descent have no real packaging in terms of story and script development. No proper time is dedicated to the pre-production processes of planning, cast and crew selection, scripting; production processes of capturing/shots analysis and role interpretation, and the post production process of cutting and splicing (editing). All efforts are channeled towards the realization of the finished film for the maximization of profit at the lowest costs, and as a result, most of the movies come out poor, insipid and with neither package nor direction.

This has really not been good for the image of the Nollywood industry. It has left a tainting effect on its image and has led to reluctance on the part of foremost

Nigerian film directors and producers in identifying with the Nollywood brand. Jedlowski observes that “the label ‘Nollywood’ is refused when it is a synonym of cheap contents and poor production values” (246). Much evidence which point to the crisis of content in the Nollywood reality today is very much noticed in the replication of ideas bordering most especially on the subject of cultism (and its accompaniments such as violence, rape, robbery and kidnap) and occultism, witchcraft and fetishism, prostitution and obscenity, monarchy and power, and a host of other depictions characterizing the Nollywood industry. Filmmakers keep flooding the market with these same themes and ideas until they become overtly overused. Israel Udomisor and A. Sonuga opine that:

There is nothing wrong with a film dealing with any of these themes, but critics frown at the fact that they reoccur in film after film. The industry seems beset with a see-one-seen-them-all syndrome. Producers may argue that video films address the social problems plaguing society, yet many people are disturbed by their treatment of ethical and moral values (30).

Also in this regard is the issue of titling of Nollywood movies. There has been a glaring lack of creativity in the choice of titles given to Nollywood films, and this has added sizeable pounds to the already visible instances of stereotyping in the industry. This is all too evident in titles like *Royal Madness*, *Royal Blood*, *Royal Insult*, *Royal Marriage* etc. as they suggest nothing other than normative monarchical depictions. Other such titles include *My Love*, *My True Love*, *My First Love*, *Love at First Sight* etc.

### **Sex, Pornography, and the Vulgar Culture in Nollywood Content**

A good number of Nollywood films in circulation are guilty of vulgarity. A huge number of Nigerian films which depict street life are often stereotypically laden with vulgar slangs, actions and clichés that are too raw, verbose and somewhat assaultive to the minds of the viewers. Unfortunately, the youths, who wield every society’s hopes and dreams for tomorrow, are the biggest consumers of the end products of the Nigerian film industry. Many Nollywood movies are laden with a lot of pornographic content that sometimes leave the viewers wondering if the industry still has much to offer the society, let alone the youths, in terms of didactic substance. Oftentimes in recent times, one finds storylines that are so vague, lacking in logical creative sequence, but packed with lots of bits and pieces that promote eroticism and societal decadence. The cast, especially the actresses dress up in body revealing and suggestive costumes such as bum shorts, bikinis, short ripped jeans, push up bras etc. They also exhibit suggestive poses and movements all geared towards scheming and hunting for men who would fall prey to their charm. Ironically, most times these youths tend to imitate the lifestyles and mannerisms of their screen heroines; they dress, talk and act like them.

The battle to survive in a country like Nigeria where the government is largely dysfunctional, one may say, is perhaps the motivation behind an avalanche of vices exhibited by the people of such a nation. A good number of movie producers and directors no longer pay attention to scripting and other details relating to content-

packaging in their productions. Such producers rarely have time to plan a production that would take a long period of time. This explains why such a short period as one week or a little over is enough for some of them to execute a production from start to finish. They care less about the impact such productions make on the society; instead they are more concerned about the financial benefit accruing from such unhealthy ventures.

### **Circumscriptive Implications on Pedagogy**

Pedagogy has been earlier established in this essay as the science or art of teaching, and the essence of teaching is to impart knowledge on individuals for them to learn and better themselves and their society. But what is the essence of imparting negative ideas that would rather be counterproductive to the building of society? What is the future of the Nigerian youths if all Nollywood can offer them are constant bombardments with negativity and lewd content? What then would be the world's future when her future leaders are channeled towards the wrong course? Films are to individuals what a classroom teacher is to his/her students, and the ideals that a classroom teacher promotes are often times the truth that the students imbibe and abide by. This is why we see children disagreeing with their parents while trying to defend the ideals imparted on them by their teachers, even if they are wrong. This invariably implies that a teacher that embodies immorality has taught immorality. But individuals learn more outside the four walls of a classroom than they do in class. They learn to communicate and share ideas with their peers far and wide in informal environments, and due to the availability of modern day technologies that have made it possible for them to access materials both on and offline; they tend to spend more time with their gadgets than in class with their teachers and books. The things they see in and share with these gadgets outside the classrooms, including movies and music are huge forms that can be classified under the umbrella of informal pedagogy.

The youthful mind is such as loves to explore in adventurous exuberance and as such, gets easily distracted because of its immaturity to focus. Thus, the need for guidance especially in their informal environments becomes paramount. The Nollywood industry (although not entirely the fault of the filmmakers) has continued to release illicit contents ranging from sex and violence to vulgarity which translates to a diseased pedagogical system, all in the pursuit of money. These youths try to live the make-believe they see in these movies by adopting these stars and looking up to them. This is why the Nigerian filmmaker should be careful in his or her depictions. The actors and actresses themselves should also be mindful of their conducts in real life even after the 'death' of their respective characters.

The activities of these filmmakers have registered an overwhelming negative effect on pedagogy, casting a shadow of doubt upon the fact that film serves to teach for a better society. If left unchecked, this trend could lead to situations worse than a diseased youth base of chain smokers, tout-like nuisances whose trousers dust the floor but will never cover their nakedness, prostitutes parading their nakedness, noisy charlatans and violent never-do-wells roaming the streets without purpose or direction. Sylvanus Philip Dangoji warns that "in churning out quantity, film

producers in Nigeria should hold on a minute and consider the value of quality” (237). Quality here would be measured with different yardsticks (including cast, crew and equipment) of which content should be the number one. According to Adebola Ademeso,

the industry accommodates the trained and the untrained personnel who should ordinarily have no business with the industry but because the benchmarks for standard are not structured in a manner that viewers’ choice would be guided and protected... this is where the film activists and critics should come to the rescue of viewers who are being assaulted daily by what they see on their screens... if only viewers can be protected beyond the sexual obscenity, cultural and religious compromises and manipulations, there will be a quality assurance in the film industry... (432).

Regulatory bodies and guilds have been in existence to enhance quality production in Nollywood by checkmating the excesses of the filmmakers, but their efforts could be said to have left much to be desired. The National Film and Video Censorship Board (NFVCB) has been in the business of making efforts to curtail this new wave, but the industry continues to wobble in this mess, even after interfacing with other relevant guilds such as the Actors’ Guild of Nigeria (AGN), Directors’ Guild of Nigeria (DGN), Performing Musicians’ Association of Nigeria (PMAN), Nigerian Society of Editors (NSE), Screen Writers Guild of Nigeria (SWG), Association of Movies Producers (AMP), Video Rentals Operators’/ Owners’ Association of Nigeria (VROAN) etc. After its establishment by Act No.85 of 1993, it was empowered by law to register all films and video outlets in Nigeria, as well as to classify all films, both local and international. The cross of making sure that there is a sufficient amount of sanity in the industry came to rest on its shoulders. But this cross has proved to become quite heavy for it, especially with the sudden rise of the industry, as well as other factors such as the advent of the Technology of the New Media. Again, like Adebola had rightly pointed out, there are many unskilled personnel in the industry today, and these people constitute majority of the problems relating to the crisis of content in Nollywood. Being people who are merely in the industry just to survive, they lack the knowledge of the implications of their products on the populace, especially on the youths.

### **The New Media Technology**

The definition of the term New Media would be relative and contextual; thus it would be difficult for one definition to wholesomely capture its hydra headed aspects. Brian Neese in an online publication states that “older forms of media, such as radio, television and vinyl records were once new.”(online.seu.edu). Furthermore, in tandem with the views of New Media theorist Lev Manovich, Neese understands the New Media concept as: “being native to computers or relying on computers for distribution: websites, human-computer interface, virtual worlds, virtual reality, multimedia, computer games, computer animation, digital video,...” (online.seu.edu). Time was when the art of filmmaking was indeed in its period of infancy. Everything concerning this art, right from the shooting to the editing, post production and

exhibition of finished films was very energy and time-sapping, coupled with the fact that technology available then was too bulky. An example of one of such technologies that is still in use today is the Steenbeck Flatbed Editor; a table-like editing machine in which picture and sound roll onto separate disks called plates. In this machine, picture and sound synchronization was a huge task that required a whole lot of expertise for a convincing output. One can imagine how early filmmakers battled with the crudity in the editing process of manually cutting and splicing films together. Again, it is still a thing of great awe to the modern day filmmaker how their older counterparts managed to generate special effects such as appearances, disappearances and impacts to drive home their ideas.

But these later days, the reverse has been the case as newer technological gadgets and forms in the nature of applications (apps), software and plugin have come into use, making the process effortless, compared to former technologies. These newer technologies that have made the filmmaking, film distribution and exhibition processes seem effortless are referred to as the New Media tools, while the creations that emanate from these tools are called the New Media Arts. Today, filmmaking cannot be severed from the new media since it has taken over every aspect of film from the production to the exhibition stage.

Although its immense contributions to the growth of pedagogy cannot be overemphasized, technology (New Media) has also played a huge part in the spread of contents which contribute to the decline of pedagogy. It has given birth to a variety of platforms especially as regards the exhibition of films, and this has further brought the filmmaking enterprise closer to its audiences around the world. A producer's film is just a few seconds away from the whole world due to the advent of a litany of platforms that allow the sharing and re-sharing of videos. Some of these platforms do not have strong censorship features, and so obscene and explicit materials could easily go out to the whole world through them. A typical example of one of such platforms is YouTube.

The YouTube platform is the result of the efforts of three former employees of PayPal-Chad Hurley, Steve Chen and Jawed Karim who noticed that there wasn't a good way to share videos. This led to the advent of an internet video hosting service platform called YouTube in 2005. It was later bought by Google in 2006 in a resounding deal worth \$1.65 billion. Today, it has become the second most popular site in the world, just behind Google. It can hold video files as big as 128 gigabytes of size and 11 hours of duration. Different kinds of censorship have been applied over the years by YouTube in trying to check the spread of contents that could lead to public outcry. Some of these censorship forms include ban, takedown and blocking. Open Net Initiative, in a 2015 online publication records an incident that occurred in Brazil. According to the report, 'supermodel Daniela Cicarelli sued YouTube over a video showing her having sex with her boyfriend on a public beach. A court ruling caused the government to block YouTube access in Brazil until the video was removed from the site.' (opennet.net)

This highlights "blocking" as one of the various kinds of censorship obtainable on the YouTube platform. This paper does not make claims to the fact that

the YouTube platform exists devoid of censorship, but only tries to point out that the platform is such as allows all manner of contents to flow into public domain before censoring. Their censorship only comes after upload following calls from governments, corporate entities, international organizations or individuals, to do away with such videos. It is evident that technology (New Media) aids in the spread of some inappropriate contents of Nollywood and other industries that reduce the pedagogical prowess of the film medium. With YouTube and other smaller websites hosting contents that promote nudity, alcoholism, substance abuse, violence etc., it has become very easy for such contents to spread; just as it has become very difficult to check them. The only solution would then be to make sure that stringent measures are implemented within the industry to forestall the production of films with such contents. This can be done by effective liaison between existing film bodies and the government. If the Nollywood hierarchy would go back to the drawing board and tackle issues relating to the issuance of filmmaking licenses, censorship and professionalism rather than mere commodification for profit making.

This is not to say that the Nollywood hierarchy has been unable to develop guiding principles to govern its operations. The problem is that these principles are not yet holistically binding. The actors and directors guild of Nigeria are indeed very strong in the sense that one must be a registered member of these bodies before he or she is eligible to make movies that would make it to the mainstream. But then the problem is that these bodies are yet to evolve effective means of running checks to ensure that members do not play outside the box. In fellowship with the federal government, the NFVCB in conjunction with the AGN, DGN, and other bodies related to the filmmaking industry in Nigeria should treat subjects like censorship and membership seriously. Standards should be developed and strictly adhered to in the formulation of film content and production as well as in the admission of members into these film bodies and guilds. Members should also be indoctrinated on the essential functions of film apart from entertainment.

A good level of experience and expertise should be encouraged and enforced as opposed to the greater percentage of untrained and unskilled personnel. All individuals who are identified by these bodies should not operate outside the circumscribes of the laid down rules, while unidentified individuals should not be allowed to make or screen films under the umbrella of Nollywood; and if there are defaulters, severe punishments ranging from revocation of operation licenses to prosecution should be implemented. Equipped with the machinery of state power to prosecute offenders according to the provisions of a well articulated and codified guiding principle, these bodies can implement these measures successfully. It is worthy of note that this is not to suggest that the red-tapist approach should be encouraged in the industry. With these in place, the culture of impunity that has infested the industry due to explicit film content can be forced to die a natural death, which will undoubtedly translate to the withering of the circumscriptive implications that the industry has exerted on youth pedagogy.

## **Conclusion**

This paper has enunciated the dwindling effects that the crisis of content exerts on the relevance of our film medium in the impartation of knowledge that would benefit all and sundry in our society, especially the youths. Summarily, this paper has established how this issue is gradually turning the movie industry into a mere bedlam with no messages to pass, order than lending hands to the creation and sustenance of moral and societal decadence, a diseased youth base and a gradual but steady retrogressive movement from grace to grass (as regards the industry). It has also identified the reasons behind this, while touching upon the role that New Media plays in furtherance of the problem at hand. If left unchecked, it could lead to extreme ends in the dilapidation of all levels of societal wellbeing, especially moral. Therefore, this paper has provided suggestions that if appropriately implemented, could lead to long lasting solutions to the issue of content in the industry.

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## **THE ROLE OF LITERATURE IN LANGUAGE TEACHING**

**Matthew Taiwo**

### **Introduction**

There is a symbiotic relationship between language and literature. Literature itself is an idea that is expressed in a language; while language is enriched by literature. Both disciplines benefit tremendously from each other. Several scholars have attempted the definition of language. Syal and Jindal (2010) observe that:

Nobody has so far been able to come out with any standard definition that fully explains the term language. It is a situation like trying to define the term **life**. Everybody knows what life is but one cannot present a satisfactory definition of life. In order to understand a term like 'life', one has to talk of the properties or characteristics of living beings (e.g motion reproduction, respiration, growth, power of self-healing, excretion, nutrition, mortality etc) similarly, the term 'language' can be understood better in terms of its properties or characteristics.

Syal and Jindal's view reveal that it is difficult to get a single definition which captures all the concerns of language. They however suggest that language can be mirrored through its properties or characteristics. Robins (1985) defines language as "a symbol system based on pure or arbitrary conventions... infinitely extendable and modifiable according to the changing needs and conditions of the speakers. This definition shows that language is dynamic and amenable to the desires and aspiration of its users. It also shows the arbitrary nature of language. That is, no direct relationship exists between the symbol and the object to which it refers. For instance, the word yam /jæm/ does not have a direct relationship with its referent (object). Sapir (1921) says language is "purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols". This definition views language as an exclusive reserve of human beings. By implication, animals do not have what can be described as a language even if they have a code for communication. Besides, Sapir opines that language is not automatic; it has to be learnt.

Lyons (1970) submits that "languages are the principal systems of communication used by particular groups of human beings within the particular society of which they are members". This definition reveals that the utmost aim or essence of any language is communication among humans. It also suggests that language is peculiar to a society. In other words, each society has its own language which is understood by its members. Language, viewed in this perspective, therefore serves as a unifying force that binds members of a linguistic community together.

Literature on the other hand, derives from the Latin word "littera" which means letters . It is used in its general sense to refer to anything that is written. By implication, books on various disciplines: Mathematics, Geography, Physics, Sociology, etc can be considered as literature'. There are two problems with this

general definition of literature. First, printed materials, irrespective of their fields of discourse, can be considered as literature. Secondly, the oral literature which is indigenous to Africa is not considered. This explains why Taiwo (2011) opines that literature needs to be defined from a professional angle. At this juncture, the definition of some scholars will be examined. Kure (2011) gives a very insightful definition of literature. He explains that:

Literature can simply be defined as a verbal art. It can manifest in either oral or written forms. As an art...it is a creation of the individual(s), and that, being a product of the individual in and of the society; it expresses the human condition, even if it is from the perspective of the individual's encounter with forces of life. Therefore, literature treats themes that are also the concern of Sociology, Psychology, Economics, Archaeology, Astronomy, Physics, and Metaphysics, but it dwells on some of the themes not as specialists from such professions would normally do.

Kure's definition takes cognizance of both oral and written literature. His view is balanced and not lopsided. He reveals the links between literature and other fields of human endeavor. McGregor (1971) defines literature as "language used skillfully about subjects which are important to human beings". This definition portrays literature as a tool of self-expression. The emphasis here is on the elegant use of language. This is reminiscent of the formalists' view on "literariness" (the quality that makes something literary). In Formalist Criticism, literature is expected to be written in a unique language—a language that is different from the language of day-to-day communication. Language is therefore seen as a strong factor that occasions "literariness". Again, this definition also accounts for both oral and written literature.

Ahmed (2002) sees literature as "...the expression of the totality of human experiences in writing". This view of literature is lopsided. It does not account for the large body of literary materials that are not written. In other words, the oral tradition which constitutes the raw material for the modern African literature. Ahmed's view of literature is Eurocentric. However, Ahmed adds that "there is no limit to the experience represented by literature". Literature can express emotions, anger, pain, joy, sorrow, love, etc. Ahmed and Keston (2003) define literature as "a study that concerns itself with the representation of the whole range of human life and activities either in prose, poetry or dramatic form". This means that literature is concerned with all aspects of human lives. Again, literature has no boundary; it is dynamic and eclectic in nature. It changes with the society and human condition in general. The plight of people or the society at a given time determines what constitutes the thematic thrust of written literature. For instance, the injustice and prejudice of the colonial masters attracted the attention of writers in the various regions of Africa i.e. the Anglophone West Africa, the Francophone West Africa, the South and East but after independence, when corruption became a way of life and Africans were disenchanted with independence, the thematic thrust of African literature changed.

### **Literature and Language Teaching**

As earlier stated, the nexus between literature and language teaching cannot be overemphasized. Several scholars have examined the links with the aim of expatiating its relevance to the study of English language in a non-native environment. Azikiwe (2007) elucidates the role of literature in the learning of English language. According to him, literature;

Expresses the hopes, fears, doubts, joys, love, problems and conflicts that human beings experience in their everyday life activities which are written to teach us one or two lessons about life. It is therefore, the duty of the teacher of English to help the learners read and understand the morals or lessons implicitly or explicitly stated in the literature texts. This is in view of the fact that that many teachers and other people have observed that literature has been used to assist the development of competence in the language.

Azikiwe, as quoted above, suggests that the teacher of English is saddled with the responsibility of motivating learners to cultivate a voracious appetite for the reading of literary texts. He states clearly that the reading of literary texts (extensive reading) culminates in an improvement in language use. He adds that, "Literature is therefore, language in action which exploits the resources of the time, people, and place in which it is written. Reading a literary text therefore, is a process whereby a written text is given meaning through the integration of the readers' needs, understanding and expectations".

This presupposes that language and literature are concomitant. In other words, literature itself bears an eloquent testimony to the dexterous use of language. It is therefore, not out of place to describe literature as language well used. Another issue that is worthy of note is the goal of literature pedagogy which has language as its focal point. Uwaifo (1979), as quoted by Azikiwe (2007) reveals that "every subject taught in school has its general goals and literature is not an exception". According to him, literature pedagogy has the following goals:

1. To expose the learners through reading to varied valuable experiences, real and imaginative, local and worldwide, this may contribute to their emotional, social and moral judgment.
2. To inculcate in learners through interesting reading, the love for extensive and continued pleasurable reading for its own sake.
3. To develop the ability to think critically leading to adequate judgment.
4. To aid the learning of the language in which the literary work is composed, through exposure to reading, role-playing and acting.
5. To help students to appreciate their own culture and those of others and to develop the readers' creative ability.

A closer look at the goals stated above reveals the concomitance of language and literature. The first goal for instance foregrounds reading which is the third language skill if the skills are arranged in a chronological order. When one reads, one

comes across vocabulary items, sentences, phrases and clauses and all these are integral aspects of every human language. Again, the second goal also has reading as its focal point. The fourth goal is centered on language pedagogy and by extension, competence. Povey (1979) corroborates Uwaifo's opinion. He maintains that literature "also provides the learner with the widest variety of syntax, the richest variations of vocabulary discriminations and language employed at its most effective, subtle and suggestive form". Oyetunji (1971) believes that literature makes an individual to cherish good writing and abhor poor writing. This presupposes that literature develops writing skills besides reading skills. Literature teaching is aimed at developing the four language skills; listening, speaking, reading and writing. As the child listens to good stories i.e. folktales, he learns to hear and retain information. Consequently, he learns to discard irrelevant information.

Similarly, as students of English read literary texts, they come across acceptable utterance, proverbs, idiomatic expressions, incantations and other ornaments which polish or embellish their spoken English. This skill, once acquired, also has a positive influence on their reading skills. Obadiat (1997) observes that, "Literature helps students to acquire a native-like competence in English, express their ideas in good English... see how idiomatic expressions are used, speak clearly, precisely and concisely and become more proficient in English".

Obadiat agrees with some of the scholars earlier quoted in this paper that literature is aimed at an improvement in the use of language at all levels. Murat (2005) explains that "a literature text provides students with much clearer idea about the syntactic structures ... getting used to the formation and function of sentences ..., their writing skill improves..." Moreover, Sarac in Sale and Iorember (2013) enumerates the role of poetry in the teaching and learning of English language. According to him, poetry:

- provides readers with a different viewpoint towards language use by going beyond the known uses and rules of grammar, syntax and vocabulary,
- triggers unmotivated readers owing to being so open to explorations and different interpretations,
- evokes feelings and thoughts in heart and in mind,
- Makes students familiar with figures of speech (i.e. simile, metaphor, irony, personification, imagery, etc.) due to their being a part of daily language use.

### **An Overview of Language Teaching in Non-Native Environment**

Language teaching especially the English language in a non-native environment such as ours is fraught with several challenges. The reason for this is not far-fetched. Alobo (2010) explains:

English as a second language (L2) in Nigeria, its teaching and learning require a tremendous effort to be accomplished, especially at the primary and secondary school levels. This is because the language manifests characteristic features that are different from our indigenous languages. For instance, there is a gross inconsistency between English spelling and its pronunciation. Also, there are cases where one phoneme is being

represented by two letters the alphabet, or two phonemes are being represented by one letter of the alphabet. This is a great departure from what is obtainable in our indigenous languages.

Alobo portrays the disparity between English and our indigenous languages as the breeding ground for the difficulties encountered by learners. Alobo's view is learner-centered. There are several problems bedeviling the pedagogy of English language in a non-native environment such as ours. Some of these problems are teacher-related; some are government-related while some are caused by parents or the society.

For instance, there are several public schools in different parts of Nigeria, especially the north, that are devoid of teachers of English. In some schools, graduates of other disciplines are saddled with the responsibility of teaching the subject. This is a very pathetic situation because one cannot give what one does not have. An incompetent teacher will produce poor learner. There are cases where learners do not have the recommended texts for the English language and sometimes these books may not even be available in the library of some schools.

As a matter of fact, the government or Ministries of Education who are responsible for the recruitment of staff in schools sometimes may not do a thorough screening before employing teachers of English. This constitutes a serious challenge to the teaching and learning of the language. However, certain measures could be taken to address this ugly trend. Alobo suggested that if the teaching of English is made interesting and "appropriate learning resources" are used, teachers and students would achieve a better result. He adds that "adequate and appropriate selection and use of instructional media a by-both teacher and learner to facilitate better learning of the English language are most desirable". This means that success of English pedagogy begins in the selection of the appreciate media. This connotes that the selecting of the wrong instructional media would lead to a pitfall.

### **Practical Exercises on Literature and Language Teaching**

Literature teaching and language teaching are two activities that are concomitant. In other words, when teaching literature, one consciously or unconsciously improves the learners' proficiency in the target language. Literature, as earlier mentioned, can improve learners' language skills, both in terms of listening, speaking, reading and writing. At this juncture, there is need to show practically how literature can improve the learning of language. This paper will only do justice to reading. Therefore, excerpts from literary texts which can be used to teach reading skills are provided below.

#### **Passage One**

*Read the following passage carefully and answer the questions on it.*

When months later, Nnu Ego fell into that tired sleep often characteristic of early pregnancy. She dreamed she saw a baby boy, about three months old, Who had been left by a stream. She had wondered to herself why this child should be abandoned. He was half covered with mud, half with mucus from his nose and mouth.

She shuddered when she came closer to pick him up. He was very dark with the type of jet blackness of her father, but chubby and extremely dirty. She did not think twice, but picked the child up and decided to wash him clean by the stream and then wait for his mother. His mother did not come. Nnu Ego dreamed she put him on her back as the child was sleepy. Then in her daze she saw the woman slave, her *chi*, on the other side of the stream, saying, "Yes, take the dirty, chubby babies. You can have as many of those as you want. Take them." She had laughed and her laughter was ghostly as she disappeared into the grove of thick forest that bordered the stream.

Nnu Ego opened her eyes suddenly and exclaimed, "oh, my God not again!"

(From Buchi Emecheta's *The Joys of*

**Motherhood**)

1. For each of the following words, find another word or phrase which means the same and which can replace it as it is used in the passage.
  - i. abandoned
  - ii. shuddered
  - iii. extremely
  - iv. exclaimed
2. "...when she came closer to pick him up".
  - i. What grammatical name is given to this expression as it is used in the passage?
  - ii. What is its function?
3. Describe in one sentence Nnu Ego's attitude to the baby.
4. Suggest a suitable title for this passage.
5. Why did Nnu Ego fall into a tired sleep?
6. Identify the word class of "tired" as used in the passage.

**Passage Two**

*Read the following passage carefully and answer the questions on it.*

Gradually Ekwueme's respect for married men grew as they made more and more journeys to Omigwe. They accomplished a very little on each occasion but it cost them no small amount of money. For one thing they carried three kegs of palm wine on each subsequent visit; for another Ahurole's relations were no means few and many of them were entitled to something from them. During the journeys Ekwueme saw little of Ahurole. Wonuma his mother-in-law did her best to bring them together, but Ahurole was most evasive. On their fourth journey, Ekwueme decided to have a talk, no matter how short, with his bride-to-be. After the usual entertainments, he left his father and went in search of Ahurole. She was in her mother's sitting-room with her friend Titi who was plaiting her hair. Ekwueme sat down on a small mound and faced the two girls. Ahurole promptly got up and disappeared. Shyness in a bride was usual and understandable but Ekwueme wondered if this was not going too far".(From Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine*)

1. In your own opinion, what increased Ekwueme's respect for married men?
2. Give two reasons why Ekwueme and his entourage spent much on their visit to Omigwe.

3. According to the passage, what informs Ahurole's shyness?
4. Break the following sentences into their constituent parts:
  - i. They accomplished very little on each occasion but it cost them no small amount of money.
  - ii. On their fourth journey, Ekwueme decided to have a talk, no matter how short, with his bride-to-be.
5. Classify the following words into their appropriate parts of speech as used in the passage:
  - i. Accomplished
  - ii. Usual
  - iii. Shyness
  - iv. Understandable
  - v. Subsequent.

### **Conclusion**

There is a smooth relationship between language and literature. The incorporation of aspects of literature in the pedagogy of English language as discussed in this paper will help to ameliorate the poor performance of learners and increase their competence in the language. This paper has examined the role of literature in language teaching and discussed the nature of language. The emphasis of the paper is that English language teachers should keep themselves abreast with some aspects of literature so that they will be able incorporate them in their lessons. Literature is presented in this paper as the panacea to the banes confronting English language pedagogy.

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## **THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON POLITICS AND GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIA**

**Josephine Ngozi Akah**

### **Introduction**

Nigeria is one of the most populous countries of the world where religion has been a major factor in politics. On the contrary, religion can be misused through violence and fanaticism. Perhaps, a negative effect of religion and its impact on governance is the present situation in Nigeria, manifested mainly in the upsurge of fundamentalism and fanaticism, as exhibited by the Boko Haram sect since 2009. With the current destruction of lives and properties and government's seeming inability to arrest the situation and provide adequate security, one asks the relevance of religion in the governance of a pluralistic society like Nigeria? That is the question most people ask. Religion has some positive values/virtues like discipline, respect, obedience, hard work, honesty, peace, love, among others. If so, can man as a religious being really blend his religiosity with the democratic demands of his time to achieve good governance?

Since independence in 1960, there have been attempts to enthrone true democracy, which is the highest sign of good governance. In fact, several factors have militated against this struggle among which are religious crises. In a diverse country like Nigeria, one can say that it is the greatest hindrance to realize the noble goal of good governance, when almost every part of the globe is striving to attain governance based on justice, equality, freedom, tolerance, mutual co-existence, among others. This is the reason why this paper tries to view the question of politics and governance in Nigeria in relation to the role of religion—positively and negatively.

Religion has taken a position of importance in Nigerian politics and there is an undisputable connection between religion and politics. The actual role religion plays "in politics has remained debatable, while the nexus between the two concepts has long been established for long" (Falana, 2010). Religion has both negative and positive effects in the society. It is being used as an instrument of oppression and deceit in Nigeria. It seems that Nigerians have resigned themselves to fate and this is possibly compounded by poverty, illiteracy, and lack of political education on the part of majority. This position is further aggravated by the general perception "that politics is a dirty game and that only people who can deceive, manipulate and greedily accumulate wealth are meant to participate" (Egbewole and Etudaiye, 2011). It will not be an over statement to state that religious people in Nigeria run into millions, yet the level of insecurity, destruction of lives and properties is overwhelming. Thus, the need for political stability in Nigeria cannot be overemphasized. One can question the relationship between religion and politics in the Nigerian polity, which some consider as inseparable, while some support the notion of the separation of religion from politics so that the former will not imbibe the corruption inherent in the later. However, there is a common fallacy that religion and

politics are two different fields of social activity. This leads observers sometimes to speak “of the politicization of religion and aver that it is against the original intent of the founder of religion, or God himself” (Van der Veer, 199:50).

Religion plays an important role in the daily lives of her citizens. In order words, religion and politics are intertwined and it empowers man to be functional in his society by contesting for a political position so as to contribute his ‘ideology’. Nigeria’s population of “over 160 million is divided nearly equally between Christians and Muslims and Nigerians are very religious people” (Idowu: 1983: 228). Thus, the domains of religion, secularism and politics are becoming increasingly intermingled in both overt and covert ways, (invariably, Sectarian politics is inherently problematic (Tar and Sheitima, 2010:5). Therefore, there is need to look at the effects of religion on politics in Nigeria since independence. In addition, the study intended to find out how religion can bring good governance to Nigeria politics.

It has become a regular and constant question with regard to the relevance of religion on politics and governance in the society. This paper examines the participation of religious groups in politics in Nigeria, so as to ensure good governance. It argues that “the close interaction between state and religion reflects the widespread perception that Nigeria is not a secular state” (Adigwe and Grau: 2007). Case of Nigeria illustrate that the relationship is frequently ambiguous, while world religions provide groups and individuals with moral frameworks to articulate their demands and critiques of the state also challenge institutions of common interest provided by the state. Ahmad (2005) affirms that the Muslim critique of secular law has led to the introduction of “Sharia penal law in twelve Nigerian states, while demands for re-privatization of former mission schools currently under state control might further emphasis Muslim disadvantages in the educational sector”.

In addition, the ability of religious groups to participate in politics and governance is strongly related to patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on linguistic, ethnic and regional identity, as well as on intra-Nigerian struggle to limit the political participation of certain groups through the requirement of ‘indigeneity’ at the level of the federation’s states (Adigwe and Grau, 2007). As a result of this, the nexus between religion and politics are uneven and non-equitable, in all states there are some organizations that are excluded from participation in local politics while others have close access to the state. Conflicts over religious participation are closely tied up with disputes over access to material and ideological resources. As religious difference often reflects difference in identity, language, education, historical rivalry, ethnicity, and sometimes even age and gender, religious competition is closely interwoven with the other forms of rivalry that dominate Nigerian local politics. Indeed, the fact that all the state government also work closely with some religious organization means that there are spaces for close interaction and negotiation. As a result, some religions have been able to enter into an intensive dialogue with each other as well as the state. Their often creative engagement with each other serves as a test site of state-religious interaction. Thus, the paper emerged with critical and analytic method to examine the role of religion in politics and governance in Nigeria.

### **Religion and Politics in Nigerian History**

Nigeria is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious country, and can be best described as a secular society. The three major religions in Nigeria are: Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion. However, Islam and Christianity have expressed “a high degree of political competitive with each other at least since the 1970s” (Amherd and Nolte, 2005:422). Thus, traditional politics of the people has a strong linkage to belief in theocracy. Therefore, politics and religion in traditional society are intertwined and have direct influence on each other. This “is still the situation even at the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> century” (Laguda, 2008:123). For instance, Bano (2009:123) affirms that “Sharia courts which had existed before colonial rule were integrated into the colonial state, and most people turned to Sharia law for the mediation and resolution of personal conflicts”. Only in the run-up to independence in 1960 were criminal laws codified into secular law. The colonial states reliance on the structures of the caliphate in turn affected religious and educational politics in northern Nigeria. In many parts of the North, “missionary activity was forbidden, preventing the emergence of an educated elite prepared to challenge either the Emirs or local Muslim traditions” (Deneulin and Bano, 2009:96). With the result that when the colonial presence was dismantled, the established urban elites and local aristocracy emerged as the tenants of northern Nigeria.

Islam as a way of life dictates and governs the totality of life of Muslim. Thus, “its political interest, economic considerations and social values and interactions are often given Islamic interpretations based on the Holy Quran, prophetic practices and other sources of law recognized in Islam” (Akintola, 1997: 138). These virtues are expected to permeate the socio-political structure of any Islamic state. Regardless of the nature of the society, Islam encourages Muslims to hold on to its principles of allowing the holy Koran and the Sunnah to be their guide. Thus, (Akintola, 1997:139) concludes that Islam allows for “a spiritual relationship between religion and politics, law, education, social life and economy”. These are not viewed as secular institutions or areas of life but as aspects of the Islamic religion. Thus, religion and Politics/society are interrelated.

While Islam was deeply entrenched in the traditional sphere of the Nigerian state, Christianity was especially in the south, mainly associated with modernization. As most missions provided schooling and later even college training, Christianity was closely associated with the spread of education. The rapid growth of literacy contributed to the emergence of educated men and women who worked as catechists, clerks and teachers. This group soon took up and transformed the local elite’s struggles for self-assertion. Directly confronted “with racial division in the colonial administration, banking practices and even the mission churches, literate southern Nigerians eventually formed the core of Nigeria’s anti-colonial movement” (Love, 2006: 619-634).

According to Laguda (2008:133), “Christians in Nigeria would rather not get involved in politics but the fact remains that Jesus Christ did not discourage political participation for the faithful. Akah (2018) is of the view that “Christians should not seat on the offence and condemn politics but rather engage in politics in order to

make corrections”. Thus, Laguda’s argument seems unconvincing because there are Christians who are involved in politics and have also won political seats as governors, senators and representatives in the house. In Judaism, the God of Israel, Yahweh is the God of war (Joshua: 6:20), economy (Exodus: 16), obedience and moral virtues (Numbers 21:4-8). Yahweh is all in the Judaic traditional thought, religion and politics. And where such interaction tends towards negative ends, the apostles often adopted Christian principles to solve the problem as the church spiritual leaders. Hence, religion became politicized, and politics also married the progress of the church during this period. Jesus’ teaching and Pauline theology encourage political process and respect for those in political offices, since they are representatives of God (Matt 22: 17-20).

From the discussions above, we see that the three major religions in Nigeria, politics and religion have effectively complemented each other. However, political scientists believe that man is a political animal. What this means, is that, we cannot do without politics as well as religion in our everyday life. Since we can make use of each in our daily activities, we tend to politicize religion and religionize politics. Adogame (2006: 128) opines that Nigerian politics is “characterized by politicization of religion and religionization of politics”. Mixing the two makes religion to lose its sanctity and politics to become dirtier. For example, after Nigeria’s independence in 1960, Sir Ahmadu Bello embarked on an “official” campaign to “Islamize the north and eventually spread Islam to other regions. This drive generated among Christians and adherents of ATR, the fear of impending religious destruction.

It has been observed that politicians openly espouse religious sectarian sentiments in campaigning for public support. In addition, Kukah (1993:228) affirms that “no one can aspire to or hold political office in Nigeria without hold on religion”. Politicians make use of the power entrenched in religion not only to achieve their aims, but also to subjugate their opponents and to legitimate their religion. For this reason, “the dominant religious groups; Islam and Christianity have been locked in a fierce battle for the political control of the country” (Bujra, 2006:740).

### **Religion and Politics in Post-Colonial Nigeria**

Nigeria became an officially secular state when it attained independence in 1960. Omoregbe (2003:309) states three ways in which religion can influence politics namely “by direct involvement of religious men in politics, by fusing the two (religion and politics) as one and by subjecting politics or government along the line of religious doctrines, ideals or laws”. He went further to say that all these are obvious in Nigerian politics and this makes religion and politics inseparable.

However, religious conflict has been and is being part of Nigerian politics and public life. Under the British rule in the 1950s, Islamic law (Sharia) was incorporated into the country’s legal system. Religion was one factor in the internal conflict that led into Biafra war in late 1960s (1967-1970) during the war many people were killed” (Soares, 2007). At the end of the civil war, the foreign missionaries who were working in the former Biafra enclave were expelled from the country and all the mission schools and hospitals in the East central state were taken

over by the government to reduce inequalities, especially the educational gap between Muslims and Christians as most schools and hospitals were owned by the mission churches and based in the southern part of Nigeria, “this inequality of access to facilities and education levels were widely perceived at the time as having contributed to the struggles over Nigeria’s future that had led to the civil war” (Davis and Kalu-Nwiwu, 2016:11). Thus, this action put the church into a position of opposition to the government. There were other measures imposed by the federal government that clearly placed the people of the former Biafra in a very difficult position. These included the introduction of the federal character principle in civil service appointment, the quota-system in the admission process into tertiary institutions and the setting up of pilgrims’ welfare board, especially for Muslims. The creation of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) in the 1970s, the Northern political leaders “have regarded it as the political wing for Christian” (Kukah, 2003:31). Thus, tension between Christians and Muslims has become consistent feature of Nigerian politics since 1980s. The reaction of the northern political leaders towards this development strengthened against the consciousness of the Christians for greater involvement in the political arena (Enwerem, 1995:333). In the mid-1980s, when Nigeria was again under military rule, Christian-Muslim relations were further polarized when its membership in the organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) became public knowledge, provoking an immediate outcry from many Christians who objected it. In response, Schineller (2002:178) opines that Nigerian Christians “pushed the government to establish formal diplomatic relations with the state of Israel, and this occurred in early 1990s”. Nevertheless, the Catholic Bishops’ conference of Nigeria emphasizes the civic and political responsibilities of all Christians. Kukah (2003:31) refers to the document as particularly significant “because coming from a tradition political of involvement, Catholics in particular and Christians in general were literally obsessed with the fact that politics was a dirty game, in which no good Christian could participate”.

Religious competition continued to be intense under successive military governments. Religion played an important role after the election and proper handling over of government by late General Abdulasami Abubakar, to the democratically elected president, Olusegun Obasanjo. The choice of Obasanjo was more of ethnic than religion, but religion was considered a major factor in deciding (voting) for contestants to the presidency. Just like some people voted for Buhari on religious grounds.

### **Religion and Governance in Nigeria**

Governance simply refers to “the activity of governing a country or controlling an organization or a company” (Hornby, 2006: 646). Then good governance means the ability of controlling a country or an organization to the satisfaction of the majority of the citizens by those elected to do so within a stipulated period of time. In a heterogeneous society like Nigeria, the task becomes more difficult than expected because it involves the proper coordination of multi and diverse ethnic, cultural and religious groups. Good governance rooted in core, can be

epitomized in the parable of the good shepherd told by Jesus in the gospel of John (10:11-18). As a lover of sheep, the religious leader guided by good religious principles and values ensures the security of the sheep.

Religious tolerance in the society can be boosted through inter-religious dialogue. It is important for religious leaders to guide against deceitful teaching that can disrupt peace and political stability. Thus, exchange of ideas removes ignorance and eliminates religious conflicts. However, in achieving good governance and political stability; religion should serve as a guide in all political activities that the country engages in. Therefore, the effect of religion on politics can enhance sustainable development if the impact is positive. Though the negative effects of religion have continued to endanger the country's existence since independence, starting from Biafra war to the Boko Haram crisis, now is Fulani herdsmen and farmer's crises that has taken religio-political dimension. With the politicization of religion, there is a sense of religious reawaken which is supposed to have a positive impact on the political development of the country but has had a negative effect. However, religion can contribute to national integration, peaceful co-existence, reformation of ethnic identity, nationalism, economic, social and political development. Finally, the effect of religion on politics all over the world is both positive and negative (New York Times, 2005).

### **The Role of Religion in Governance in Nigeria**

The primary role of religion in Nigeria's political development is to be "the voice of God on earth". Religion is to be God's mouth- piece on earth just as a king is a people's mouth piece on earth. This role can be achieved through preaching, teaching the good news of God to different parties involved in a country's politics. This is expected to have a strong moral influence for truth, righteous and justice in the world (Matthew, 5:13-14) and pursue social justice in government affairs, this is a call to be the 'salt and light' of the world. Religious leaders should speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, and judge fairly, defend the rights of the poor and the needy (Peter, 31: 8-9).

Adherence of various religions ought to pray for those in government authority (Timothy, 2: 1-2). God wants his people to pray for government leaders so that the nation can have progress when it is being ruled by the fear of God. So, prayer is the key. Jesus started with prayer before he embarked on a public ministry and ended with prayer on the cross of Calvary. Jesus maintained that his disciples must pray with faith (Mark 11: 23, 9:23) and with perseverance (Luke 17, 11-15). Jesus in the agony in the garden prayed during crises (Matthew 26; 36-46, Mark 14-32, Luke 22:40-46). So, the first role of religion in ensuring good governance is prayer, though it is God who selects those in authority (Romans 13:1). Therefore, if adherents of different religions pray, God may choose to put people who will govern well in the society. This prayer should be with or without ceasing. In fact, the tendency for Christians to pray only when there is oppressive or corrupt government in office should stop. All should pray that that the right leaders get into office. Like Nehemiah, when he heard about the conditions of his home government in Jerusalem, he started

praying (Nehemiah 1: 4-11) and God heard his prayer. So Christians should pray always collectively and individually.

Religion should also encourage its members to register and vote as well as perform their other civic duties. Religious leaders should speak out against evil in government and insist that the authorities respect their rights. Religion should exercise an influence for justice and righteousness in all areas of society, including the government. We believe God will indeed spare the nation because of the righteousness of the believers (Genesis, 18: 16-32). What is more, the faith of the four friends of a paralytic was used in healing the man (Mark 2: 1-12). This is a clear indication that religion can intervene to ensure good governance in Nigeria. Another role of religion towards good governance is living a life worthy of emulation. Leaders of various religions in Nigeria should live exemplary lives and demonstrate their beliefs that life is an opportunity to serve and not to be served. For Jesus told his disciples, if you want to be the greatest, you must serve others. Leaders should take note of this. This should start from families, the church and then reach the entire society. When leaders show such good examples, others will emulate them.

The Bible tells us that “there is no authority except that which God has established” (Romans 13:1). The Bible states that God “sets up kings and deposes them” (Daniel 2:21). What these statements entail is that God is somehow involved in the selection of governments (Daniel 7: 14), and good governments may be in response to the prayers of God’s people (11 Chronicles 7:14). Thus, Christians should continually pray for our nation asking God to give us good leaders. However, God may even use bad rulers to accomplish his will (Romans 8: 28). For instance, the Babylonian captivity cured the Israelites of idolatry. This means that even if one has a bad government, God is still in control and can use that government to accomplish His will. Nevertheless, the issue of good governance must be an area of concern for all Christians. Good governance means “effective administration”. There is good governance when the government is achieving the goals, which include provision for the well-being of the citizens such as taking care of the needs of the people. People are protected from violence, discrimination etc. Good governance relates to the manner in which leaders achieve this end. It is wrong for government officers to use government money to build their houses, entertain their guests and provide themselves with all kinds of other good services. Governments should be humane, fair and just while striving to promote the well-being of all in society.

Finally, every religion should ensure that its adherence obey those in authority as these authorities have been instituted by God (Romans 13:1, 2, 5, 1 Peter 2: 13-14). When governments make specific laws that are against God’s laws, Christians must choose to disobey the government (Acts 4:18-20). Peter in opposition with the rest of the apostles maintained that “we must obey God rather than men” (Acts 5: 25). Also within the Roman Empire, the conquered people were made to worship the emperor and to hold festivals in his honor. This was because the emperor was regarded as a God. Christians on their part refuse to worship the emperor.

### **Recommendations**

One can express some hope that the Nigerian polity has some chances of improvement if all the sectors concerned work together to achieve good governance, since no society has ever reached its perfect state of governance. Religion should therefore play a central role because of its strategic function in the diverse nature of Nigeria as a pluralistic society. Thus, the paper came out with the following recommendations:

- Nigerian leaders are challenged to promote genuine religion's teachings in schools, colleges and universities. Tony Blair (2011) has rightly enjoined on leaders to be faith-literate especially in a globalized world full of heterogeneity and diversity.
- Dialogue remains a very crucial option today for promoting good governance. It should be a dialogue based on sincerity and openness, with representatives of the various religious affiliations in Nigeria adequately represented in collaboration with honest political, cultural and social leaders. Hayes (2009:68) argues that when interfaith dialogue is organized and pursued, it can encourage those who have personally involved in conflict to work together towards peace accommodation.
- The practice of pluralism in Nigeria should be geared towards attaining good governance and political stability. And the basis of gaining political power should be based on the ability to perform hard work with moral standard. It should not be based on religious identity. Unacceptable practices that can jeopardize political development should be guided against by religious leaders.
- A secular constitution still remains the best option for Nigeria's unity, growth and development. There is need to emphasize and apply caution in matters of governance. One must not fail to say that the post-independence Islamic character in the governance of Nigeria, which had a lot to do with the goal of integrating religion into politics, to the negligence of the secular nature of Nigeria, cannot be the best option of its good governance and democratic development (Nwanaju, 2005).
- The government should stop using public fund to sponsor people to pilgrimage. There is nowhere in the world such happens. Instead, the fund apportion to it should be diverted to create employment, provide infrastructural facilities, create employment for the teeming youth, improve educational institutions and alleviate poverty in the country. Therefore, making use of religion should be geared towards ensuring a harmonious and peaceful co-existence (of Christians and Muslims) and political development.

### **Conclusion**

This paper concludes by saying that the application of religious values and principles as well as good governance makes human nature orderly and properly organized. Religion has been misused by either leaders or adherents to induce violence and this has caused retarded growth to our political stability and good

governance. Since religion is supposed to promote peace, respect, equality, justice among people, a violent use of it to maltreat others would amount to destroying the fundamental principles of democracy on which good governance is based. Thus, the relationship between religion and politics in any society should be mutual, and if properly managed, bring about tranquility and development. On the other hand, if it is not properly managed, it could generate conflict. Since these are mutually related, there is need for symbolic relationship. However, religion can either bring conflict or peace, development or destruction, growth or retardation, stability or instability. It depends on how it is made use of in politics. The mixing of both religion and politics is not a problem, but the level of moral standard, patriotism towards the country and proper understanding of religion is the determining factors.

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## **KNOWLEDGE AND ATTITUDE OF JOURNALISTS TOWARDS REPORTING NIGERIAN'S MULTICULTURAL DIVERSITIES**

**Greg Ezeah & HileMartha Msoo**

### **Introduction**

Nigeria is a multicultural society, with a population of over 150 million inhabitants scattered across two “unofficial but glaring” regions ( North and South) and six geopolitical zones ( North central, North-east, North-west, South-east, South-south, and South-west). There are over 250 ethnic groups speaking about four hundred (400) dialects, with three clearly standing out as the major ones (Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba). There are three major religions (Christianity, Islam and African traditional Religion) and over a dozen political parties. While many citizens live in the rural areas, others live in the urban areas. Diversity is also the case in class status, with many Nigerians belonging to low and average class status, and a few but the most powerful belonging to the high status. Naturally, as observed by diversity scholars (Albert, 2000, Giordan, 2003; Pate, 2012; Babangida, 2012), multicultural diversities is not a problem, but could become one depending on how it is managed. It is not a problem when it is managed in a manner that produces the co-existence of many cultures in a society without anyone culture dominating, domineering, manipulating and marginalizing the others (Udebunu, 2011).

Nigerian's multicultural diversities status is poorly manage to the extent that what appears to be the case is cut-throat rivalry among many of the horizontal and vertical cultural groups. It is a situation described by Kur, Melladu and Hassan (2013) as a volatile multicultural society. This volatile situation of Nigeria's multicultural diversities is traced to 1914 with the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates (Aiyede, 2000). This amalgamation was seen as a marriage of strange bed fellows that was not going to work as stressed by Aiyede (200, p.10).

Nigerian's formal identity was forged with the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates in the year 1914. The Unification of this territory reflected the form and manner by which the British came to conquer, consolidate and administer the various people included in the Nigerian state. The process of subjugation and incorporation of the more than 250 ethno-linguistic groups in Nigeria was protracted, piecemeal and uneven.

Similarly, Sir Ahmadu Bello, the then premier of the Northern Nigeria described the amalgamation way back in 1947 as a colonial mistake which brought different people with different cultural orientations together. The differences, according to Bello are so numerous, deep glaring that there cannot be pretence about them (Kirk-Greene, 1971). The deep-rooted differences in the amalgamated Nigeria did not disappear even with independence in 1960, but rather climaxed in 1967 with a fierce civil war. The three-year old war was responsible for the death of over six million people

(Uwechue, 1971, Achebe, 2012). Nigeria is yet to recover from the psychological cum physical trauma and devastation of that war.

Over 43 years after the war, the challenge of poor management of Nigerian's multicultural diversities, which was the primary cause of the war is still threatening. Ethnic, religious, regional, ideological, labor and political conflicts, also referred to as identity conflict (Danjibo, 2010), have remained endemic with some taking a violent dimension. Some of these identity conflicts with a violent nature include: the 1986 universities of Ilorin, Sokoto and Ibadan religious violence (Umechukwu, 1995). Others are the Ugep-Idomi war of 1992, the endemic Tiv-Jukun conflicts, the age long Ife- Modakeke crises which climaxed in 1997/1998, the 1992 Zangon-Kataf crises and the 1995 Tafawa Balewa crises in Bauchi state (Otite& Albert, 1992 ed). The endermic Plateau conflicts which began in 2000 in Jos, the November 2002 Kaduna religious violence over ThisDay's published article on miss World Beauty Contest, the 2000 OPC- I gbo traders violence in Lagos, the 2000 OPC-Hausa conflict in Lagos, and the 2001 Safawa-Hausa Fulani crises in Bauchi State are among the litany of violent identity conflicts in Nigeria (Kur &Obiorah, 2011). Recently, identity conflicts such as the Niger Delta militancy, the 2011 presidential election and the Boko Haram insurgency are threatening the corporate existence of Nigeria.

In many of the identity conflicts in Nigeria, the mass media contributed in one way or the other to their eruption and or escalation. Empirical findings to support this assertion have been reported by Umechukwu (1995). Kur(2003), orhewere and Kur(2004), Igboeli (2006) and Kur and Edegoh (2011). Umechukwu (1995), for example, found that mass media prevaricating reports contributed to the escalation of religious violence in northern Nigeria between 1986 and 1991. Similarly, Igboeli (2006) found that newspaper reportage of ethno-religious conflicts in Lagos and Osun States between 2000 and 2002 contributed to intensify some of the conflicts.

In their coverage of conflicts and other diversity issue, the mass media tend to be divided along ethnic, regional, religious and other cultural sentimental lines. This was the case during the June 12, 1993 political impasse in Nigeria, where the media of Southern Nigeria took a stand against the cancellation of the presidential election, acclaimed to have been won by Chief MoshoodAbiola, a candidate from Southern Nigeria extraction. Similarly, the media of Northern Nigeria ignored ethical standards and established a firm position in support of the cancellation of the election that had the candidate from Northern Nigeria. Alhaji Bashir Tofa, losing (Kur, 2003).

In many societies where multicultural diversities exist, the practice of journalism is tempted to tend towards bias reporting in favor of cultural interests of media organizations (Deuze, 2001, 2002; Hosti 2002). To guide against or address this unprofessional tendency, the practice in advanced countries like the United States of America, Netherlands, Finland, Canada, Australia and Britain have designed a brand of journalism called multicultural journalism or multicultural media practice or multicultural broadcasting (Deuze, 2001: Hargrave (ed), 2002; Ojo, 2005). This brand of journalism is not only practiced, but has been incorporated in journalism training curriculum in these countries. The primary emphasis of this brand of journalism is

threefold: (1) Professional knowledge of journalists regarding multicultural diversities, (2) their representation of multicultural diversity issues, and (3) the responsibility of journalists covering multicultural diversities. The present study investigates the extent to which journalism practice in Nigeria abides by the expectations of multicultural journalism.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Nigeria is a multicultural society with different cultural groups engaging themselves in cut-throat rivalry. This nature of multicultural diversities in the macro Nigerian society also exists in the journalism profession. Often times, remarks are made to refer to the diversities, such as Lagos-Ibadan press (a blanket expression to mean media organizations owned by people of Southern Nigeria extraction and situated in Southern Nigeria), and the Northern or Arewa media (to mean media houses owned by people from the Northern part of the country and housed in the part of the country). Other expressions such as Yoruba or Ngbati press, Igbo press, Hausa press etc, referring to ethnic ownership and control of the press, suggest diversity orientation in the journalism profession. Similarly, mention is sometimes made of Yoruba journalists, Igbo journalists, Hausa Journalists, Muslim journalists, Boko Haram Journalists, Christian journalists, PDP (People's Democratic Party) journalists, and opposition journalists etc, buttress multicultural diversities in the journalism profession.

It is observed that media organizations and reporters slant their coverage along parochial prisms in line with the interest of the cultural group they align with. Are journalists aware of the tenets of multicultural reporting? If yes, what is their attitude towards reporting multiculturalism in Nigeria? Is this attitude for good or bad of the profession and the society at large? These questions constitute the problem this study will investigate.

### **Research Objectives**

The specific objectives of this study are to:

1. Determine journalists' sensitivity to multicultural diversities in reporting national issues.
2. Investigate journalist's objectivity in reporting issues sensitive to multicultural diversities.
3. Examine journalists' knowledge of ethical/professional responsibilities in reporting multicultural diversities.

### **Research Questions**

The research questions drawn directly from the objectives are:

1. How sensitive are journalists to multicultural diversities?
2. How objective are journalists in reporting issues sensitive to multicultural diversities?
3. How knowledgeable are journalists on ethical/professional responsibilities in reporting multicultural diversities?

### **Theoretical Framework**

This study is undergirded by two theories – multiculturalism and social responsibility.

#### **Theory of Multiculturalism**

The theory of multiculturalism explains a pattern of socio-cultural integration for contemporary societies. Central to the theory as a form of social integration is its relation to political power and its effectiveness in promoting change (Parekh, 2000). The theory acknowledges human diversity, and cultural variation, which should be lateral rather than hierarchical. This means, according to Barry (2001), that the various culturally defined groups within the multicultural society should be valued equally with equal rights and status, rather than existing in a hierarchy, in which some groups rank higher than others.

The theoretical foundations of multiculturalism lie in the political theory of classical liberalism, which is a doctrine that proclaims the importance of individual freedom to live a life of one's own, even if the majority of society disapproves of the way that life is lived (Kymlicka, 1995). Similarly, according to the doctrine of classical liberalism, minority ways, or differences, are to be tolerated rather than suppressed (Barry, 2001).

The ideas of multicultural theory fashioned along classical liberalism, as it relates to this study, suggests that Nigeria, being a multicultural society and subscribing in principle, to the practice of multiculturalism, should exhibit tendencies towards freedom, tolerance, equality, peaceful co-existence, and acceptance of minority cultures. In relation to the practice of journalism, has journalism practice in Nigeria actually exhibited those tendencies of classical liberal multiculturalism? The present study is designed to investigate this question.

#### **Social Responsibility Theory**

The social responsibility theory of the press is also used to explain the framework of this study. The foundation of this theory is traced to the recommendations of the Commission on the Freedom of the Press in America (popularly referred to as the Hutchins Commission) and the Royal Commission in Britain (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1974). These two commissions recommended five factors which the contemporary society requires of the mass media as a measure of media performance. The five factors are: (1) The media are to provide truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day's events in a context which gives them meaning; (2) The media are to serve as a forum for the exchange of comments and criticism; (3) The media should project a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society; (4) The media should be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society; and (5) The media should provide full access to the day's intelligence (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1974).

In relation to this study, the social responsibility theory of the press suggests that journalism practice in Nigeria holds it as a responsibility to contribute meaningfully to the unity of the diverse cultural groups in Nigeria. In other words,

journalism practice has a responsibility to facilitate the construction of a functional multicultural Nigerian society. This responsibility lies largely in the third and fourth principles of the theory: “the media should project a representative picture of the constituent groups in the society,” and “the media should be responsible for the presentation and clarification of the goals and values of the society” respectively. Journalists’ sensitivity to cultural diversity issues, accommodation of multicultural interests and perspectives, objectivity in representing issues of multicultural diversities, and knowledge of ethical/professional responsibilities in reporting multicultural diversities issues is a social responsibility journalism practice owes the Nigerian society. Findings of this study will explain the extent to which the practice of journalism is living up to this responsibility.

### **Methodology**

The study adopted a dual-method approach comprising survey and content analysis. The choice of survey method is based on the nature of objectives one and two of the study which focus on determining the attitude, views, opinions, perspectives, and dispositions of journalists towards multicultural reporting.

The survey population of this study comprised all practicing journalists in Nigeria. However, for the purpose of practicability and effectiveness, the population of the study was restricted to only registered and accredited journalists in six states (one in each geopolitical zone) and Abuja the Federal Capital Territory, totaling 1968 purposively selected based on high multicultural composition. While the same size of the study is 492. The states and their corresponding sample sizes are summarized in the table below:

**Table 1: Population figures of states in the study with their corresponding sample sizes**

States	Plateau	Taraba	Kaduna	Enugu	Rivers	Lagos	Abuja	Total
Population	228	162	265	200	240	486	387	1,968
Sample size	57	41	66	50	60	121	97	492

The sample was arrived at based on the suggestion of Ball and Gall, cited in Uzoagulu (1998) that a researcher may adopt 25 percent for a population of one thousand, 10 percent for a population of five thousand, and 5 percent for a population of ten thousand and beyond. This research followed this suggestion and adapted 25 percent, since the population (1,968) is above one thousand and far below five thousand, to arrive at 492.

Content analysis is found to be appropriate for this study since objectives three of the study demand objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of national issues sensitive to cultural diversities to determine the influence of cultural (regional, religious, ethnic and political) differences among journalists in reporting the issues. The national issues purposively taken for analysis in this study, which are sensitive to cultural differences include: (1) the 2011 post-presidential election violence in Nigeria, and (2) the Boko Haram insurgency.

The content analysis population of this study consisted of all Nigeria's 14 national daily newspapers (Bashir, 2012) published in Nigeria during the period of April 19 – October 18, 2011, for the 2011 post-presidential election violence, and April 19 – October 18, 2012, for the Boko Haram insurgency. The newspapers are: *Daily Times, Daily Trust Compass, Daily Champion, New Nigerian, Leadership, Punch, The Guardian, Daily Independent, ThisDay, Nigerian Tribune, Vanguard, The Guardian, The Sun*. This translates to 2,996 editions. Four of the newspapers were purposively selected for study. They are *Daily Trust and Leadership* (representing Northern Nigeria newspapers) and *The Guardian* and *ThisDay* (representing Southern Nigeria newspapers). The four newspapers were selected on the basis that they have a high circulation, are national in outlook, are daily newspapers (published from Sunday to Saturday), and are consistent on the news stand. Thus, for each of the four newspapers selected, for each event, 182 issues constituted the universe or population, making up a total of 728 issues of the four newspapers for each event. Weekend issues of the newspapers were also included since they also carried reports of the events under study. The proportionate stratified random sampling was used to draw up the sample of 492.

In this study, the population was stratified along the six states samples as shown in table 1 above. To obtain a representative sample among the different types or forms of journalism (radio, television, newspaper, and magazine) available in the area of study, the same proportionate stratified random sampling technique was used in each state. The resultant sample sizes in proportion to their population sizes in each of the six states are presented in Table 2 as

**Table 2: Population of journalists in respect to states in proportion to their sample sizes according to types or forms of journalism**

<b>Journalism Form Or Type</b>	<b>Radio</b>	<b>Television</b>	<b>N/ paper/ magazine</b>	<b>Others</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>PLATEAU STATE</b>					
Population	52	30	136	10	228
Sample size	13	7	34	3	57
<b>TARABA STATE</b>					
Population	42	29	84	7	162
Sample size	11	7	21	2	41
<b>KADUNA STATE</b>					
Population	50	31	172	12	265
Sample size	12	8	43	3	66
<b>ENUGU STATE</b>					
Population	47	31	108	14	200
Sample size	12	8	27	3	50
<b>RIVERS STATE</b>					
Population	64	35	125	16	240
Sample size	16	9	31	4	60
<b>LAGOS STATE</b>					
Population	116	77	264	29	486

Sample size	29	19	66	7	121
<b>ABUJA</b>					
Population	88	62	200	37	387
Sample size	22	16	50	9	97
<b>TOTAL</b>					
Population	459	295	1,089	125	1,968
Sample size	115	74	272	31	492

The resultant sample in each journalism type or form in each state was reached through simple random sampling technique, using a table of random numbers. Information about the journalists in each state was obtained from the Secretariat of NUJ in each of the six states and the FCT. This information, which included the journalists' names and organizations, assisted in getting across to the sampled journalists for study.

Content analysis is found to be appropriate for this study since objectives two and three of the study demand objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of national issues sensitive to cultural diversities to determine the influence of cultural (regional, religious, ethnic and political) differences among journalists in reporting the issues. The national issues purposively taken for analysis in this study, which are sensitive to cultural differences include: (1) the 2011 post-presidential election violence in Nigeria, and (2) the Boko Haram insurgency. For content analysis, the entire population for each of the two events under study constituted the sample. In other words, 856 issues of the four newspapers put together constituted the sample for each event. This idea of studying the entire population is justified in the words of Bryman (2008, p. 97) that "where the population is not large and appears heterogeneous, all of it could be taken for the sample".

The purposive sampling technique was adopted in the content analysis aspect of the study. This sampling technique is based on purposeful decision to select specific elements which satisfy some predetermined criteria based on the researcher's judgment (Rubin, Rubin & Piele, 2005).

#### **Units of Analysis (for Content Analysis)**

In this study, the units of analysis were every straight news report, feature article, letter to the editor, and editorial comment about the 2011 post-presidential election violence and the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria published within April 19 – October 18, 2011 (for the 2011 post-presidential election violence) and within April 19 – October 18, 2012 (for the Boko Haram insurgency).

#### **Content Categories**

The content analysis aspect of this study adopted six content categories as follows: (1) views of parties, (2) attribution, (3) region, (4) religion, (5) ethnic group, and (6) tone of story. To facilitate coding, these content categories are defined as follows:

**Views of parties:** This is defined as presentation of views of parties or a party in a story about the 2011 post-presidential election violence and the Boko Haram insurgency. The presentation could be all views involved in a story, views of only a party involved in a story, or no view of any party involved in a story.

**Attribution:** This is defined as giving credit to the source of a story about the 2011 post-presidential election violence and the Boko Haram insurgency. A story could be credited or not.

**Region:** This has to do with the region of origin of the writer of a news story about the 2011 post-presidential election violence and the Boko Haram insurgency, which could be Northern or Southern Nigeria. This is determined by the by-line. Sometimes, we know people from Northern or Southern Nigeria by their names.

**Religion:** This is defined as the religious belief of the writer of a story about the 2011 post-presidential election violence and the Boko Haram insurgency. This belief could be Christianity or Islam. This is determined by the by-line. In some cases, we know Christians or Muslims by their names.

**Ethnic group:** This is defined as the tribe of the writer of a story. This could be any of the three major tribes (Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba) or any other minority tribes in Nigeria. This is determined by the by-line. In most cases, we know the tribe of people by their names. Where only English names of a writer are used, the by-line will not be coded.

**Tone of story:** This is defined as whether a story is titled, untitled or neutral. A story is titled if it portrayed a cultural group (be it regional, religious or ethnic group) in good or positive light. It is untitled if it portrayed a cultural group in bad or negative light. It is neutral if it portrayed a cultural group neither in good or bad light.

#### **Inter-coder Reliability**

The inter-coder reliability co-efficient was calculated using Holsti's (1969) formula (cited in Wimmer & Dominick, 2000, p. 159). The formula is given as:

$$Reliability = \frac{2N}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Where M = Number of coding decisions on which two coders agree,  $N_1 + N_2$  = Total number of coding decision by the first and second coders respectively.

For the 2011 post-presidential election violence, each of the two coders identified and categorized 215 units. Out of this number of units, the two coders agreed on 187 units and disagreed on 28 units. Based on Holsti's formula above, the reliability coefficient is computed as follows:

$$r = \frac{2(187)}{215+215}$$

$$r = \frac{374}{215+215}$$

$$r = 0.81$$

This is an acceptance level of reliability. For the Boko Haram insurgency, each of the two coders identified and categorized 418 units. They however agreed on 368 units and disagreed on 32 units. Based on Holsti's formula above, the reliability coefficient is computed as follows:

$$r = \frac{2(386)}{418+418}$$

$$r = \frac{772}{243015836}$$

**Table 4: Whether respondents are sensitive to multicultural diversities in reporting National issues**

	Sensitivity to multicultural diversities				
Response	Regional diversities F (%)	Religiousdiv ersities F (%)	Ethnic diversities F (%)	Politicaldive rsities F (%)	Total F (%)
Yes	317(67.2)	327(69.3)	309(65.5)	309(65.5)	1,26(66.8)
No	70(14.8)	60(12.7)	66(14.0)	66(14.0)	262(13.9)
C/S	85(18.0)	85(18.0)	97(20.5)	97(20.5)	364(19.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>1,888(100)</b>

$r = 0.92$

*This is also an acceptable level of reliability.*

### Results and Discussion of Findings

Out of the 492 copies of questionnaire administered, 472 were returned and found usable, yielding 95.9 percent response rate. How sensitive are journalists to multicultural diversities in reporting national issues? In answering this research question, Table 4 is taken into consideration. Data in Table 4 reveal that as many as 67.2 percent of respondents said they take into consideration the sensitive nature of relationship between the people of Northern and Southern Nigeria when reporting national issues. Only 14.8 percent respondents said they don't, and 18 percent could not take a definite stand on the issue.

With regards religious diversities, the data indicate that 69.3 percent respondents said they consider relationship among adherents of the two major religions in Nigeria (Christianity and Islam) in reporting religious issues. Only 12.7 percent respondents said they don't consider the religious differences in reporting religious issues. 18 percent respondents were undecided on this score. In terms of ethnic diversities, the data suggest that 65.5 percent respondents said they take into account the ethnic background of the people in reporting ethnic issues. Only 14

percent respondents said they are not conscious of the ethnic background of people in reporting ethnic issues. 20.5 percent respondents did not take a definite stand on this issue.

The data on political diversities show that 65.5 percent respondents are conscious of the sensitive nature of the different political parties and groups in Nigeria in reporting political issues, while 14 percent respondents said they do not, and as many as 20.5 percent were indifferent on the issue. The picture painted by data in Table 4 is that the respondents take into consideration multicultural diversities in reporting national issues. What are their reasons for doing this? Table 5 below suggests the answer:

**Table 5: Respondents' reasons for taking into consideration the sensitive nature of different cultural groups in reporting**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
To ensure reports do not cause division among the different cultural groups.	297	35
To ensure reports promote peaceful co-existence among cultural groups.	202	23.8
To abide by journalism ethical and professional standards.	394	41.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>100</b>

Data in Table 5 reveal that 848 comments indicate three reasons for respondents being conscious of multicultural diversities in reporting national issues. The three reasons are: (1) To safeguard journalistic ethical and professional standards (41.2%); (2) to prevent news reports from causing division and tension among the different cultural groups (35%); and (3) to ensure news reports contribute to promoting peaceful co-existence among the cultural groups (23.8%). Respondents who said they are conscious of cultural diversities in reporting national issues were asked on open-ended questions to state instances in which they took into consideration the sensitive nature of relationship among the different cultural groups in Nigeria in reporting national issues. Some of the comments recorded are as follows:

#### **On Northern/Southern Nigeria Diversity**

1. The National Conference organized by Goodluck led administration generated various views from different people belonging to various groups. While southerners saw it as a welcome idea, those from the north considered it another wild goose chase.
2. The rift between the people of the North and South on who will rule Nigeria by 2015.
3. Whenever the issue of June 12 (1993) elections come up, I take caution as regards the choice of words I use so as to avoid instigating violence.

### On Religious Diversity

One prominent politician (Christian) in Kaduna State granted an interview to me and used abusive words against Islam but I deleted that portion so that the Muslims wouldn't be hurt.

4. A feature I did on the killings in Southern Kaduna I was very careful in order not to incite rancor between the predominant Christians of the Southern Kaduna and the Hausa/Fulani who are being accused of perpetrating the crime.
5. The issue of Boko Haram is very sensitive. I take into consideration the sensitive nature of the relationship between the two major religions when reporting.

### On Ethnic Diversity

6. I was assigned in July this year to cover a press conference organized by the people of Southern Kaduna where I come from. The conference was a reaction to the killings in that part of the state by the Fulani's. They were quite decisive but I had to report in a way that their message would be passed across without being instigative.
7. I always observe the dichotomy between Yoruba and Ibo when reporting issues that affect them especially their cultural differences and political affiliations. I always try to be as neutral as possible when reporting.
8. I did a report on the issue of Nigeria's disintegration but was careful and edited it well because negative comments were made by the Igbo ethnic group of Eastern Nigeria.

### Research Question Two

How objective are journalists in reporting issues sensitive to multicultural diversities?

In answering this research question, Table 6, 7 and 8 are considered. While Table 6 and 7 are derived from content analysis data, Table 8 is the outcome of survey data.

**Table 6: Views of parties involved in the reportage of the 2011 post-presidential election violence and Boko Haram insurgency**

Views	Newspaper and Event									
	<i>Daily Trust</i>		<i>Leadership</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>Thisday</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)
Of all Parties	82(36.3)	152(33.9)	68(32.1)	137(32.3)	95(51.9)	184(47.4)	69(39.0)	104(30)	314(40.3)	577(35.9)
Of one Party	96(42.5)	216(48.1)	79(40.7)	195(46)	66(36.1)	151(38.9)	64(36.2)	223(64.3)	305(39.1)	785(48.8)
Of no Party	48(21.2)	81(18.0)	47(24.2)	92(21.7)	22(12.0)	53(13.7)	44(24.9)	20(5.8)	161(20.6)	246(15.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>226(100)</b>	<b>449(100)</b>	<b>194(100)</b>	<b>424(100)</b>	<b>183(100)</b>	<b>388(100)</b>	<b>711(100)</b>	<b>347(100)</b>	<b>780(100)</b>	<b>1,608(100)</b>

*E.V = 2011 post-presidential election violence; B.H = Boko Haram insurgency*

Data in Table 6 are on presentation of views of parties involved in the stories of the two events studied – 2011 post-presidential election violence and Boko Haram insurgency. The four newspaper studied generated a total of 780 stories on the 2011 post-presidential election violence. Out of this number, 40.3 percent of the stories had views of all parties presented, 39.1 percent had views of only one party presented, and 20.6 percent had no views of any party presented. There was no remarkable difference with the individual newspapers. As shown in Table 7, *The Guardian* (51.9%) and *ThisDay* (39%) more than *Daily Trust* (36.33%) and *Leadership* (32.1%) presented more views of all parties in their stories.

For the Boko Haram insurgency, the four newspapers put together generated a total of 1,068 stories. While 48.8 percent of the stories presented views from only one party, 35.9 percent presented views from all parties, and 15.3 percent presented no views of parties involved in a story. The individual newspapers followed a similar trend, with the exception of *The Guardian*, which presented more views of all parties (47.4%). The inference drawn from data in Table 7 is that as far as views of parties involved in stories about the two events studied are concerned, the newspapers took sides in reporting the events.

**Table 7: Attribution of stories on 2011 post-presidential election violence and Boko Haram insurgency**

Attribution	Newspaper and Event									
	<i>Daily Trust</i>		<i>Leadership</i>		<i>The Guardian</i>		<i>Thisday</i>		Total	
	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)	E.V. F(%)	B.H. F(%)
Yes	166(73.5)	308(68.6)	119(61.3)	284(67.0)	146(79.8)	319(82.2)	108(61.0)	219(63.1)	539(69.1)	1,130(70.3)
No	60(26.5)	141(31.4)	75(38.7)	140(33.0)	37(20.2)	69(17.8)	69(39.0)	128.36.9)	241(30.9)	478(29.7)
<b>Total</b>	226(100)	449(100)	194(100)	424(100)	183(100)	388(100)	177(100)	347(100)	780(100)	1,608(100)

*E.V* = 2011 post-presidential election violence; *B.H* = Boko Haram insurgency

Table 7 has data on attribution of stories on the two events studied. For the 2011 post-presidential election violence, 69.1 percent of the 780 stories generated by the four newspapers studied were attributed, and 30.9 percent were not. A similar trend was the case with all the four individual newspapers. *Daily Trust* had 73.5 percent stories attributed and 26.5 percent not attributed; *Leadership*, 61.3 percent attributed and 38.7 percent unattributed; *The Guardian*, 79.8 percent attributed and 20.2 percent unattributed; and *Thisday*; 61 percent attributed and 39 percent unattributed.

This case was not different with the reportage of the Boko Haram insurgency, which had 70.3 percent of stories of the four newspapers put together attributed. Only 29.7 of the stories were not attributed. The situation was not different with all the individual newspapers: *Daily Trust* had 68.6 percent stories attributed and 31.1 percent not; *Leadership*, 67 percent attributed and 33 percent not; *The Guardian*, 82.2 percent attributed and 17.8 percent not; and *Thisday*, 63.1 percent attributed and 36.9 percent not. What data in Table 8 suggest is that in terms of attribution of stories

about the two events studied, the newspapers did not take sides in reporting the two events.

**Table 8: Whether respondents are objective in reporting issues sensitive to multicultural diversities**

Response	Objectivity in Reporting Multicultural Diversities				Total F(%)
	Regional Diversities F(%)	Religious Diversities F(%)	Ethnic Diversities F(%)	Political Diversities F(%)	
Yes	328(69.5)	332(70.3)	332(70.3)	385(81.6)	1,377(72.9)
No	62(13.1)	81(17.2)	81(17.6)	52(11.0)	278(14.7)
Can't say	82(17.4)	59(12.5)	59(12.1)	35(7.4)	233(12.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>472(100)</b>	<b>1,888(100)</b>

Survey data presented in Table 8 has 72.9 percent respondents saying they are objective in reporting issues sensitive to multicultural diversities. Only 14.7 percent respondents said they are not objective, and 12.3 percent respondents could not take a definite stand. A similar trend was the case in reporting the individual categories of multicultural diversities studied. For regional diversities, 69.5 percent respondents said they reported it objectively, 13.1 percent said they did not, and 17.4 percent were undecided. While 70.3 percent respondents said they reported religious diversities objectively, 17.2 percent said they did not, and 12.5 percent were not sure. As many as 70.3 percent respondents said they reported ethnic diversities objectively, 17.6 percent did not, and 12.1 percent were undecided. Political diversities had 81.6 percent respondents saying they report it objectively, 14.7 percent did not and 12.3 percent could not take a definite stand. As far as data in Table 9 are concerned, the journalists studied are of the opinion that they were objective in reporting issues sensitive to multicultural diversities.

### **Research Question Three**

How knowledgeable are journalists on ethical/professional responsibilities in reporting multicultural diversities? Data in Table 9 answer this research question

**Table 9: Whether Respondents are aware of ethical/professional responsibilities sensitive to multicultural diversities**

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	381	80.7
No	55	11.7
Can't say	36	7.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>100</b>

Data in Table 9 indicate that as more as 80.7 percent respondents said they are aware of ethical/professional responsibilities in reporting multicultural diversities. Only 11.7 percent respondents said they were not aware, and 7.6 percent were undecided. The respondents who said they were aware of ethical and professional responsibilities in reporting multicultural diversities stated some of the ethical/professional responsibilities to include; being guided by the hallmarks reporting which are objectivity, fairness, balance and facts.

### **Conclusion /Recommendations**

Based on the findings of the study, conclusions were drawn that, even though journalists in Nigeria have some knowledge of ethical and professional norms in reporting diversity issues, this knowledge does not manifest in effective reporting of Nigeria's diversities. Nigerian Journalists allow cultural, regional, religious and ethnic differences to influence their reportage.

Based on the findings and conclusion reached in this study, the following recommendations are made to encourage multicultural journalism in Nigeria:

- Media organizations, journalism and media associations and stakeholders in journalism should champion the cause of multiculturalism in Nigeria. Consciousness of multiculturalism in the entire Nigerian society will tremendously impact on and encourage multicultural journalism.
- For practicing journalists, workshops, seminars, and other in-house training programmes should be organized for them to equip them with knowledge and skills in reporting multicultural diversities and events in multicultural societies.
- Media organizations should develop guidelines and adopt recruitment policies that encourage diversity and pluralism in media organizations especially in the newsroom. Such policies should take into special consideration people from minority cultural groups.
- Increased cooperation and solidarity among journalists and media owners should be stepped up. This cooperation and solidarity is necessary in encouraging tolerance among journalists and media owners. This tolerance encourages multicultural journalism.

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## **GROUP-AFFILIATION VERSUS PROJECT OF SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER**

**Doris I. Ajah-Okohu & Anthony C. Ajah**

### **Introduction**

*We were all Human until Race disconnected us,  
Religion separated us, Politics divided us, Wealth  
classified us. (Rather and Kirshner 2017)*

Group-affiliation (that is, belongingness) can be dangerous: particularly when it weakens an individual or an entire group's capacity to assess how some options are better than others – both in the long- and short-terms. This situation is worse when belongingness leads to silence in the face of misuse of power. Every misuse of power implies using power to crush others, dehumanize them, and deny them of their freedom. The dehumanized will try to resist; but, many of those who belong to the same group with the person misusing power will most likely not find anything wrong with the way power is being misused. Some others in the same group who are able to notice the misuse would prefer to be silent despite their knowledge of the extent of misuse of power. Instead, they attack any member of an-other group who attempts to tell the truth that power is being misused. This is the logic – the logic of group-affiliation or belongingness - that sustains misuse of power.

In the current stage of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, a lot of efforts and energy are being called up to decolonize, Africanize, nationalize, or vaguely be 'patriotic' (see Trump in the US). In these and related campaigns, there is the massive danger to emphasize where various groups think they differ from others, to the detriment of the primary fact that every human is first of all a member of the human family before belonging (or being affiliated) to any other micro, circumstance-defined, group. This emphasis on micro groups based on colour, ethnic group, religion, political party, level of education attained, and so on, becomes very dangerous in the face of misuse of power. In this paper, therefore, we engaged in a sociological and philosophical assessment of how belongingness can make speaking truth to power difficult; as well as highlighted the type of mental disposition required for a commitment to speak truth to power. In addressing the first purpose, we explained the philosophical nature of belonging, of power, and of speaking truth to power. We also considered the sociology of group identity as it can affect the necessity of speaking truth to power. With regard to the second purpose, we attempted to highlight the structure of the mind of one who can get committed to a project of speaking truth to power.

### **Dialectic between Group-Affiliation and Misuse of Power Clarification of Concepts**

The term 'dialectic' is used here in the sense of connecting several factors into a process in which each factor has a mutual link with, and plays a necessary role

in, the continuous being and becoming of the other(s). In this sense, dialectic refers to the necessary process that makes up progress in both thought and the world (Blackburn 1996).

Group-affiliation is a sociological concept that highlights the idea of one being a member of, affiliated to, and belonging to a group. A group is formed when two or more persons (explicitly or implicitly, directly or indirectly) share the same goal or pursue the same interest (and align with each other because of their shared interest). Any person who has any commitment to the group interest is considered an affiliate. Power, on the other hand, is the ability to exert influence or control over someone or something, or to use others to achieve a goal. This definition does not imply that the concept of power is so simple to define since there are as many definitions and conceptualizations of power as there have been attempts by Sociologists, Political Scientists, and Philosophers, to explain power.

On a general note, Haralambos and Holborn (2004) had observed that Sociologists often distinguished between two forms of power, namely, authority and coercion. The first is understood by some Sociologists as that form of power which is accepted as legitimate and obeyed on the basis of its claim of legitimacy. An example of this type of power is that students accept their teachers as possessing legitimate power (that is, authority) to make decisions about what assignments to give them, when the assignments should be handed in, and what marks to award for the assignments. The second form of power (coercion) is that form of power which is not regarded as legitimate. For instance: a troop of soldiers from another country who forcefully occupies a state is considered to be involved in an illegitimate occupation. Max Weber's (1948) definition of power was more as coercion, than as authority. According to him, power is the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action. This means that in Weber's views, every time power is exercised, what is realized is always the will of a man or a number of men, not of the community; and what is realized can outrightly be against the will (and even resistance) of others involved in the action. Our hint here that Weber's definition was conceptualized more as a form of coercion than as authority could be challenged by Weber's classification of three types of authority: (a) Charismatic (derived from devotion felt by subordinates for a leader who is believed to have exceptional qualities such as supernatural qualities, superhuman qualities, or other exceptional qualities); (b) traditional (based on a belief or acceptance of established customs and traditions about who should hold authority); and (c) rational-legal (based on the acceptance of a set of impersonal rules/ legal frameworks that are 'consciously constructed for the attainment of a particular goal' (see Haralambos and Holborn 2004: 540/541).

A related view which emphasised the use of power as coercion is Steven Lukes' (1974). According to him, Q exercises power over B when Q affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests. It does not just involve taking decisions in such a manner that over-rides or ignores the interests of others. More broadly, Lukes held that there are three dimensions/ faces of power. There is the face of decision-making;

there is the face of non-decision making, and there is the face of shaping desires. The first dimension emphasizes that power is used to take decisions that favour a certain advantaged small group over the majority. This is a more common concept of power projected by various authors, including Max Weber and Karl Marx. However, Lukes held that the second face of power involves the prevention of certain issues from being considered, or decisions being taken about them at all. This view of Lukes is related to John Urry's (see Urry and Wakeford, 1973) view that some persons have the power to prevent certain issues from reaching the point of decision: "As a result of this non-decision making, only safe decisions may be taken – decisions which do not fundamentally alter the basic structures of capitalist societies" (cited in Haralambos and Holborn 2004: 547). The third dimension involves the shaping of desires and wishes of social groups – even to accept a situation that is harmful to them. This third face involves Marx's (1846[1970]) emphasis on the prevalence of 'false class' consciousness of members of a society who do not realize where their own true interests lie'. This source of power is known as ideological power (see Mann 1986; Haralambos and Holborn 2004).

The emphases in both Weber (1948) and Lukes' (1974) views on the distinction between those who hold power and those who suffer every exercise of power, suggest a certain fixture of the amount of power available for groups and individuals to exercise: thus, if some hold power, others do not hold power. According to Haralambos and Holborn (2004), this view of power is sometimes known as a constant-sum concept of power. It connotes that since the amount of power is constant, power is held by an individual or a group to the extent that it is on the other hand not held by others.

A very important question arises at this stage of this reflection: 'Is power held or exercised?' In the views of Weber (1948), Lukes (1974), Marx (1846[1970]), and Antonio Gramsci (1971), power is held by persons. Some authors have a different view on this. According to Westergaard and Resler (1976), power is not just held: power is visible only through its consequences. On a similar note, Michael Mann (1986) and Michel Foucault (1988) also held, more specifically, that power is exercised not possessed or just 'held'. This distinction is necessary. It provides the platform to discuss the nature of power, and then, our conceptualization of power in this paper. First, a heavy leaning on Michel Foucault's (1991) ideas on the nature of power, is not something that is exercised only in state-citizen's relationship: its exercise is evident in all social relationships. Its nature warrants that: (a) it is intimately linked with knowledge [hence, Foucault always used the binary of power and knowledge (power/knowledge)] to the extent that each produces and is consolidated by the other; (b) it is not just coercive and restrictive (that is, negative), it is also expressed by enabling people to do things (that is, positive); (c) its operation presupposes – and is ontologically conditioned by, that is dependent on – the existence of some degree of freedom; and (d) because of (c), power never allows total control; it constantly produces resistance from and evasions by (free) people who try 'in slipping from it'.

In explaining the first feature of his idea of the nature of power, Foucault (1991/1995) held that power produces knowledge, and that both directly imply one another. This implies that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations. They are so closely bonded that every manifestation of one implies the other. Regarding the third and fourth features of the nature of power, Foucault noted that power is only exercised when people are made to do something which they have a choice not to do. It is therefore only in few circumstances that people have no choice since in the greater percentage of circumstances, there are such choices to resist power as committing suicide, jumping out through the window, killing the other (Foucault 1988). Foucault connected the first feature of the nature of power (that is, the fact that it is ultimately linked with knowledge) with the fourth feature (power can be resisted): He argued that because power is very closely bonded ('wrapped up') with knowledge, there is always some chance to resist the exercise of power by challenging the knowledge on which it is based. That is to say that a deconstruction of the knowledge that sustains any form of power, provides a reliable basis to also deconstruct and then challenge the power and its source.

Imagine a pastor who tries to get his listener to give him NGN50, 000 because the 'Lord' said that she needs to be prayed for else her two lovely daughters will die. This is an attempt by the pastor to exercise negative power on the woman. Going by the last submission of Foucault (1988) hinted above, this woman can resist this attempt to control by questioning the supposed ability of the pastor to know what can happen in the future, as well as why the payment of NGN50, 000 should be a condition for prayer whereas prayer is paraded as a spiritual communication with a being that does not need NGN50, 000 to assist one who appeals to him/her for help. This possibility of questioning knowledge to be able to resist power is the framework for what is meant in this paper by 'speaking truth to power' since it may (or usually) involve(s) telling the one (mis)using power that the one resisting his use of power has knowledge of the falsity, unsustainability, or outright wickedness that informed his/her misuse of power. Doing this (that is, speaking truth to power) involves a whole process; hence we consider it a project.

A project is an individual or collaborative enterprise, possibly involving research and design that is carefully planned, usually by a project team, to achieve a particular aim. It can also be seen as a planned endeavour, usually with a specific goal, and accomplished in several steps or stages. The stages may involve some mutual movements among them in such a way that what is achieved in the earlier stages form the basis for the success or failure of the subsequent stages. In fact, they may constitute dialectic.

### **The Dialectic**

Foucault's (1991) insistence that knowledge and power are so intimately related, brings to mind both Francis Bacon's assertion that knowledge is power, and the primary arguments of elite theorists (Mosca 1939; Mills 1951; Pareto 1963;

Gramsci 1971) that power is usually concentrated in the hands of elites in key positions in the state. In this section of this paper, we lean selectively on the elite theory of power, particularly the views of Pareto, Mosca, and Mills, to argue that there is a mutual relation between group-affiliation and misuse of power. We used the term 'selectively' because our concept of the nature of power in this paper has a stronger leaning on Foucault's (1991).

According to Mosca (1939), the dominance of elite groups is an inevitable feature of any society. While Marx and Engels (1950) argued so strongly that the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle, Mosca held that in all known human societies, there are always two classes of people appear: a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class is always fewer in number, and it performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that power brings. The second class, on the other hand, is always more numerous, and is directed and controlled by the first.

The basis for monopoly, dominance, and enjoyment of 'advantages that power brings' is that the members of this minority group have qualities that give them a certain material, intellectual or even moral superiority, which is usually 'a product of the (initial) social background of the elite' (Mosca 1939). This implies that those who belong to the elite group do all they can to remain in and preserve the group. This preservation implies, therefore, as Pareto (1963) held, that history is and always will be, 'a graveyard of aristocracies.' Pareto, like Mosca, argued that elite groups owe and preserve their power by their internal organization: in each case, the members are united; they form a 'cohesive minority in the face of an unorganized and fragmented mass'. He (Pareto) had an idea of 'circulation of elites' which implies that elites replace themselves; they preserve their interests and power. Because every use of power is to their interest, they cannot make any mental distinction as Foucault (1991) did, between positive and negative (that is, mis)use of power. Rather, the fact that they belong to the group which is able to exercise control/ influence (power) as it pleases them, the members do all they can to preserve the status quo. This is where group-affiliation (belongingness) becomes most dangerous, since in sustaining the status quo, any resistance is crushed to ensure that power is sustained and exercised by the group. But, the unconditionality of human freedom which is part of what gives power its nature and substance implies that power can never and should never be allowed to be totally misused. Truth needs to be spoken to its exercise.

### **The Project of Speaking Truth to Power**

The nature of power is that it inherently has the tendency to be misused to dehumanize, crush, manipulate, and so on. Harold Laski (2008: 297) argued along this line that power by its very nature is dangerous to those who exercise it. This implies that it needs to be limited before it can be exercised with safety. A related conceptualization of the nature of power is that it can be seen as "a trust subject to continuous scrutiny because it is subject to continuous abuse...[since] there is always present the danger that a power which exists to secure good may, from its very strength, be used to frustrate it" (Laski 2008, 41/42). The ultimate implication of the

above conceptualizations is that 'the price of power ought obviously to be a special vigilance about its exercise... Power, in other words, is in its nature dangerous to those who exert it; and whatever may be the reasons for its extent, they are reasons also for the creation of safeguards against its misuse' (Laski 2008, 38).

These 'safeguards' can come in the form of speaking truth to power, of resisting its misuse. Hence, Laski further explained why resistance is necessary: Every institution or state should satisfy the rational needs of its members, and the performance of an institution/ state is tested by its reasonable satisfaction of the needs of its members. If the state/ institution consistently satisfies the needs/ interests of some persons while it consistently fails to satisfy those of others, the latter others have the moral duty to inquire into the grounds, reasons, for the failure. Whatever may be the result(s) of the inquiry demands another moral obligation: to take proactive action beyond mere gossiping. Laski then noted: "If I hold that its power is being in fact exercised, not for the ends implied in its nature, but for the ends incompatible therewith, the civic outcome of such perception is the duty of resistance" (2008, 39). The core and initial move of any such resistance is to speak truth to power: to clearly state that power is being misused, since its exercise is not for the good of all who are supposed to benefit from it. Every project of speaking truth to power, therefore, is a project of linking knowledge to power (Foucault 1991/95), resisting its misuse (Laski 2008), and limiting the dangerous exercise of power (Laski 2008).

Yet, power always attempts to preserve itself, and those who are more capable to exercise it will always want to preserve the status quo: including by crushing the sources of resistance. This is why the project of speaking truth to power is not for everybody: It is different from gossiping about misuse of power, and the commitment required for such a project is not common.

### **Commitment to Speak Truth to Power: What is required?**

Raw power seeks to preserve its exercise of control by all means – This includes crushing any dissident/ resistance. Usually, in such situations, members of the group most capable of exercising power remain silent during the crush. Two scenarios are possible. The first is that if the crush persists breaks the resistance, the dominant group is preserved and its members continue their free dehumanizing exercise of power. The second scenario is that if some members of the dominant group choose to assist in the resistance, they will first need to dis-align from their group, making available (that is, transferring) the knowledge which consolidates the power of their initially dominant group, to a new group of dissidents. The second scenario is usually rare. This, again, is how group-affiliation (belongingness) can make speaking truth to power difficult; but that does not mean the project of speaking truth to power is an impossible one.

Known human history is replete with cases of those who spoke truth to power. We sample Emile Zola's January 13, 1898 Letter, "J'accuse...! (I accuse) Letter to the President of the Republic," the background to the Letter was that a group of French soldiers closer to the then President of the French Republic (Felix Faure)

connived and falsely accused an innocent Jewish-French Soldier, Mr Alfred Dreyfus, of betraying France to Germany during a war. The case that resulted from the accusation, simply known as 'Dreyfus Affair', is a historical sample of misuse of power by an elite group [in this case, a group of French soldiers]. Emile Zola, on the other hand, chose to commit to a project of letting the President know that power was being misused under his administration: Hence, the title of his letter 'I accuse...!' The first sentence in the letter leaves the reader in no doubt that Zola was not afraid of the possible crushing consequences of speaking truth to power. He wrote that the purpose of the letter was 'to tell you that your star, so happy until now, is threatened by the most shameful and most inextinguishable of blemishes'. There was no colouration, no euphemism. There was rather a focus on the truth: an attempt to describe reality *as it truly manifested*. That first sentence was followed by a candid effort to describe events as they happened. According to Zola, since the group that organized the misuse of power (in the wrongful accusation of an innocent Dreyfus) dared to subvert justice with lies and maltreatment of the innocent, so he [Zola] decided to dare. Zola was a French Novelist, a Playwright, and a Journalist. He wrote:

Since they dared, I too will dare. The truth I will say, because I promised to say it, if justice, regularly seized, did not do it, full and whole. My duty is to speak; I do not want to be an accomplice. My nights would be haunted by the spectre of innocence that suffers there, through the most dreadful tortures, for a crime it did not commit. [Online]

Those who committed the crime for which Dreyfus was wrongly accused were in power: They were members of the Council of War. It was to the same Council that Dreyfus' case was brought for consideration and final judgment. What happened? The group covered its treacherous members to sustain its power; the false accusation against Dreyfus was sustained: 'How could one hope that a council of war would demolish what a council of war had done?', Zola asked. Zola concluded his letter by asserting that: (a) he did not personally know those he accused, neither did he have resentment or hatred against them; (b) what he had come to know about them was that 'they are only entities, spirits of social evil'; and (c) the letter was 'only a revolutionary means to hasten the explosion of truth and justice'. Regarding this third part of his conclusion, Zola wrote: 'I have only one passion, that of the light, in the name of humanity which has suffered so much and is entitled to happiness'. We shall now lean on our analysis of Zola's letter to explain further how excessive sense of affiliation to a group is one of the major factors that make speaking truth to power very difficult; and the mental disposition required for a commitment to speak truth to power.

Mr Alfred Dreyfus was a Jewish-Frenchman: In the views of members of the council of war, even though Mr Dreyfus was a French and a committed member of the French Army, he was an-other, compared to the majority of the members of that council who were 'pure' Frenchmen. The crime, for which Dreyfus was wrongly accused, was committed by a 'pure' Frenchman, Major Du Paty de Clam. Several other Frenchmen – who belonged to the same group with Paty de Clam – concealed

the truth about Dreyfus' innocence. This sense of belonging to the same group with Paty de Clam made it difficult for the several army officers who knew the truth to save an innocent member of another group. But it made it possible for them to prefer to use their military power to sustain the accusation of the innocent Dreyfus.

But Emile Zola was French too. How was he able to challenge the misuse of power by members of the war council, despite being a 'pure' Frenchman like them? What was his mental disposition that made it possible to distance himself from his belongingness to the group of 'pure' Frenchmen, and be able to speak truth to the misuse of power by some members of the same group, against a member of 'another'? We read from him:

- (a) 'As for the people I accuse, I do not know them... I have against them neither resentment nor hatred. To me, they are only entities, spirits of social evil'.
- (b) '...the act I am hereby accomplishing is only a revolutionary means to hasten the explosion, that of truth and justice'.
- (c) 'I have only one passion, that of the light, in the name of humanity which has suffered so much and is entitled to happiness.'

The above excerpts indicate that Zola's concerns were: (i) not in witch-hunting anyone, but in the fact that a crime (a social evil) was committed against an innocent person whether he is a pure Frenchman or not; and (ii) that no group distinction is as important as the fact that all human beings make up a single human family all of which members deserve happiness. This means, therefore, that every excessive sense of affiliation to one's group – ethnic, religious, political, academic, and so on – because it is excessive, is bound to disregard 'the other' and see him/her as underserving of the best that 'my group' deserves. This connects us to the quotation that started this paper: 'We were all human until Race disconnected us, Religion separated us, Politics divided us, Wealth classified us' (Rather and Kirshner 2017). Every time one emphasizes her group-affiliation, she is mentally disposing herself to exclude an-other, keep silence, or look the other way when that 'other' may be suffering, and not be able to feel guilt or shame for being involved in such silence or exclusion.

Zola's words also highlight the mental construct of those who can dare to commit themselves to the project of speaking truth to power: It is a Universalist mental framework that emphasizes that all humans, no matter the groups, belong to a single human family. It is also a futurist mindset. With regard to the second feature of the mental construct required for speaking truth to power, Zola declared with eyes in the future, that his single passion was that it be possible, in the future, to have human beings achieve their entitled happiness and less suffering. A Universalist mindset does not quickly establish points of group differentiation or affiliation along lines of state, region, religion, ethnic groupings, class, wealth, qualification, and so on. A Universalist mindset does not too quickly disregard someone simply because of his/her state of origin, ethnic group, race, level of education attained, religion, and so on. A Universalist has his/her mind always on the primary fact about every human

being: each is first of all human before then belonging to a group. She transcends differences. This capacity to transcend differences and not exaggerate affiliations, to be able to remain within the mental realm that beckons 'We are all human...' is the first condition that makes it possible to speak up even when members of his group are maltreating and dehumanizing other human beings. We therefore highlight only briefly the mindset of those who can speak truth to power versus those who cannot: The first group are broadminded Universalists, whereas the second group are shallow ethnic, religious, and racial bigots. The first group is made up of engaged and therefore uncompromised intellectuals /elites, whereas the second group is made of nominal, sleepy, compromised, accomplice intellectuals/ elites. The first group is composed of futurist-humanists, whereas the second group is composed of easily bought materialists.

### **Conclusion**

It is a strange paradox that on the one hand, global human experiences are providing unquestionable evidence that humanity shares common features and problems, and that the latter need the collaboration of all to address them. On the other hand, and at the same time, massive efforts and energy are being spent in various parts of the globe to emphasize how groups differ. In situations where the latter component of the paradox prevails, the sense of belonging to a group provides a dangerous mental framework and reason to keep quiet while power is misused to dehumanize fellow humans. We argued in this paper that despite how crushing power may be in its manifestation, the nature of power includes that every exercise of power presupposes some degree of freedom; thus, power constantly produces resistance. Those who understand this underlying nature of power, and who also understand that our humanity precedes our belonging to any group, are able to transcend the differences between the group they belong to and any other group, to embark on or be part of any project of speaking truth to power for the good and happiness of humanity.

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## **THEATRE AS ENTREPRENEURSHIP: HOPE FOR NIGERIA IN ECONOMIC DIVERSIFICATION**

**Oguejiofor Victor Omeje**

### **Introduction**

The failure of successive governments in developing countries over the decades to tackle unemployment is a clear indication that poverty and its attendant consequences will continue for a long time; yet year after year tens of thousands of youths are churned out of the universities. The accumulation of young graduates with no gainful employment and other school dropouts breed a good ground for social vices like armed robbery, kidnapping, ritual killings, corrupt practices to mention but a few; and the only way out of this type of situation lies in government exploration of theatre industry. Research has also shown that the only alternative to this situation is through skill acquisition and self reliance programmes which is provided through theatrical entrepreneurship. However, many people who have acquired different skills over the years are still wallowing in abject penury due largely to insufficient funds to establish their businesses. Owing to this, effort is being geared towards the development of professional skills for self reliance and financial sustainability with zero capital to take off. This is where theatrical productions such as 'show biz' are the sine qua non especially in a none-responsive government oriented states. For this reason, this paper is set to demonstrate the synergy Theatre Arts has with other professional disciplines like the banking, legal, medical etc; sectors while discussing the utilitarian premises of theatre entrepreneurship as economic diversification in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century developing countries. The focus is on theatre productions as an entrepreneurial innovation in economic diversification.

### **What is Theatre?**

Attempts have been made over time to explain the word theatre in the light of vocational, entrepreneurial or industrial viability, but due to its attachment to academic discipline the attempts have failed to sail through. Theatre here does not mean that medical operation room or locale for human experiment in medicine. It is not a place or building consisting of a stage and sitting arrangement where the audience gathers for plays, musical concerts and so on. Theatre then is, according to Hansen, "A subcategory of that human play mode called art in which humans use their own voices and bodies to pretend to be what they are not, with the agreement and cooperation of one or more spectators" (294).

From this definition, one can conclude that theatre in this discourse is a 'make-believe', illusionary assemblage of entertainment/show biz programmes. In this essay art and theatre are sometimes used interchangeably because theatre is adjudged to be 'the mother' of all other arts that thrive on imitation, creativity and all manner of stage craft whose medium is either the stage, electronic e.g.; film, television, radio, etc. and print that aims to teach, entertain or both. Our concern in

this paper is on the stage and television. Ikwuemesi and Agbo give a variety of possible meanings of art. They assert that:

When art is mentioned, many tend to think of drawing, painting or sculpture produced by a specially gifted person called artist. Others associate art with beauty. Those who share this view believe aesthetics to be the major thing that determine whether an object is an art or not. Apart from beauty, people take art to connote skill – a sense of trained ability and mastery of process. Another perspective is to use the term as a criterion for the judgment of value ... (384).

Art in a nutshell therefore can be said to be a stylized, innovative, skillful and creative activity designed to achieve a desired effect. The driving force of the art is its innovative tendency which makes novelty of its products. Having stated this, we can conclude that the arts of the theatre are those innovative creative units or disciplines through which all the theatre activities are pivoted. Some of them are: - acting, playwriting, directing. Technical theatre like: lighting, set-designing; costume and make-up. Theatre administration: box office managers etc.

Many people will be made uncomfortable especially when the question of the functions of the theatre is raised. This is probably because of the notion of art-for-art's sake and for the fact that art is always associated with entertainment, they believe (against the argument of this paper) that the larger goals of the arts as shall be enumerated below lack enduring economic imperatives. On skill acquisition, Donjor opines that it is "the process and means of releasing human energy; it means providing an opportunity for people to make minimum contribution to their own development and to the self development of their countries" (13).

### **What is Theatre Production?**

Production deals with manufacturing or supplying of certain articles of trade or commodities. A farmer for instance produces crops (i.e. beans, oranges, yam, etc.). An industrialist may produce variety of technological products such as metal wares, oil, leather works, cement etc. The industrial magnate would sneer at the word 'theatre products' and the theatre practitioner himself is at a loss when it comes to giving satisfactory explanation of the word "production" as existing in theatre profession. Production implies manufacturing some finished products for target consumers. Obviously this phenomenon entails the establishment, funding and management of a theatrical 'business'. 'Business' is another forbidden word for the theatre in the real competitive commercial world. Among theatre practitioners themselves the word 'business' is simply superfluous. Another insidious allegation against theatre products is that they are not tangible and are not always motivated by economic needs. Theatre products such as drama, music, dance etc. are purely psychical, insubstantial and of no industrial consequence so to speak. The theatre is beheld with such apprehension which unfortunately is further aggravated by the false notion of its dependence on donations, subscriptions and subsidies for survival. The rationale in the theatre business management has been questioned because the theatre organization is as

ephemeral as its products (performances). So, the occupation of production in theatre profession entails turning a creative raw material into a story or otherwise in conflicting sequences, sometimes using dialogue intermingled with music, dance, mime, décor etc. prepared for presentation before a target audience at specific location, at a given period and at a given price.

Adedokun has argued that “theatre production is initiated and financed by a producer who is usually at the helm of affairs assisted by a chain of specialists such as playwright, director, actors, choreographer, managers, technicians, musicians, publicity director, house managers, business manager etc” (3). It is part of the contentions of this essay to refute the notion that all theatrical ventures depend on capital for their productions. Typical example of the little or no capital fields include but not limited to acting/dancing, one-man shows like Masters of Ceremonies (MCs), Disc Jockeys (DJs) and Comedians whose skills are always sought after in every social gathering. Theatre production requires five basic tools to function smoothly and effectively. They are:

(i) Creative raw material that is the ability to turn a story into a play, poem, music etc. or for a props man to produce stage props from any available materials. (ii) Personnel (Producers/manufacturers) like actors, playwrights, director, technicians, musicians, dancers, designers, theatre/production managers etc. (iii) Place of production (factory) like theatre, market/village square, empty/cyber space, civic centre/Town Hall etc. (iv) Consumers (Spectators) audience and optionally (v) Capital or finance is usually the root and crown of every operation. Without all the aforementioned, hardly can any theatrical production come to any profitable consequence, no matter how well motivated. The vision and dynamism of the producer and his team also play significant role in achieving good production. Here we are talking of special skills, commitment, initiative and the degree of effective communication within the ranks and files of the organization. Theatre as ‘the mother of all other arts’ is an integration of all other art forms that perform invincible functions as Devlin succinctly puts it:

The invincible functions of the theatre may be to train the performer, either in specific skills or for a specific performance; from participants of tribal rituals, to the opera singer performing in another language, teachers and trainers have been needed in theatre, sometimes established in theatre academies, sometimes simply a partner or elder instructing a child to take over a role in the community drama (195).

### **Director and Directing**

Directing has blossomed out to a full theatrical career of distinction. It is the axis of theatrical production and a director is many things rolled into one. He or she is not only the mover and commander of the production; but is also an artist, an interpreter, a manager, a technician, a person of high integrity and emotional and intellectual diversity. The director animates the silent work of the playwright. The director carries out the following duties: - He interprets the play artistically, technically and aesthetically; he makes final decisions on who should be in the play;

he is the interpreter of the play and it is his interpretation of the play that the actors and the production crew will project. The director conducts the auditions and is in charge of the production till the opening night when he hands over the artistic baton of leadership to the stage manager and stands aside.

### **Actor and Acting**

An actor is the human agent who says and does what is in a play. Hatlen informs that:

The first requisite concern is the actor's physical equipment. With the wide variety of roles in drama, actors may be almost any size and shape but; whatever their physical endowments, they must control their bodies as precisely as violinists control their fingers and instruments... the first law of stage deportment is that every movement should have a meaning and purpose (260-61).

From this, one can understand that the tool of actor (his entire body) for the practicing of his acquired skill is readily available even before the training. This is also true about the other aspects of the theatre. The first and most important thing about the theatre is to acquire the basic training. This basic knowledge comes vicariously. The actor is the most popular in the theater as his role demands that he is always seen and heard on the stage performing and his name and actions form the story making rounds among the audience. In an affirmative stand, Marowitz maintains: "acting is an art of self, the supreme of revelation of self. On stage, it is self which feeds the actor and self which is fed upon. Self, in its multifarious versions from Burbage to Oliver, has always been the great draw in the theatre"(149).

### **Stage Manager (S.M)**

It is the most important role in the blocking. Blocking is the director's organization of stage movement of the cast. The major responsibility of the S.M. is to assist the director in all aspects of his interpretative role as the director may instruct him. Other functions/duties of the stage manager include taking partial control of the production during the Dress and Technical rehearsal as he must: Know the script thoroughly early enough to be helpful to the cast members; Obtain a ground plan and mark the rehearsal era before the first rehearsal; Mark his working script with all warnings and cues for sound, light, curtains etc. as soon as such cues are set. Attend all rehearsals to know the production well and be familiar with the cast. S.M must time the show scene by scene and act. Be sure the cast knows who he/she is and understands his/her responsibility and authority. Teach the cast the need for security and safety and possibly how to apply the fire extinguishers in case of fire outbreak.

### **Light Designer**

The light designer has a major responsibility of creating the mood or locale of the production through light manipulation and gel craftsmanship. He must study the script thoroughly, discuss his concept with the director before drawing up his light design plan. It is necessary the light designer interacts well with his crew members

and maintains discipline. He must see that the lighting booth is kept orderly and clean. He must not allow non-crew members to the lighting booth, permits no food or drink in the booth at any time. He must turn on the lighting board before each performance and switch off after performance. He must check and recheck his cues, know who will give them and who must take them. He must take inventory of the available gels. It is imperative he must check with the stage manager every night if there had been a change in lighting plan. After production, he must clean and store all instruments and cables.

### **Make-up Mistress/Leader**

Check with the director on requirements as soon as audition is over. Make diagrams and charts for each cast, listing base and lining colours and all other needed materials. Check with lighting designer on gel colours for each scene. Check with the costume mistress for colour needs, possible problems affecting type of make-up. After each night, sees that make-up areas are clean, and all materials are stored in proper places. During the striking of set, cleans up the area, store materials and report to the stage manager for further duties.

### **Costumier**

He/she familiarizes oneself with the script; Makes a chart showing which characters are in which scenes; Lists all costume pieces indicating character, act and scene; Posts a work schedule for the crew, indicating work times, fitting and measuring times, dress parade, dress rehearsals and performances; Determine early, which costumes are to be made, which to be rented, and which are in stock; Allows no changes in design to occur without the designer's approval; Prepares dressing lists for each actor, listing every item of his costumes. Attends rehearsals often and note problems of movement of blocking that might affect costuming. Keeps work space efficiently organized. At dress parade, have dressing lists ready for each actor all costumes ready before the cast arrives. Checks for damage and dirt after every costume use, and makes repairs promptly. Report any difficulties with any cast member to the stage manager and to the director. At strike, assembles all costumes for washing/dry cleaning and repairs; services all sewing machines and sees that all thread, needles and all necessary accoutrements are provided. Stores costumes properly and return the rented ones to the owners.

### **Property Manager**

Responsible for gathering, constructing and maintaining all properties. Assembles and maintains rehearsal properties. Be sure all properties are strong and functional. Clears all expenditures on properties through the director or the Technical Director before incurring them. Makes sure each actor knows where to obtain and return his props. Be extremely discourteous to anyone caught handling a prop not assigned to him and reports such conduct to the stage manager or to the director. Check the condition of all properties before and after each performance. At the closure of the show, store up used properties and return those rented to the owners.

### **House Manager**

Responsible for everything occurring in the house during dress rehearsals and performance. Arranges for ushers. House manager instructs ushers on their duties. Opens the house after checking with stage manager. Responsible for orderliness of the house, foyer, cloakroom and restroom. Resolves problems with seating, checking, ticket, programme supply etc. The house Manager is the leading front of house representative of the theatre to the patrons. With the present condition under capitalism in most developing countries, private property has hampered individualism. Individualism in the arts of the theatre according to Fleming “is the rising spirit of professionalism and virtuosity” (90). Every art of the theatre discussed above is a full professional entity which if well explored and developed can create big market for the government.

Considering the helplessness of the citizenry, especially the youths in a dwindling and recessive economy; there is no doubt that the theatre; with all the above skills aimed at the development of one’s talent, is the only hope of a nation’s survival because, as individual is meaningfully employed, the nation’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) increases. In support of the indispensability of the theatre in wealth creation, Asogwa opines that “one of the effective ways to make money in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is through skill and technical know-how (9).

Additionally, the United Nations Report (1990) informs that, enhancing human factor is the real wealth of a nation. It is through human creativity, initiative, capability and commitment that the true development can be achieved” (13). Nwabueze showcasing the importance of the theatre in human/national development classifies the roles of each profession thus:

Through playwriting, the theatre artist becomes a philosopher, psychologist and creative artist; through acting, he demonstrates his penchant for creativity and role playing; through directing he a teacher an educator and through technical set- design he becomes an architect an engineer, a fine artist a draughtsman and through Theatre Administration and management, he becomes a public relations expert, a business man an accountant; through costume design he demonstrates abilities in fashion design and through make-up, he becomes a beauty expert in both physical and metaphysical dimensions (19-20).

### **Economic Relevance of the theatre to Nigeria**

The universal formula of growth and development is trial and error. The consequences may be success or failure and sometimes catastrophic that the learner succeeds with some scares or does not even survive it in the end. That is, the problem of development is trial and error factor, but the truth is that all the great achievements of the world in all spheres of life passed through the same process. The theatre is not different. The functions of the theatre include: -

1. Imagination: the capacity to join concepts in novel ways.
2. Power of perception: arts of the theatre especially those associated with directing, acting and design imbues in one, the capacity to focus on one’s activity without distraction.

3. Development of communication skills which is the bane of understanding in every sphere of life.  
The dramatic method of teaching has also been adjudged the best and it is amenable to all subjects.
4. Ability to develop logical thinking.

Hansen informs that:

Traditional Oxford debates and courtroom presentations by attorneys are based on an essentially theatrical premise: clarity, logic, and justice can be served if individuals pretend for a time that they firmly believe that an assigned point of view is the correct one. By arguing as they can in favor of ...attorneys can seek justice. In a less obvious way, participants in a theatre-based activity can develop these same skills (277).

There is not enough space to explicate this point but suffice it to note that in every theatrical activity like constructing dialogue in dramaturgy, blocking in directing, additive and subtractive colour mixing in light and so on, logic, clarity and justice come into play for balancing. In addition to the above, there are new areas springing up in the theatre industry like television and film which provide additional opportunity for individual/national development and employment. On this Brockett and Ball (2000) clarify:

It has become increasingly common for actors to move from the theatre into the television and film. Without these possibilities, many professionals would lead a difficult life. But, because these supplementary fields have their own unemployment problems, they can merely relieve some of these pressures (451).

There are other emerging areas that can offer opportunity for employment like recreation departments and companies that need trained theatre artist for publicity promotional adverts. Theatre for the handicapped is also growing afield just like the theatre for the aging.

Summarily, Nigerian can diversify and make entrepreneurship out of all these areas in the theatre. For example; Directors are employed by producers from where they can earn their living and Film actors make livelihood from acting too. Costume and Make up industries have taken over fashion and beauty markets. The advantages of beauty pageant to the host-country's economy cannot be overestimated. Scenic designers have taken architecture and interior decoration to a different constructivist dimension. In the same vein, the music industry has remained enterprising over the decades. In fact, the list of entrepreneurial opportunities provided by the theatre is endless hence the awareness is being created.

### **Conclusion**

It could be argued from the fore going that a well developed and funded Theatre Company or academy could engage the banking, legal, engineering, medical etc sectors as consultants. These sectors would in turn make tax returns to the

government. Again, a Theatre Company has the capacity to absorb tens of thousands of Nigerian youths through gainful employment and by so doing, increases the national gross domestic product (GDP).

Any country that depends on single economy will always crash if the sector witnesses any pressure, no matter how inconsequential the pressure may be. This is because that sector is already on the verge, being the sole live wire of the country, but when the economy is diversified; such country will have alternatives to depend on in times of trouble. For a developing country like Nigeria whose economy is solely hinged on oil, theatre becomes a viable area to explore in terms of economic diversification especially as some of the fields are not capital intensive to explore. Already the industry promises of solid economic base going by the pedigree of Hollywood, Nollywood and the film industries of other nations.

Brockett and Ball have noted that “To many, theatre is an avenue for acquiring a humanistic education, nevertheless, after graduation; many continue as a vocational interest in the theatre” (444). So many university courses that are lucrative today may become of little value in few decades due to new discoveries, but theatre has a promising future. For example, by the year 2040, France will stop using petrol/diesel powered vehicles. Other EU countries have indicated interest to follow suit. When this happens, what will be the lot of those in petro-chemical engineering departments and oil and gas industries? It is also worthy to note that all the branches of the theatre is needed at all times in every human sphere, therefore the role of theatre in entrepreneurship and economic diversification for a country is innumerable. It is therefore our suggestion that Nigerian government should invest in the theatre as a way forward to boosting the economy. Take for instance, <http://www.selectusa.gov> gives the breakdown of the 2017 financial income of the American Film and Entertainment Industries (Hollywood) which encompasses films, movie theatres, TV subscriptions and electronic home video production, and distribution and consumption in the following terms “box office receipt reached just over \$11 billion in 2017. (This figure includes cinema advertising earnings of \$881 million), and home video reached \$107.9 billion in 2017”. It is expected that television subscription alone will hit \$100.8 billion in 2018. With this information therefore, there is no doubt that Theatre is an area that provides immeasurable opportunity for entrepreneurial diversification.

Recently, theatre practitioners who are into costume and design have also integrated ‘tie and dye’ (the craft of making designs with dye in textiles before being formed into cloth), and every manner of soaps and detergents and perfumes in order to make the theatre remain constantly a utility enterprise in the ever changing world.

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**LANGUAGE AS A PANACEA TO TECHNOLOGICAL  
BACKWARDNESS IN THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES: A CASE  
STUDY OF NIGERIA'S STUNTED TECHNOLOGICAL GROWTH  
AND SLOW NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT**

**UchechukwuAgbo & Obinna C. Ibezim**

**Introduction**

The question of the role played by language in the attainment of technological development has commanded serious scholarly attention over the years. Several language scholars have maintained that it is the physical as well as psychological interplay between linguistic signs (signifier) and the objects (signified) that leads to the birth of ingenuity. Affirming this claim in the light of scientific and technological development, Liliana Mammino (2010) has opined that if technological inventions and innovations are expressed in terms of binary codes and symbols which undoubtedly are kinds of language, and then one may proceed to assert that the existence of technology depends largely on that of language. To this end, Noam Chomsky (2007) concludes that:

Language is the fundamental tool for the development of thought and, therefore, for any acquisition of knowledge by human beings (for the cognitive process). It is thus an essential tool for all the inquiry aspects in the sciences (identifying investigation questions, identifying relationships between pieces of information, formulating and verifying hypotheses, making inferences) and in the trains of thoughts leading from information to interpretation and ultimately to theory.

Therefore, one may infer that proficiency in the language of technology determines aptitude in the acquisition of transferred technological knowledge. Scholars of this view believe that if the language of technological education is domesticated, there may be a consequent increased contribution of scientists from Third World nations such as Nigeria to the global pool of scientific and technological discoveries and innovations.

**Definitions**

**Language**

Language has been defined to mean various things by different language scholars around the world. According to Sapir (1921), "language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbol. These symbols are in the first instance, auditory and they are produced by the so called 'organs of speech'." This definition of language by Sapir has been faulted due to its restriction to human beings who communicate their thoughts and feelings using the organs of speech alone.

In their view of language, Stork and Widowson (1974) highlight that "all languages are highly developed and sophisticated communication systems, all capable of meeting the demands of the society in which they are used, and the personal needs

of the individual of the society in terms of expressing emotions and giving and receiving information.” For one to participate effectively in a language society, therefore, such needs have a significant level of competence in the language of such community. This is because; Language is the vehicle through which people’s culture is transmitted. It is an index of identity which serves as a repository of a people’s culture, industry and exploits. It is language that differentiates the homo-sapiens from other animals. Fromklin et al (2003), therefore declare that “the possession of language, more than any other attribute, distinguishes humans from other animals. To understand our humanity, one must understand the nature of language that makes us human.”

### **Technology**

Merriam-Webster online Dictionary defines Technology as:

1a : the practical application of knowledge especially in a particular area : engineering 2 medical *technology* b : a capability given by the practical application of knowledge a car's fuel-saving *technology* 2: a manner of accomplishing a task especially using technical processes, methods, or knowledge new *technologies* for information storage 3: the specialized aspects of a particular field of endeavor educational *technology*.

Jacob Bigelow (1829) was the first to forcefully define technology, and he saw it as: “...principles, processes, and nomenclatures of the more conspicuous arts, particularly those which involve applications of science, and which may be considered useful, by promoting the benefit of society, together with the emolument (compensation) of those who pursue them”. From the foregoing, technology can be seen as the process of applying scientific knowledge to achieve tangible and resourceful results for the benefit and wellbeing of society.

### **National Development**

National development is conceived as a state of improvement in the entire social structure of a nation. In the words of Aziza (1998) “national development is a gradual and advanced improvement through progressive changes in the socio-political life of the nation”. It involves advancement in the educational, political, economic, scientific, technological and other areas of every nation. The question of whether language really aids science and technology is not such that eludes concise understanding. This is because, many scholars have commented reasonably about it. Among others, these scholars include F. Davies, T. Greene and Liliana (2010) who declare that:

The obvious inference is that science and engineering students need sufficiently sophisticated levels of language-mastering to be able to make use of all the potentialities of language in order to pursue and attain real familiarization with the main aspects of doing science and generating innovations.

Therefore, language plays important roles for national development, more so in the areas of science and technology. Drawing insight from the various scholarly enquiries made into the validity of this assertion, one may observe that:

**The conception of science and technology is based on language:** every invention in the areas of science and technology starts from the human mind. They are conceived in the form of ideas. Arendt, (1971) writes that, “Our mental activities ... are conceived in speech even before being communicated, but speech is meant to be heard and words are meant to be understood by others who also have the ability to speak, just as a creature endowed with the sense of vision is meant to see and to be seen”. Algeo (1974) holds that this relationship between language and thought has generated a great deal of speculations. Some believe that language merely expresses ideas and that thought is quite independent of the language we use to express it. Yet others hold that thought is merely a suppressed language. Scholars of the latter view affirm that when we are thinking, we are just talking under our breath. In the final analysis, the truth remains that our thoughts are structured by means of language. To this end, when a scientist conceives an idea, such formulates some hypothetical questions. In the case of Steve Jobs, the late owner of Apple Inc., such questions may include:

- i. How can an operating system be built that will be immune from virus attack?
- ii. Can this idea work?
- iii. Considering that Microsoft is already in existence, what will make iOS novel?
- iv. Will computer users want to purchase it?
- v. Will investors take interest in the development?

And so on. Now all these questions and their answers are conceived in the mind as well-formed sentences even before they are translated to the world of human reality. So the first role that language plays in the development of science and technology is that it aids the conception of the ideas which birth the two.

**Language is a means of expressing scientific and technological ideas:** That man is a thinking animal has already been established since 1758 when Carl Linnaeus called man *Homo Sapien*. A more recent formulation of this is found in Arendt (1971) who regards the human person itself as thought made flesh and writes that:

Speaking out of the experience of the thinking ego, man is quite naturally not just word but *thought made flesh*, the always mysterious, never fully elucidated incarnation of the thinking ability... neither the product of a diseased brain nor one of the easily dispelled ‘errors of the past’, but the entirely authentic semblance of the thinking activity

Despite this identification of the human person as a thinking being, one only becomes aware of it simply because of the existence of language through which the thought contents of the human person are brought to light. The implication of this is that all the mental activities that take place in the minds of humans, would have no means of expressing themselves in the absence of language. On this note, Deutscher (2007) writes that it is only language that can free our thinking from inaccessibility. Thus,

the human person's scientific and technological invention, and their learning of it, is heavily linked to language.

Indeed, the best way for one to appreciate the role of language as a means of expressing thoughts is to imagine what would happen between a doctor and his patients or between a teacher and his students. The doctor may have all the drugs in his mind which will cure the patients but without a language he would just stand in front of them and exchange stares. But with the help of language, he tells them all that is in his mind which can help to save their lives. Also in the area of pedagogy, without language, it will be impossible to transmit scientific ideas from one generation to another. This entails that the very survival of scientific and technological knowledge beyond the era of its conception depends largely on language. More so, if scientific and technological formula and processes are expressed in the form of binary codes, then language is really indispensable to the two. This is because these codes are also forms of language

**An aid to scientific and technological transfer:** The sheer imperatives of globalization emphasize the economic, political, scientific and technological interdependence of world nations for the purpose of mutual benefit, growth and development. This notion also underscores the need for scientific and technological transfer between first world nations (more developed nations of the world such as the United States of America, England, France and China) and third world nations (less developed nations such as Togo, Gabon, Ghana and Nigeria) of the world. A significant example of this exchange is that between Great Britain and Singapore in mid-1970s which helped to transform the latter from a Third World economy to First. With the current upsurge of interests among Nigerians in technological development as expressed in the assembly of cars in Nigeria by InnosonGroups, one notices a significant level of technological transfer between Nigeria and the West. However, this exchange cannot happen except through a means of language which serves as a medium between the two parties involved. A simple way to understand this will be to imagine an English speaker who purchases a Television set whose manual is written in Spanish. Although the set may be user-friendly, the individual will likely find it difficult to set it up correctly due to his inability to really grasp the language of the manual. For one to fully grasp any technological and scientific knowledge, such must possess a level of proficiency and competence on the language in which it is communicated. So, language plays the role of aiding scientific and technological transfer among nations of the world.

**Language plays the role of getting science and technology down to the people:** when birth-control pills were introduced into Nigeria, several religious factions, both within the Christian faith, Islam and African Traditional Religion considered it a man-made threat to the divine order of procreation. The same may have also been the case during the inceptive days of aeroplane. Some may have called it witchcraft. However, with the constant use of language in the education of people regarding these inventions, Nigerians have come to accept them not as evil but as aids to human existence. On this, Liliana (2010) opines that:

Education is based on mutual communication between the teacher and the learner. Any other process leading to acquisition of knowledge is based on communication between a certain source (a person, a book, other types of sources) and the person who aims at acquiring knowledge. The quality of the communication determines the quality and efficiency of the learning process and the quality, depth and completeness of the acquisition of knowledge – where by *acquisition of knowledge* is meant not as a passive ability to reproduce memorized materials, but the sort of internalization that makes the learner capable of developing independent ways of reflecting and thinking on the material concerned. Language is the fundamental tool for communication.

**Language creates a comfortable atmosphere for the development of science:** the economic and socio-political situation in every given nation helps to determine the rate at which science and technology develops. War areas such as Iraq, Iran, Syria and so on may not take full advantage of any such development. According to Martin Luther King Jnr, “people fight because they do not know each other. They do not know each other because they do not communicate”. By extension, they do not communicate because they do not speak the same language and therefore do not understand each other. So, through language, crisis can be avoided, this will consequently create a good environment for the development of science and technology.

In all, due to these vital roles played by language in the attainment of technological and scientific development, it has become very imperative to promote the study of language as a sure means of eradicating technological and scientific backwardness among nations of the world, especially those of the third world class. But, another question which has commanded serious scholarly interest is that of whether the domestication of the language of the acquisition of science and technology can help to promote its reception and mastering among the different third world nations such as Nigeria.

### **Language as a Panacea for Scientific and Technological Backwardness in Nigeria**

Nigeria is a country with a plethora of different languages. This is mainly due to the diverse number of ethnic groups within the Nigerian society. In fact, it is speculated that there are over 500 ethnic groups in the country. To this end, recent report on the individual languages in Nigeria has shown that the nation has about five hundred and twenty different languages (520). This serves to affirm the notion that Nigeria is one of the most linguistically diverse nations in the world and also stands to justify the assertion that if there really exist six thousand (6,000) languages in the world, then Nigeria contributes about ten percent (10%) to the global linguistic pool. Further research has shown that out of this number, about five hundred and ten (510) are regarded as living languages (languages with current speakers and which are still transmitted to children). Two (2) in this language pool rely in their being used as second languages for their survival possessing no native speakers while nine (9) are said to be extinct without any known living speaker. According to some Language

scholars such as Bamgbose (1993), Nigerian languages can be categorized as either minor or major. This categorization is based on four yardsticks, namely:

1. Number of speakers,
2. Status in education,
3. Acquisition as a second language,
4. Availability of written materials.

Consequently, while a majority of the Nigerian languages are seen to be minor, three are grouped as major. According to their number of speakers and their areas of geographical influence, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba are regarded as the three major languages in Nigeria today. Each of these three languages command regional dominance. The endorsement of these three languages is fully expressed in the section 55 of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

When Nigeria got her independence in 1960, it was recorded then that the Nigerian Gross Domestic Product as well as per capital Income was more than that of Singapore. However, between the periods of 1970 and 1990, Singapore developed and practised a system of reverse technology which emphasized the domestication of the language of technological transfer within their nation. This was under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew. Today, it is an incontrovertible fact that Singapore has risen from a third world nation to a first world nation. In Yew's view, if the language through which the people think is different from that of their creative expression, there may be a level of disconnect between what the mind conceives and what the hand archives. So to end this incongruity, domestication of scientific and technological language, especially for the purpose of pedagogy, had to be effected. The opposite of this has been the case in Nigeria where from the attainment of independence till present, the country has witnessed a gross decline of her domestic technological ideas and a rapid growth of importation. Nigeria even imports toothpick.

If the claim by some linguists that the human's language of thought is usually his or her mother tongue is correct, it then follows that if Nigerians can nativise their technology harnessing the various regional languages within her borders as a means of technological education, the scientific (creative) mind of the people can be developed. This can lead to the thriving of local herbal medicine like is obtained in India, Awka steel arts and even the weaponry arts among the Hausas.

Also, if language is a carrier of culture and culture is a carrier of creativity, it follows that using the indigenous language of the Nigerian people, technology can best be understood. To this end, although a policy has been in existence in the country since 1977 which upholds the use of these major languages in pre-primary, primary and post-primary levels of education, the Nigerian government could initiate a reviewed policy of multilingualism to endorse each of the three regional languages as the Nigerian languages of technological acquisition even at the levels of tertiary education. This will not only serve to salvage these languages from going into extinction but will also serve as a panacea to the technological backwardness of the nation.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, if the existence of this policy has helped countries such as China and Russia to maintain a privy place today in the global map of scientific and technological development, the same may also be the case of Nigeria if it is appropriately made and implemented. The three major languages in Nigeria have names or words for some raw materials of scientific and technological researches. Where corresponding names are absent, linguists can be charged with the task of creating new words that can carry the semantic representation of new ideas. For instance, the very word “Technology” in some quarters has been domesticated as “Teke-nuzu” in Igbo language. “Teke” is simply a derivative of “Tech” as in “Technology”, while “uzu” the root of the word “nuzu” simply means “craft”.

A concerted research into the language of science and technology by linguists of the three major languages of the country will surely yield ample results in the domestication of the required language of technology and industrialization. There is no gainsaying that this will propel the growth of science and technology to greater heights in Nigeria. Suffice it to say finally that the government of the day ought not to spare any expense in providing research grants for such noble ventures

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## **CULTURAL PLURALITY, NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND THE SECURITY DILEMMA IN NIGERIA**

**O B. Emerole, Finian O. Ukah, Ifeyinwa V. Maduagwuna  
& Pamela A. Kanu**

### **Introduction**

In recent years, the issue of diversity and unity in federal states has increasingly cultivated the attention of scholars and practitioners across wide range of fields. This growing interest stems from three developments: the recognition that the state is no longer the domain of a homogenous, sovereign nation, but is marked by diversity and political complexity; the pervasiveness of federalism even in this twenty-first century, encompassing more than half of the world's space and almost half of its population and the grim reality of the persistence of ethnic, religious and secessionist conflicts around the world today (Brancati, 2009). Consequently, the management of national pluralism is considered to be a critical challenge of state building in heterogeneous societies. The implication is that the maintenance of internal peace is to a large extent determined by how well the state is able to accommodate its territorially concentrated diversities – including ethnic, linguistic, religious and economic pluralism.

Major world economic centres, owing to their commercial importance, are often home to peoples of diverse cultures. Ironically however, African states, considered not too economically viable and regarded from a distance as more culturally homogenous, have the biggest share of cultural mix. The architect of this cultural diversity is the colonial enterprise resulting in mergers and in some cases creation of multiple, culturally incongruent and artificial boundaries. Nigeria has the highest mix of peoples and nations in Africa. The estimated 140 million (NPC, 2006) peoples are divided into over 250 ethnic clusters small and large. The major Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba ethnic groups find themselves contending for relevance, power and supremacy, while the multiple minor ethnic groups perpetually agitate for identity, recognition, power sharing and resource control. Thus, one hundred years after amalgamation, the polity comprising many peoples and cultures remains in a seemingly unworkable union, the “nation” is absent and remains experimental, while national integration is farfetched. Federalism has gained popularity as a structural and institutional political innovation for addressing this need. It is widely hailed as having the ability to foster unity in diversity and, by the same token, to promote peaceful coexistence among the various sub-national social formations in a state. The renowned American scholar of federalism Daniel Elazar even concluded that federalism is the only safeguard for peace and stability in a fast changing world (Hueglin & Fenna, 2010).

Many multinational states have embraced various models of federalism as a national unity enhancer and as an intrastate conflict mitigating mechanism (Brancati, 2009). Nigeria is among the countries that operate a federal system. In Nigeria,

federalism was adopted as a mechanism for holding the country together to ensure that the various ethnic nationalities, religious groups and geographical regions transfer their loyalties to the state (Ayoade,2002) posited that: “Nigerians embraced federalism as a way for fashioning out ‘unity in diversity’ and managing the inevitable conflicts that result from the interaction of previously autonomous entities that were brought together into one state by the colonial order” (Adibe, 2012). Within the country there is a growing sense of apprehension and palpable fear about the future of the country among the population because of the upsurge of ethno-religious and sectarian violence. The Islamist group, Boko Haram has been waging a deadly insurgency in northern Nigeria. Boko Haram is an expression in Hausa which means Western education is an abomination. The group’s real name is Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati Wal-Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad). Boko Haram has been seeking to impose strict Shari’a and to create an Islamic state in northern Nigeria. The spiraling violence caused by the insurgency, since 2009, have led to loss of thousands of lives (Human Rights Watch, 2012; Human Rights Watch, 2013), large internal displacement of people (International Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2013) and outflow of refugees into neighbouring countries (UNHCR, 2013). Boko Haram has taken control of large swathes of territory, which it declared as a caliphate, and fighting to capture more towns and villages. As a consequence of these crises, a public debate, which has always been part of the political discourse, bordering, on the propriety or otherwise of the country’s federal system and its existence in the present form and shape with its current constituent units was escalated. It has become common to read and hear, in both social and mainstream media as well as in academic discourses, Nigerians revisiting the question of the amalgamation of the country by the British in 1914, and referring to the Nigerian state as a forced marriage between incompatible partners.

### **Clarification of Multiculturalism, Cultural Plurality and National Integration**

Multiculturalism in an attitudinal perspective, describing it as a “system of beliefs and behaviours that recognizes and respects the presence of all diverse groups in an organization or society, acknowledges and values their socio cultural differences, and encourages and enables their continued contribution within an inclusive cultural context which empowers all within the organization or society (Rosado ,1997) . This ideal perception of multiculturalism describes a group and community that have, surmounted racial, discriminatory, ostracizing or marginalizing tendencies. This concept suggests that cultural plurality and multiculturalism is a situation that has transcended petty ethnic, religious, class and ideological differences and conflict. It suggests a society that has risen above mundane primordial considerations and that operates in an atmosphere of social inclusion. Scholars have argued that multiculturalism queries the concept of national identity, in that, it appreciates and recognizes, without ignoring or turning blind side to the presence of variety of cultural groups coexisting in a particular society. Rather than conjuring a common identity for a widely dispersed groups (Heywood, 2007; Udebunu, 2011), multiculturalism describes the coexistence of numerous cultures, without anyone

dominating the others (Wong, 2006; cited in Udebunu, 2011). More explicitly it is seen as appreciating, tolerating and promoting multiple cultures and identities situated within the confines of a community. Thus, Udebunu (2011) submits that multiculturalism refers to a plurality of cultures. Cultural diversity should be celebrated (cited in Richeson and Nussbaum, 2003). Multiculturalists argue that in issues of governance, rights of divergent groups are to be respected and cultural identities of ethnic minority groups are to be respected (Taylor, 1992; Kymlycka, 1995). Therefore multiculturalism rides tandem with the principle of equality. A nation, in this context, according to the World Book Dictionary, may be referred to as “a community of people who share a common language, culture, ethnicity, descent, or history”. But there is a more complex nation-state where multinationals are linked under a single political and economic organisation (Ekanola, 2006). Integration on the other hand must be situated in this discourse as a careful and thorough understanding of the fundamentals of the past, conceiving practical steps of what happens after, a disposition to be cohesive, subjected to a mutually agreed programme (Ojo, 2009). It is a process of inter-locking linkages where every hitherto dividing boundary is deliberately dismantled to allow for a more frequent contact, cooperation, consensus and community. Also, Leonard Binder describes integration as involving a high degree of comprehensiveness (Ojo, 2009). Cultural plurality or pluralism on the other hand, is not devoid of these unique features that underlie mutuality and equality. While it is the same as multiculturalism in the sense that it refers to the co-existence of diverse socio-cultural groups in a political entity, it does not represent a community of equal and friendly groups, or an egalitarian society. It is a term used when ethnic groups within a larger society maintain their distinct cultural identities, and their values and practices are only accepted by the wider culture provided they are consistent with the laws and values of the wider society (Science Encyclopaedia, 2007).

The Nigerian socio-political structure was forcefully assembled by the technological and economically superior British colonial government in 1914, when the Northern and the Southern protectorates were merged (Ekanola, 2006). This singular act brought together numerous linguistic, ethnic and cultural groups, as well as autonomous communities, sovereign kingdoms and caliphates, which hitherto had attained different levels of economic and political development. These entities with different, many unrelated, cultural, traditional and historical backgrounds were conjoined to form a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-national society. This arrangement was purposed to satisfy imperialistic desires, which primarily, was for colonial administrative convenience as the Nigeria structure did not, in any way, depict nor was meant to lay the foundation for integration; but a mere „production plant“ to meet the needs of the metropolitan economy, a fact complemented by Shively (2003) who argues that “Nigeria was not constructed for cohesion but for the administrative convenience of the British”.

Throughout the fifteen years of military rule in Nigeria that followed the end of the war, there were deliberate attempts to forcefully sustain the togetherness of the diverse ethnic groups by creating a system of government that would harmonize the

divergent culture in the country. These included the abolition of regional police; cancellation of state or regional coats of arms and mottos; takeover of regional and state television stations, newspapers; deployment of soldiers as governors or administrators in states other than their own with cultures different from theirs; takeover of Christian and regional schools; establishment of National Youth Service Corps scheme to promote cultural integration of the country's youths who were the leaders of the future; and the introduction of the Federal Character principle to allow for equitable representation in federal institutions and distribution of resources. All of these were measures aimed at conjuring a common national identity to replace the conflict of culture in the polity (Ojo, 2009; Udebunu, 2011). Despite the attempts by the armed forces in power to maintain the relative peace of the country, military intervention did not recognize nor appreciate the cultural differences of the colonial arrangement. The military however erred in some fundamental respects and contradicted its own national ideology objective by turning blind eye to Nigeria's cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, and pursuit of policies that directly touched the sensibilities of the culturally conscious peoples. This included the attempt to enrol Nigeria in the Organisation of Islamic Conference in the mid-1980s (Udebunu, 2011). Such acts further undermined the objective of national integration, which is meant to be, like Nkom (2008) posits, a true understanding, respect and appreciation of the differences of the entities being integrated.

### **Nation-State and National Unity: Myths and Realities**

The foregoing discussion has focused on the development of the state political system and the emergence of the modern state. A look at the nation-building project and its spread from the West to the entire world may help us to understand better the challenge of diversity and conflict to the modern state, and to also appreciate why federalism came to be increasingly viewed and embraced as a viable alternative to the nation-state. The Norwegian political scientist and sociologist Stein Rokkan (1921-1979) identified two processes associated with this development; they are state building and nation building. State building is mainly concerned with the creation of state institutions, bureaucracy and a system of government, while nation building involves "welding the population of the state into a single 'people' with a shared sense of belonging that often comes from a common language, religion, education, historical heritage and culture" (Newton & Deth, 2010). The fusion of state building and nation building represented one of the political escapades of the modern history. State building has to do with the creation of what is artificial. He argued that the state is not associated with the idea of nature or of being born, but it is simply created. Linz further argued that the creation of the state went on for centuries before the idea of the nation caught the imagination of intellectuals and the rest of the people. For example, Rokkan noted that the crucial phase of state-building was from around the eleventh to the eighteenth century (Rokkan, 1999). It is noteworthy to mention that there is no precise origin of nation building; although there is a suggestion that it emerged from the second half of the nineteenth century. Even though it has been noted that proto-national sentiments in form of a strong

identification with a state or loyalty to the monarchies by subjects was witnessed even by early sixteenth century in Europe (Greenfeld, 1992 & 2003), the idea of nation building, which began in Europe and spread to many parts of the world, only became entrenched in the last two centuries (Linz, 1993; Greenfeld, 2003). Rokkan's assertion that the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars planted a time bomb in form of the idea of the nation-state and popular sovereignty supports this historical account (Rokkan, 1999).

The phenomenon of nation-building has impacted on the political development of African states in significant ways. This is why it deserves to be given attention in a study focused on the Nigerian state. For instance, Linz noted: 40 "African states were created on the basis of colonial boundaries and the complexity of building nations on the homogeneous ethnic, linguistic and tribal basis has led African politicians to agree to defend the inviolability of state boundaries" . Ironically, African leaders chose to turn their backs on the diversities of political organisations that characterised pre-colonial Africa (Herbst, 2000). In *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State*, Basil Davidson captured this quite vividly: Broadly, the educated elites in West Africa – for a long time, it would be much the same in South Africa – saw Africa's own history as irrelevant and useless. When it came down to brass tacks, to the question of who should take over from the British when the British withdrew, they demanded a more or less complete flattening of the ethnic landscape. (Davidson, 1992). The leaning of African elites towards nation-statism, as Davidson described above, was problematic. As Laitin (2007) argued, majority of the post-colonial states in Africa, like Nigeria, have arbitrary boundaries, which do not reflect national cultures, and, hence, are suspect as nation-states. Antonsich (2010) described the claim of spatial congruence between the state and nation by national political elites as fictitious and also as a powerful hegemonic discourse employed as a means to legitimise the coexistence of the state and nation.

In what follows, an attempt is made at examining how the concept of nation-state has been deconstructed in the literature before returning to its implications for African states like Nigeria. The premise that the boundaries of the nation and the state should become commensurate (Laitin, 2007), has informed the conception of: "A state based on the acceptance of a common culture, a common history and a common fate, irrespective of whatever political, social and economic differences may exist between the members of the 41 nation-state" (Newton & Deth, 2010). Thus, the thesis of commensurability of the state and nation has been described as a myth, so also has the conception of the nation-state come under barrage of attacks. For instance, David D. Laitin referred to one of the myths of the nation-state as the belief that "states are natural, in the sense of correctly encompassing well-defined nations within the boundaries of a recognized state" (Laitin, 2007). Laitin asserted that: "The classical nation-state, one where a nation and state are commensurate, in which the national will is embodied in a state of its name, is today largely a nostalgic myth". In his famous exegesis on nationalism, *Imagined Community*, Benedict Anderson portrayed the nation-state as a myth. He described nation as a "historical fatality" and an

“imagined political community – and imagined both inherently limited and sovereign” (Anderson, 2006). Anderson considered the idea of the nation, which is moving progressively down and up history, as specifically analogous to the notion “of a sociological organism moving calendrically through homogenous, empty time” (Anderson, 2006).

Despite privileging the newspapers in Europe as the basis of his analysis, Anderson’s “framework of bound in relationship to unbound seriality allows him to discuss the complicated forces acting upon the construction of national identity in postcolonial contexts” (Birth, 2013). Anderson’s argument, therefore, insisted that processes of nation building, which emerged in Europe and spread throughout the world by 42 colonialism, have become “constitutive of collective identities in the process of decolonization and in the formation of identities after independence was achieved”. Thus, the idea of the nation-state became so powerful that it impacted on the political trajectories of states in many parts of the world. For example, as Latin (2007) explained, the nation-state project was grounded in a strong vision shared by its protagonists: In the mid-nineteenth century the German romantics saw the reconciliation of the state and nation as the fulfillment of a natural historical process. After World War I, the US President Woodrow Wilson saw the equation of the state and nation as the key to democracy and peace. And after the Russian civil war of 1917-23, the Communist victors saw recognition of national republics as a necessary step on the route to communism. In the waning moments of World War II, the national project was central to anticolonial mobilization in South Asia and subsequently Africa. (Laitin, 2007, p. 81) Beyond being a myth, the nation has implications both as a concept and in practice. As a concept, the nation is a fluid and malleable, quite distinct from the notion of the state (Smith A. D., 2003; White, 2007).

White argued that: Using the term nation as a synonym for such words as country and state rather as a human group identity, and country and state as a politically organised territory shows that human identity is closely tied to place and territory. Indeed, the term nation-state reflects the intimate bonds of people and place. Noting the difficulty associated with defining the nation, Adam D. Smith posited that the attempt to define a nation has to involve the construction of an ideal-type based on the visions of the nationalists and the processes involved in forming the kind of human association that are referred to as nation, such as myth-making, memory selection, 43 territorialisation, cultural unification, to name a few (Smith, 2003). Taking these into account, Smith argued that the nation “is neither ‘natural’, nor ‘essential’; indeed, it does not constitute a once-for-all goal, or fixed target, but a series of processes towards a goal that ever eludes its pursuers” (Smith, 2003). Hence, Smith referred to a nation as “a named human population occupying a historic territory and sharing common myths and memories, a public culture, and common laws and customs for all members. This definition brings out the difficulty that a state like Nigeria is bound to encounter when it adopts the nation-state project. National identity is inherently conceived, according to this definition, as a solvent that

dissolves diversity. Just like the term nation, national identity is also a contested, if not elusive, concept (Smith, 2003; Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 2009).

Smith again described “national identity” as the “maintenance and continual reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths, and traditions that form the distinctive heritage of the nation and the identification of the individuals with that heritage and its patterns. It is important to note that self-definition matters here because nations define themselves in varying ways (White, 2007). Symmons Symonolewicz made the attempt to come up with a blended definition that knits the nation, national identity and national unity together. Symmons-Symonolewicz’s definition brought out the quest of nations to have sovereignty over a territory and to pursue self-government: A territorially-based community of human beings sharing a distinct variant of modern culture, bound together by a strong sentiment of unity and solidarity, marked by a clear historically-rooted consciousness of national identity, and possessing, or striving to possess, a genuine political self government. (Symmons-Symonolewicz, 1985). His definition is a reminder that the modern nation is not just a myth; it is real in the challenge that it poses to the state. As nations aspire to assert themselves and seek to control a territory in order to craft their own laws to protect their culture, conflict is bound to creep in (White, 2007). This challenge has become the bane of the nation-state, which has historically been construed as a sovereign state inhabited by a group of people who viewed themselves as one (Connor, 1972; Ma, 1992; Murphy, 1996).

“The prime cause of political disunity is the absence of a single psychological focus shared by all segments of the population” (Connor, 1972). “As a consequence of the opportunistic and arbitrary way in which colonial powers assembled their possessions, most of these states brought together disparate cultures and communities” (Hueglin & Fenna, 2010, p. 55). Thus, as Connor (1972) pointed out, in such states primordial loyalties tend to be stronger than loyalty to the state, and even political parties are mere means of masking primordial rivalries. A number of African countries, including Nigeria, had experienced civil war as a result of this phenomenon. Antonsich (2010) described the manifestations of the crisis of the nation-state as the “crisis of the hyphen.” The “crisis of the hyphen”, that is, “the increasingly problematic convergence between nation and state” is a worldwide phenomenon. For example, Gana (2003), drawing from Deutschian tradition – based on the notion of stages of nation-building popularised by Karl Deutsch and some historically oriented 45 political scientists in the mid twentieth century – posited that the Nigerian state appears to have failed to realise K. C. Wheare’s (1970) dream that the federal formula will propel a state to attain the stage of integration – “a stage at which regional, religious and ethnic walls collapse and a pan-Nigerian identity is on the verge of consolidation” (Gana, 2003). The persistence of conflict along regional, religious and ethnic lines in Nigeria has not only cast shadow on the country’s federalism, but remains a stark reminder of the unrelenting and vexatious National Question, which squarely and continuously puts the very formation of the Nigerian state in the crucible of political discourse.

About a decade ago, a Nigerian writer, Jibrin Ibrahim described this as an African crisis and wrote this prognosis: The crisis of the state, nation, community and contesting cultures is particularly profound in contemporary Africa and the continent must confront the necessity of redesigning and saving its political future or face the risk of systemic collapse. For a very long period, African ruling classes have been propagating the virtues of national unity and the necessity of developing the nation-state. The reality of the continent, however, is that commitment to and identity (sic) with the state has always been very low. Indeed, the post-colonial state is currently undergoing an existential crisis. The African continent has been subjected to such terrible forces of repression, of exclusion of ethnic and religious groups, of destruction of her human and natural resources, that anarchy, ethnic cleansing, warlordism and the decomposition of political communities have become integral part of the political agenda for many countries. That is the path of despair and hopelessness that must be averted. The way forward is the struggle for renewal in which democracy is a critical instrument that could lead to the reconstruction of politics and the state, culture, economic organisation and production. At the heart of that search for democratic renewal, in the context of rising identity conflicts, is the question of federalism. (Ibrahim, 2003). This vivid depiction of the political reality of Africa, and Nigeria in particular, clearly shows the failure of the nation-state project on the continent. 46 Anthony D. Smith pointed out that “two of the nation’s most important cultural resources and traditions are constituted by ‘ethnicity’ and ‘religion’” (Smith, 2003, p. 25), which are intertwined. For instance, Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd posited that religion and ethnicity intersect, and each can act as a powerful basis for identity, group formation and communal conflict. (Ruane & Todd, 2010)

In another work, Ruane and Todd (2010b) highlighted the importance of ethnicity and religion in statebuilding and nation-building. Ruane and Todd pointed out the ubiquitousness of ethnicity and religion in today’s conflicts. The fusion of ethnicity and religion, and their role in the formation of national identity make them important resources for group mobilisation, contestation and conflict, especially in multinational state like Nigeria (Bruce, 2003; Ruane & Todd, 2010). The bifurcation of the concept of nation into a cultural-ethnic ensemble and a civic vocabulary has been adopted as an innovative way of overcoming the crisis that has befallen the nation-state (Antonsich, 2009). In their quest to create “national unity,” Western politicians have embraced a concept of nation that is “based on a legal-political community, common culture and a civic ideology” (Vujakovic, 2005). The Western model emphasises common values (such as passion for liberty, sense of duty, commitment to tolerance and fair play), shared interests and upholding the place of vital common institutions. On the other hand, the non-Western model defines the nation in cultural-ethnic terms: “the nation as a community of common descent, a ‘super-family’ or a ‘folk.

### **Cultural Diversity and New Challenge of National Security**

Ironically, the plural nature of Nigeria remains the way it was at amalgamation in 1914. The fundamental differences remain constant, but the only difference is fifteen years of uninterrupted democracy (1999-2014). More ironically is the fact that the same political and military bourgeoisie (the Centre in the Periphery or Compradors, as Marxist scholars would describe political surrogates and arrowheads of the ex-metropoles 87 Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs (CUJPIA) Vol. 2, No. 1, June, 2014. or colonialists) are still in power and design the democratic system, the difference being in the seeming integration into existing political parties of persons across ethnic and sectional lines (Ifeanacho and Nwagwu, 2009). It is however important to note that when the issue of cultural plurality is not well managed, it will continue to threaten the peaceful co-existence of the „nation-state“, a term that best describes Nigeria. This untreated or ill-managed issue of national integration has been most instrumental in the challenges of nationhood and the togetherness of these multiple and diverse nations in the polity. Since amalgamation, the contention of ethnic or sectional domination has dichotomized the country, and one hundred years after, debates over the authoritative allocation of values (a la Easton) still remain on the front burner. Several concepts as zoning, rotational presidency and tenure elongation have been introduced by politicians to suit group/class and selfish desires. Ogbu (2001) defines the zoning system as “an equitable sharing of the key political posts, taking the state of origin of the beneficiaries into consideration”. The implication of „consideration of state of origin” will be grievous as it will be an arduous task reaching out, equitably, to the 36 states of the federation and gratifying the over 250 ethnic groups in the states and Abuja. The principle has no doubt created more tension and ethnic conflict because it places at a vantage point and ensures the domination of the numerically superior and stronger ethnic groups (Okwenna, 2011). In addition to the problem of ethnicity and tribalism, political class interest has further exacerbated the challenges of national integration (Omodia, 2010). Omodia further argues that prior to elections, the party politics cajole the masses by artificially integrating them into the process of recruitment of political leaders, using tools such as ethnicity; but that shortly after election, the masses are excluded and maligned in policies and dividends of democracy (Omodia, 2010). Again because the democratic process as it is today was manufactured by the military, a military fashion of hierarchical flow of command, power and opportunities is noticeable. The short-changing of the masses by ethnicity inclined politicians, coupled with the heating up of the polity by politics of ethnic selection and ethnic exclusion, have exacerbated the security challenges in the country, particularly from 2009 to 2014. The unaddressed issues of plurality have continued to give impetus to a growing political consciousness and ethno-religious identity that always culminate in communal and societal conflicts. The fragile peace in Nigeria most often falls apart, resulting in horrible violence. This includes, among other incidences, claim over land and scarce resources (Berom-Fulani crisis, Ijaw-Itsekiri crisis), power and chieftaincy (IfeModakeke crisis), Osu catse system (Umuleri-Aguleri crisis), settlers and indigenes (Jos crisis), Christian and Moslem

(violence in Kano and Kaduna) and more recently, the Boko Haram menace (Adagba, Ugwu and Eme, 2012). Insecurity has reached a record high in Nigeria due to the activities of the Boko Haram terror group, whose mission to Islamize Nigeria has led to over 115 major attacks inside the sovereign state since 2011 (HRW, 2014). The spate of bombings, killings and destructions by the group remains the most potent threat to the Nigerian integration project. The height of insecurity was the shaking of the foundations of the corporate existence of the country by the group's seizure of territories, sacking of military platoons, dislodgment of entire towns and villages, hoisting of a different sovereign flag and declaration of an independent „Caliphate Republic“ in Northeastern Nigeria (Ukong, 2014). The acts of Boko Haram coupled with the agitations of the Niger Delta militants before and currently, have reawakened the Igbo of Eastern Nigeria who are beginning to again clamour for secession from the Nigerian State and re-declaration of a sovereign state of Biafra. The free descent to anarchy was however quickly interjected by acceding to age-long call for a national conference, with the government setting up a committee and later inaugurating the National Conference, which sat and deliberated on wide-range of issues of national social and security concerns, including national coexistence, true federalism, proper funding of the military among other interests.

#### **Paradox of Federalism: Diversity and Blending Unity**

In his article, “From Statism to Federalism: A Paradigm Shift” (1996), Daniel Elazar noted that the nation-state was undergoing a significant transformation, which he characterized as a paradigm shift. The old paradigm, according to Elazar, was portrayed in the manner that, “states strove for self-sufficiency, homogeneity, and with a few exceptions, concentration of authority and power in a single centre (Elazar, 1996). Conversely, “under the new paradigm all states have to recognise as well their interdependence, heterogeneity, and the fact that their centres, if they ever existed, are no longer single centres but parts of a multi centred network that is increasingly non centralised”. Elazar acknowledged that the paradigm shift does not eliminate completely the challenge that comes from ethnic conflicts.

He accepted the inevitability thesis of social conflict by arguing that the potential for ethnic groups to have conflict with the state and with each other always exists. Elazar observed that ethnic conflicts have received increasing attention as a result of the horrendous consequences that they have produced at the time. For example, the genocide in the former Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, which claimed an estimated two hundred thousand lives, and Rwandese genocide in 1994 in which nearly a million died, were examples of how ethnic nationalism reared its ugly head in recent history (Brancati, 2009; Prunier, 2009; Stein, 2012). Elazar contended that the resurgence of ethnic strife, in defiance of the hope that modernisation will usher in an era in which primordial attachments will be abandoned, gave rise to a widely shared belief in federalism as antidote to ethnic conflicts.

## **Conclusion**

The nexus between cultural diversity and multiculturalism, national integration and security as each has played out in Nigeria's political experience. It has to be noted that the security of human life the world over, is aided by an understanding and acknowledging that we live in a multicultural world, and appreciating diversities will create a peaceful environment, with care and attention given to the process of integrating the differences.

It is pertinent to note that the activities that permeated the Nigerian State from independence, such activities by the colonial elite, ethnic nationalists, military bourgeoisie, and political class have been the long dug foundation and recipes for the advent of ethnic conflict, religious extremism and the eventual rise of Boko Haram. The Nigerian experience contradicts the concept of multiculturalism and poses a deep challenge to the country's national security, for, human security is actually most predicated upon mutual respect, peaceful co-existence and equality of social groups.

## **Recommendations**

The followings recommendations are put in place based on the implication of the study.

1. First, Nigerian policy makers need to pay greater attention to the normative dimension of federalism. As the findings of this study show, a well crafted legal document, which establishes a federal system and espouses values and principles of federalism, needs to resonate with the Nigerian people and be matched with a corresponding federal political culture.

2. Nigeria is a colonial creation and Nigerian federalism emerged as a necessity for holding the disparate regions and peoples together. As this study notes, colonialism is often blamed for the problems that emerged in contemporary Nigeria. This is not out of place, but it has to be stated that British colonialism also brought many good things that if Nigerians had used very well the story would have been different today.

3. The relationship between religion and the state needs to be re-examined. Increasingly, as the study's findings have shown, the two main religions, Christianity and Islam, are competing with each other in trying to increase their influence on the state. This development seems to be taking the shape of religious nationalism. As the study found, the two major religions appeared to be acting as the federating units and the voices of the states are becoming increasingly relegated.

4. Nigerian religious communities, including Christians, Muslims and adherents of traditional religions and nonreligious, should come together and develop a Nigerian Charter of Religious Rights and Freedoms by learning from the South African Charter of Religious Rights and Freedoms

5. The federal and state governments should leverage the commitment of civil society organizations, individuals and development partners in peace building. There is a need for real investment in peace-generating efforts, processes and systemic supports. The few Nigerians that are involved in peace building and in promoting

inter-religious understanding should not give up, but strive to move beyond carrying out one-off events and media attracting activities to deep and sustained engagement.

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**MMETUTA FỌNỊM OLU IGBO WAAWA NA MKPỌPỤTA OKWU  
IGBO IZUGBE N’OGO SINIỌ SEKỌNDIRI DỊ NA STEETI EBONYI  
NA ENUGWU**

**Uchenna Fabian Ude & Uju Clara Umo**

**Ntọala Nchọcha**

Asụsụ bụ otu n’ime njirimara agburu ọbụla nke mmadu na ibe ya ji enwe mmekọrịta n’udi mkparịta uka iji mee ka mbunuche ha puta ihe. O bu site n’asusu ka mmadu si aghota ma na-amatakwa ihe onye ozo bu n’uche. Asusu bu ihe nribaama nke mmadu ji eziputa ihe o bu n’obi mgbe ya na ndi ozo biakotara onu. O bu asusu ka mmadu na ibe ya ji ekwukorita okwu nke mere na e wepu asusu, o ga-ahia ahụ imata ihe mmadu bu n’uche. Asusu bu otu ihe mere ka mmadu karia anu ndi ozo di n’uwa elu. Farinde (2005), kwadoro na asusu bu nnukwu ihe bara oke uru mmadu jiri di elu karia anu ndi ozo di iche iche. Agburu ọbụla nwere asusu ha na-asu be ha. Ndi Igbo dika agburu, nwere asusu nke ha na-asu bu asusu Igbo. Asusu Igbo so n’otu n’ime asusu a na-asu na Naijiria nke a na-asu na mpaghara owuwa anyanwu ala Naijiria.

Ozo kwa, asusu Igbo so n’asusu ato (Awusa, Igbo na Yoruba) govument etiti ala Naijiria weputara ka a na-akuzi ma na-elekwa n’ule siniọ sekondiri. O bu n’ihi oke uru omumu asusu bara mere govument etiti Naijiria jiri kowaputa nke oma n’akwukwo Federal Republic of Nigeria (2008) na govument nabatara ma hu uru asusu bara dika nke e ji akwalite ezi mmekorita di n’etiti mmadu na ibe ya, nkwegidesike nke ala Naijiria nakwa nchekwaba omenaala di iche iche. Ya mere nwata obula ga-eji muo asusu di na gburugburu ya. N’iga n’ihu, maka o di mma, idiko n’otu ala Naijiria, nwata obula ga-amuriri otu n’ime asusu odinaala Naijiria: Awusa Igbo na Yoruba (FRN 2008). Nke a gosiri na nkuzi na omumu asusu ndi ahụ a kporo aha ebe a di nnukwu mkpa n’uloakwukwo Naijiria di iche iche; ma nke prajimari, sekondiri nakwaazi ndi di elu. Omumu asusu na-amalite site n’ikpoputa uda di iche iche e ji asu asusu ahụ etu o kwesiri. Umakwukwo na-amalite imu asusu obula site n’ikpoputa mkpuru ederede na mkpuru udaasusu ahụ di na gburugburu ha. O bu mgbe nwata obula kpoputara uda asusu o na-amu maka ya etu o kwesiri ka a gasi na o mutala isu asusu ahụ nke oma. N’iji kwado nke a, Ayodele, Oyeleye, Yakubu na Ajayi (1990) kwuru na ebe o bu na asusu bara oke uru, o di mkpa isu ya etu o kwesiri n’enweghi ntupo. Ha gara n’ihu rutu aka na o buru na mmadu a kpoکو okwu etu o dabaghi, na o na-ebute nsesa mputara na nghota okwu ahụ nwere nke ga-eme ka ndi mmadu ghara ighota ihe onye ahụ kwuru. Ya bu, o kwesiri na mmadu ga-akpoputa okwu etu o kwesiri ka onye ozo na-ege nti ghota ihe o kwuru. O bu nke a mere na onye na-amu asusu Igbo ga-agba mbo jiri Igbo Izugbe wee na-akpoputa maobu na-asu asusu Igbo o kachasi n’uloakwukwo.

Asusu Igbo bu asusu odinaala e jiri mara ndi Igbo nke a na-asu na ndida owuwa anyanwu Naijiria. Ala Igbo ebe a na-asukari asusu Igbo dika ndi nwe asusu a bu na steeti ise gunyere: Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu na Imo. N’ime asusu ato

(Awusa, Igbo na Yoruba) governmenti nabatara ka a na-akuzi n' uloakwukwo di na Naijiria, asusu Igbo so na ya. Asusu Igbo bu nke udaolu. N'omumu asusu Igbo n'uloakwukwo, o bu Igbo Izugbe ka a na-akuziri umuakwukwo. Igbo Izugbe bu Igbo a nabatara nke e si n'olundi di iche iche mejuputa e ji asu ma na-edekwaazi asusu Igbo nke abughi olundi mba obula. Oraka (1983), kowara na Igbo Izugbe bu asusu ahụ e sitere n'olundi di iche iche di n'Igbo wee weputa nke a turu anya na onye Igbo obula ga na-aghota. Oraka gara n'ihu kowaa na ihe gbasara asusu Igbo Izugbe abughi naani isite n'olundi di iche iche e nwere n'Igbo weta okwu ndi ga-enye aka iji mee ka Igbo Izugbe too kama, o metutara ibite okwu ufodu sitere n'asusu di iche iche ndi e nweghi ihe a ga-akpo ha n'Igbo. Site n'uzo a, Igbo Izugbe bu nke e hibere ka onye Igbo obula na-asu nke ga-eme ka ndi ozo bu ndi Igbo ghota ihe o na-ekwu. Emenanjo, Okolie, Ekwe, Maduako (1985) kowara na Igbo Izugbe bu olu nke o dighi mba nwe ya. Ha gosiputara na otu ihe mere olundi ji di oke mkpa bu na, a na-esi na ya enweta otutu mkpuruokwu ga-abu myiwere maobu ga-akowa echiche ndi adighi n'Igbo Izugbe. Nke a dabara n'ihe Oraka (1983) kwurula n'elu ebe a maka isi n'olundi di iche iche wee weta okwu ufodu mejutara Igbo Izugbe iji mee ka o too ma burukwa asusu zuru oke.

N'aka nke ozo olundi bu asusu ndi obula na-asu na be ha nke ezughi Igbo niile onu. Ikekeonu, Ezikeojiaku, Uban na Ugoji (1999) kowara na etu mba di iche iche di n'ala Igbo si asu Igbo bu olundi ha. Nke a putara na etu onye Onicha si asu Igbo di iche n'etu onye Nsuka, Udi maobu Abakiliki si asu Igbo. Ikekeonu (1986) kewara olundi di iche iche e nwere n'asusu Igbo uzo ise gbara okpurukpu site n'ileba anya n'usoro onodu akpomakpo na utosusu olundi ndi ahụ. Ogbe ise ndi ahụ gunyere: Igbo ndi Naija, Igbo ndi Imeobodo odida Anyanwu, Igbo ndi imeobodo owuwa Anyanwu, Igbo ndi Waawa/ndi Mgbagougwu na Igbo ndi Mba mmiri. N'ime ogbe ise ndi ahụ e deputara n'elu ebe a onye nchocha lebara anya n'olu Igbo waawa. Igbo Waawa bu ndi Igbo bi na mpaghara mgbagougwu ala Igbo ndi na-asu 'Waawa' iji ziputa 'mba' maobu na ha ekwetaghị n'ihe onye ozo kwuru. Ndi Igbo Waawa anaghị aza Waawa dika agburu kama o bu site n'olu na ihe ha na-asu. Igbo Waawa nwere umu alaka olundi ozo mejuputara ya ndi gunyere: Achi, Udi, Enugwu, Abakaliki, Ogwu na Nsuka. Olu Igbo Waawa nwere ufodu njirimara nke gunyere na ha anaghị eji mgbakwunye nsonazu (ghi) eziputa nju. Mgbakwunye ha ji eziputa nju bu: 'gu' 'ro', ha, 'du', 'hu', na 'gh'. Njirimara ozo bu na ha na-eji mgbakwunye 'me' 'ma' 'ru', gwo, na 'wo' eziputa ndimechaa. Ozo kwa ha nwere udaume itoolu ndi a: i, i, e, ε, o, u, a, o, u, tinyere uda /θ/ (schwa) na-aputa ihe mgbe ha na-ekwu okwu.

Steeti abuo akachasi asu olu Waawa bu n'Ebonyi na Enugu. O di mkpa irutu aka ebe a na ufodu umuakwukwo ndi sinio sekondiri no na Steeti Ebonyi na Enugu na-eji olu Waawa asu ma na-edekwa Igbo Izugbe n'uloakwukwo. Omumatu putara ihe n'okwu ndi a:

<b>Ọnụọgụ</b>	<b>Olu Igbo Waawa</b>	<b>Igbo Izugbe</b>	<b>Bekee</b>
1	Ishi	isi	Head
2	waayi	nwanyị	Woman
3	Weghi	nweghi	Have none
4	Wa	nwa	Child
5	Oye	onye	Who
6	Ye	nye	Give

Site n'omumaatu ndi ahụ, o putara na ha na-eji fonim /w/ anochite anya /nw/, /sh/ maka /s/ ma werekwa fonim /y/ anochite anya /ny/. Site n'ikuziri umuakwukwo ihe ndi a, nke a ga-enye aka ime ka ha mata ndiche di n'etiti akpomakpo olu Igbo Waawa na nke Igbo Izugbe. Onodu a nwere ike na-emetuta ha n'imu utosusu Igbo Izugbe. N'iga n'ihu Nnachi (2007) gosiputara na inwe nka isu asusu dabeere n'iwu di iche iche na-achikwaba asusu ahụ nke bu utosusu. Nke a putara na onye na-amu asusu obula ga-edebe iwu di iche iche di n'asusu ahụ. Ya mere Federal Ministry of Education (2009) (FME) deputara mbunuche nkuzi asusu Igbo:

Mbunuche Govumeti banyere omumu asusu ala Najirja na odidi asusu Igbo n'onwe ya na ngwucha omumu Igbo na sekondiri ukwu bu na a turu anya na nwaafọ Igbo ga-eme ihe ndi a:

- (a) Isu Igbo Izugbe werewere na nruritauka maobu mkparitauka, n'ejije, n'akuko mgbaka, n'akuko na akuko obula;
- (b) Ide Igbo Izugbe nke oma site n'iji utosusu dabara adaba, akpaalaokwu na atumatuokwu dabara adaba, nsoroedide na irighiri ihe ndi ozo e ji achọ asusu mma;
- (c) Ichikota na inyochasi ma kowasia udaasusu na utosusu Igbo dika a turu anya n'aka onye obula guchara sekondiri ukwu (pg ii).

Nke a gosiputara njikere govumeti, nwere ihu na umu amaala Igbo nwere ezigbo mmuta gbasara asusu Igbo. Ozo kwa, site na mbunuche nke 'b' na nke 'ch' di n'elu ebe a, o gosiri na omumu utosusu Igbo di oke mkpa na nkuzi na omumu Igbo Izugbe n'ihu na o bu site n'iji utosusu dabara adaba ka a ga-esi mata na umuakwukwo amutala isu na ide Igbo Izugbe. Mbunuche omumu asusu Igbo gara n'ihu kowaputa na o dikwazi mkpa na umuakwukwo ga-akowaputa udaasusu nke oma tupu ha aguchaa sinio sekondiri. N'ihu nke a FME (2009) kowara na mbunuche omumu udaasusu n'ogo sinio sekondiri bu ikowaputa udi mkpurudasusu/fonim di iche iche nakwa etu esi akpopta ha. O bu ezie na asusu Igbo so n'asusu ndi ahụ a na-akuzi n'ala Najirja mana o bughị ihe di mfe n'ihu otutu nsogbu di iche iche di na ya nke mere na umuakwukwo ufodu anaghi eme nke oma n'ule sinio sekondiri dika 'West African Senior Secondary Certificate Examination (WASSCE)'. Onyeisi ule West African Examinations Council (2012, 2013, 2014) gosiri na pasenti umuakwukwo gafeere n'ule asusu Igbo na steeti Ebonyi n'afọ ato ndi ahụ bu 34%, 37% na 35% ebe pesenti nke umuakwukwo si steeti Enugu n'ime afọ ato ndi ahụ bukwa 40%; 42% na 43%. Nke a gosiri na umuakwukwo emeghi nke oma n'ule Igbo n'afọ ato ndi ahụ so onwe ha. Iji kwado nke a, ozi sitere n'aka onyeisi ule West African Examination Council (2000; 2002; 2004; 2007; 2008; 2009, 2010, 2011,

2012, 2013, 2014), kowara na umuakwukwo emeghi nke oma n'asusu Igbo n'ih nsogbu ufodu. Otu n'ime nsogbu ndi ahụ bu ubara olundi nke juputara n'asusu Igbo nke mere otutu umuakwukwo ji were olundi ha di iche iche wee na-edede Igbo Izugbe.

Nke a na-aputa ihe ma o buru na nwa akwukwo ewere mkpuruudasusu/fonim olundi ya were nochie anya nke Igbo Izugbe n'ahirjokwu o dere. Mgbe nkea mere, nwaakwukwo ahụ adaala iwu utosusu ahụ n'ih na o buru na nwa akwukwo e were fonim olundi ya nochie anya nke Igbo Izugbe, nke a na-abu ndejo. Imaatu o buru na nwa akwukwo edee 'eghu' maka 'ewu', 'eho' maka 'afu', 'ishi' maka 'isi', nsupe okwu ndi ahụ adabaghi etu e si asupe ya n'Igbo Izugbe. Nke a gosiri na o bughi otografi Igbo Izugbe ka ha ji supee okwu ndi ahụ e deputara n'elu ebe a.

Ozokwa, onyeisi ule 'WAEC' (2002) gosiputara na umuakwukwo emeghi nke oma n'ajuju nke ato metutara utosusu e nyere ha n'ule ahụ. O gara n'ihu kwuo na ajuju a choru ka umuakwukwo kowaa ebe mkpupu fonim/ mkpuruudasusu ndi a: /m/, /p/, /b/, /f/ /v/, /p/, mana o bughi otutu umuakwukwo zara ajuju ahụ n'ih na isiokwu ahụ diburii na mbu buuru umuakwukwo nsogbu. Ozu kwa onyeisi ule 'WAEC' (2003, 2004); kowaputara na otutu umuakwukwo dere ihe enweghi isi n'ajuju metutara sistem uda/udaasusu nke gosiri na ha aghotaghi ihe a choru ka ha mee n'ajuju ahụ. Ihe nke a na-egosi bu na umuakwukwo amaghi ihe udaasusu na akpomakpo Igbo Izugbe bu. O nwere ike buru amaghi udaasusu Igbo Izugbe mere na umuakwukwo anaghi eme nke oma n'ule Igbo di iche iche o kachasi n'ih gbasara akpomakpo. Iji kwado nke a, onyeisi ule WAEC (2009; 2010) kowakwara na otutu umuakwukwo mere otutu ndejo n'utosusu n'ih na ha enweghi ike iji otografi Igbo Izugbe wee zaa ajuju a juru ha n'ule Igbo nke metutara ha ebe o di ukwu n'inweta akara di elu n'ederede ha. Nke a putara na o bu otografi olundi ha di iche iche ka ha ji dee usa ajuju e nyere ha n'ule.

Akpomakpo bu otu n'alaka putara ihe n'usoro udaasusu maobu sistem uda asusu di iche iche nke putara ihe n'omumu utosusu Igbo Izugbe na-amu maka fonim/mkpuru udaasusu di n'asusu mba uwa di iche iche. Anozie (1999), kowara akpomakpo dika nke na-amu maka fonim. Ume, Ugoji na Dike (1989), kowara akpomakpo dika sayensi omumu njirimara usoro udaasusu nke na-ebute nghota di iche n'okwu na ibe ya. Ha gara n'ihu kwuo na asusu obula nwere udaasusu nke ya. Ihe nke a putara bu na olundi obula n'Igbo nwere akpomakpo nke ya; n'otu aka ahụ Igbo Izugbe nwekwaaziri akpomakpo nke ya. Nke a na-egosi na olu Igbo Waawa nwere akpomakpo nke ya. N'agbanyeghi nke a, o bu akpomakpo Igbo Izugbe ka umuakwukwo kwesiri imu ma na-asu ma na-edekwa ya n'Igbo Izugbe n'uloakwukwo. Ozu kwa, Mbah na Mbah (2010), huru akpomakpo dika nke na-amu gbasara nhazi odidi udaasusu di iche iche e nwere n'uwa. Nke a putara na n'agbanyeghi ka ndi si asu, asusu obula nwere akpomakpo nke ya.

Akpomakpo Igbo Izugbe bu otu n'ime ihe omumu putara ihe n'udaasusu/sistem uda nke a na-akuziri umuakwukwo na sinio sekondiri di iche iche n'ala Najirija ebe obula a na-akuzi Igbo. O bu ihe di njo na otutu umuakwukwo anaghi eme nke oma na ya (udaasusu) o kachasi n'ule sinio sekondiri dika 'WASSCE'.

Ọzọ kwa, ejighi fonim Igbo Izugbe ede Igbo nwere ike na-emetuta umuakwukwo n'omumu Igbo Izugbe. Fonim bu uda kachasi nta nke na-ebute ndiche n'okwu abuo nwere myiri na nsupe. Omumaatu bu okwu ndi a:

- aká
- akụ
- akọ
- akị

Uda ndi a kara ihe n'okpuru (/o/, /u/, /a/ na /i/) bu fonim ndi ahụ butere ndiche n'omumaatu okwu ndi ahụ nke mere na mputara ha di iche. Agaghi ekwu maka akpomakpo ma hapu fonim/mkpuruudaasusu, n'ih na o na-aputa ihe n'utoasusu Igbo, o kachasi mgbe a na-amu maka mkpopta mkpuruokwu. Fonim na-ebute ndiche n'etiti olundi na Igbo Izugbe. Anozie (1999), kwuru na udaasusu ahụ nke na-ebute nghota di iche iche na mkpuruokwu maobu karja bu ndi yiri onwe ha ma e wezuga otu mkpuruuda ndi ahụ, ka a kporo fonim. Ya bu na fonim na-eweta ndiche na nghota mkpuruuda n'etiti olundi na ibe ya. N'otu aka ahụ, fonim olu Igbo Waawa nwere ike na-emetuta umuakwukwo mgbe ha na-amu utoasusu Igbo Izugbe n'uloakwukwo.

### **Nsogbu Nchocha**

Asusu obula dika asusu Bekee, Awusa, Yoruba tinyere Igbo nwere alaka utoasusu nke a na-akuziri umuakwukwo n'uloakwukwo taa. Utoasusu nwekwaaziri umu alaka ndi ozo mejuputara ya dika: Akpomakpo, Mofoloji, Sintaks na Semantiks. A bja n'uloakwukwo Siniyo sekondiri di n'ala Naijiria, Akpomakpo na Mofoloji bu ndi kachasi puta ihe n'ih na ha metutara usoro akpomuuda na mmubaokwu nke bu ebe mbido omumu asusu di iche iche. Asusu obula nwere akpomakpo na fonim nke ya. N'otu aka ahụ Igbo Izugbe nwekwa akpomakpo nke ya. Ihe gbasara nkuzi akpomakpo Igbo n'uloakwukwo di iche iche n'ala Naijiria adighi mfe n'ih na asusu Igbo nwere otutu olundi. Olundi di iche iche n'ala Igbo nwere fonim nke ha nke na-emetuta fonim Igbo Izugbe. Igbo Izugbe nwekwaaziri akpomakpo na fonim nke ya a nabatara maka ide ya. O bu nke a mere na akpomakpo olundi di iche iche ji emetuta nkuzi na omumu asusu Igbo n'ebe umuakwukwo no taa. N'otu aka ahụ, akpomakpo olu Igbo Waawa na-emetuta omumu utoasusu Igbo Izugbe n'ih na umuakwukwo ndi siniyo sekondiri no na Steeti Ebonyi na Enugu nke Naijiria na-eji fonim olu Igbo Waawa asu ma na-edekwazi Igbo Izugbe dika e gosiputara na ntala nchocha a.

Udi onodu a na-eweta mgbanwe na nghota okwu ufodu nwere n'ih na e were fonim adabaghi kpoputa ha, o ga-eweta ndiche na nghota okwu ndi ahụ nwere. Nke ozo, onodu di etu a na-emetuta umuakwukwo ndi siniyo sekondiri di na Steeti Ebonyi na Enugu nke Naijiria na-ele ule siniyo sekondiri bu 'SSCE' n'ih gbasara udaasusu nke akpomakpo na-amu maka ya. Onyeisiule 'WAEC' (2002; 2003; 2004; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011 na 2012; 2013; 2014), kwekoritara na umuakwukwo anaghi eme nke oma n'ih gbasara udaasusu n'ih na ufodu amaghi ihe o bu ebe ufodu na-eji akpomakpo olundi ha ede nke a. Tinyere nke a, onye nchocha sobu wee na-atucha

maobu eleba anya n'akwukwo umuakwukwo n'ule 'WASSCE' n'oge gara aga wee choputa na umuakwukwo na-eri mperi ebe o di ukwu n'ihe gbasara udaasusu Igbo.

N'ih i anaghi eme nke oma n'Igbo n'oge ule 'WASSCE', o di mkpa nke ukwu na e bidoro n'oge to o ntala ikuzi utasusu Igbo Izugbe nke oma o kachasi akpomakpo malite na sinio sekondiri nke mbu di na Steeti Ebonyi na Enugu ka ha nwee ike mee nke oma n'ule 'SSCE'. O bu ihe ndi a mere onye nchocha ji wee na-aju: kedu ka fonim olu Igbo Waawa si emetuta umuakwukwo na mkpoputa okwu Igbo Izugbe n'uloakwukwo sinio sekondiri di na Steeti Ebonyi na Enugu.

### **Mbunuche Nchocha**

Mbunuche izugbe nchocha a bu inyocha mmetuta fonim olu Igbo Waawa na-emetuta umuakwukwo na mkpoputa okwu Igbo Izugbe n'uloakwukwo sinio sekondiri di na Steeti Ebonyi na Enugu. Nchocha a lebara anya kpomkwem n'ihe nke a.

1. Igosiputa etu fonim olu Igbo Waawa si emetuta umuakwukwo na mkpoputa okwu Igbo Izugbe.

### **Oke Nchocha**

Ebe nchocha a jedebere bu n'uloakwukwo sinio sekondiri nke abuo niile di na Steeti Ebonyi na Steeti Enugu ebe a na-asu Waawa. Ihe mere onye nchocha jiri horo umuakwukwo ndi sinio sekondiri nke abuo maka ime nchocha a bu na ha anoola ihe ruru afo abuo maobu kari n'ulo akwukwo ndi ahụ ma nwee ike ikpoputa ma gosi fonim/mkpuruudaasusu Igbo di iche iche. Nke ozo, umuakwukwo ndi sinio sekondiri nke abuo ndi ahụ bu ndi lere ule sinio sekondiri n'afọ gara aga bu 2017. Ihe kpatara onye nchocha jiri horo Steeti Ebonyi na steeti Enugu bu na o choputara na umuakwukwo no ebe ahụ na-ejikari olundi ha asu ma na-edekwa Igbo n'ih i na o bu na steeti abuo ahụ ka a na-asu olu Waawa. Nke ozo, o bukwaazi ebe diiri onye nchocha mfe inweta ngwaoru o ji mee nchocha a.

Nchocha a lebara anya etu fonim olu Igbo Waawa si emetuta umuakwukwo na nkpopta okwu Igbo Izugbe.

### **Ajuju Nchocha**

Iji duzie nchocha a, onye nchocha hibere ajuju nchocha a:

1. Kedu etu fonim olu Igbo Waawa si emetuta umuakwukwo na mkpoputa okwu Igbo Izugbe?

### **Atutu Mmughari**

#### **Atutu Akparamaagwa/Agwa Omumu Asusu**

O bu Skinner (1957) tuputara atutu akparamaagwa maobu agwa omumu asusu. Nkwenye Skinner bu na omumu asusu bu nke metutara inomi omume na ikpa agwa bara mmadu n'umi okpukpu. Dika o si di n'atutu a, umuaka na-efomiri uda di iche iche na usoro akpomuda ha na-anu na gburugburu ha ma nweta ezigbo ihe mgbamume nke nwere ike ibu otito maka inwe ike isu asusu ahụ nke oma. Site n'udi mgbamume a, nwata obula na-enweta na gburugburu ya maka ikpoputa uda etu o

kwesiri mgbe o na-ekwu okwu, o ga-esi etu ahụ na-amụ ikpọputa ụda ndị ahụ kwamgbe kwamgbe ganye na o baa ya n'umị ọkpukpu. Atụtụ a na-akowakwa na n'agbanyeghi ka asusu nwata si di mma na ole o nwere ike inu na ugboro ole o na-enweta ihe mgbamume site na ndi no ya gburugburu, o kwesiri inwe mmetuta n'ebe nwata ahụ no n'omumu utoasusu obula. Ihe nke a na-egosi bu na umuaka na-amu asusu site n'ifomiri na ilegide ndi okenye anya n'udi isu asusu ahụ ha na-amu dika ndi okenye.

Atụtụ a dabara na nchocha a n'ihu na o metutara akpomakpo nke na-amu maka fonim e ji akpopta udaasusu di iche iche n'asusu obula. Mgbe ndi nkuzi, nne, nna, ndi ezinaulo na ndi ozo gbara nwata gburugburu na-asu asusu maobu na-akpopta uda di iche iche, nwata ahụ ga na-ege nti n'ihe ha na-asu nke ga-eme ka o nwee ike ifomiri etu ndi okenye ahụ si akpopta maobu asu asusu mgbe o ga-asu nke ya. Nwata ahụ nwere ike gaa n'ihu n'imu mkpopta udaasusu ahụ ugboro ugboro ganye na o baa ya n'umị ọkpukpu. Ozo kwa, mgbe onye nkuzi Igbo na-akuzi akpomakpo Igbo, o nwere ike na-akpopta uda ndi a: /o / / o / /v / /u / /l / /i / /e / /ε / /b /, umuakwukwo ga na-akpokwaazi uda ndi ahụ ma onye nkuzi kpochaa. O bu ihe onye nkuzi kwuru ka umuakwukwo ga-ekwu. O suo n'Igbo Izugbe, umuaka a suo n'Igbo Izugbe ma o bu suo n'olundi ya; umuakwukwo asuo n'olundi ahụ. O buru na nwa akwukwo a kpopta uda obula etu o kwesiri, a na-enye ya ihe mgbamume dika otito, ikuru ya aka nke ga-eme ka o mee nke oma n'odinihu. N'aka nke ozo, o burukwa na nwaakwukwo akpotaghi uda etu o kwesiri, a na-ata ya ahuhu. Dika onye nchocha kwuru na mbu, o bu etu ahụ ka o siri di n'atutu omume/agwa. N'ihu ihe ndi a a ruturu aka n'elu ebe a, o dabara ikwu na atutu a dabara na nchocha a.

## **Usoro Nchocha**

### **Udi Nchocha**

Udi nchocha e ji mee nchocha a bu nke Ekspostu Fakto (Expost facto design). Ekspostu fakto bu udi nchocha ndi nchocha ji achopta mmetuta otu ihe maobu onodu nwere n'ebe ihe ozo di. Ya bu, udi nchocha na-eleba anya n'ihe kpatara ihe jiri mee mgbe otu onodu metutara nke abuo nke nwere ike iputa ihe n'ezi mmetuta maobu nke ojoo. Iji kwado nke a, Ali (2006) kwara na Ekspostu fakto (Expost facto) bu udi nchocha a na-eji atule mmetuta di n'etiti agbammbu nke otu/ogbe mmadu abuo. Ya bu ichopta ihe mere na ndi otu 'a' ka mee nke oma kari ndi otu 'b' n'otu nnwale maobu nke ozo. N'iga n'ihu Nworgu (2006) kwara Ekspostu-fakto dika udi nchocha nke e ji eziputa ka otu onodu si emetuta onodu ozo, dika ibu oke maobu nwaanyi/jenda, ebe a runyere uloakwukwo, o bu ime obodo ka o bu obodo mepere emepe? Ihe kpatara ndi nchocha ji horo udi nchocha a bu na o metutara ileba anya etu otu ihe maobu onodu siri emetuta nke ozo. N'ihu nke a, isiokwu nchocha a gbasara mmetuta fonim olu Igbo Waawa na-emetuta umuakwukwo na mkpopta okwu Igbo Izugbe. Udi nchocha a dikwaazi mkpa iji chopta ihe di umuakwukwo n'ime dika mkpopta udaasusu di iche iche.

### **Ebe Nchọcha**

Ebe e mere nchọcha a bụ Steeti Ebonyi na Steeti Enugwu. Steeti abuo ndi ahụ so na steeti ise mejuputara ala Igbo ndi gunyere Abia, Anambra, Ebonyi, Enugu na Imo. Onye nchọcha horo Steeti Ebonyi na Enugu dika ebe nchọcha n'ihi na isiokwu nchọcha ya dabeere n'olu Igbo Waawa maka na o bu ebe ndi ahụ ka a na-asu Waawa. Ihe mere onye nchọcha jiri horo ebe a dika ebe nchọcha bu na ndi nchọcha choputara na umuakwukwo ndi sinio sekondiri no na Steeti Ebonyi na nke Enugwu na-ewebatakarị fonim olu Igbo Waawa mgbe ha na-asu ma na-edede Igbo Izugbe nke mere ha ji ada n'ule di iche iche n'Igbo n'uloakwukwo.

### **Ndi Njirimee Nchọcha**

Ndi e ji mee nchọcha a bu umuakwukwo onugwu ha di 15, 684 (puku iri na ise, nari isii, iri asato na ano) no n'ogo sinio sekondiri nke abuo (SS II) ma na-agu akwukwo n'uloakwukwo ebe ndi nwoke na ndi nwanyi na-aguko akwukwo onu na steti Ebonyi na nke Enugu. Onugwu umuakwukwo ndi ahụ bu ndi no n'agbata agumakwukwo afo 2016/2017. N'ime onugwu ahụ umuakwukwo no na steti Ebonyi di 3,084 (puku ato na iri asato na ano) ebe ndi nke Enugu di 12,603 (puku iri na abuo, nari isii na ato).

Onugwu umuakwukwo sinio sekondiri nke abuo ndi ahụ bu nke e nwetara na 'Research Planning and Statistics, Secondary School Unit, Federal Ministry of Education Abuja, 2016'. N'aka nke ozo o bu n'uloro na-ahụ maka mmuta n'ogo sekondiri di n'Enugu n'alaka na-ahụ maka mgbakota na mwepu (Audit and Statistical Unit) ka ndi nchọcha si nweta onugwu umuakwukwo nakwazi uloakwukwo e ji mee nchọcha a. Ndi nchọcha nwetara onugwu nchọcha a ebe ndi ahụ a kporo aha n'ihi na o bu ha ka nchikwaba uloakwukwo sekondiri niile Govumentị steeti Enugu di n'aka (Post Primary Schools Management Board).

Ihe kpataara onye nchọcha ji horo umuakwukwo sinio sekondiri nke abuo bu na ha anola ihe ruru afo ato ma na-amu utasusu Igbo n'uloakwukwo. Nke ozo, bu na ha lere ule SSCE n'afọ 2017.

### **Nsere na Usoro Nsere**

Onye nchọcha seere umuakwukwo onugwu ha di 1, 555 (otu puku, nari ise, iri ise na ise) nke nochitere pesenti 10% (iri) mgbakota onugwu nchọcha di 15, 684 (puku iri na ise, nari isii, iri asato na ano). Ndi nchọcha ji usoro nsere nke nho na nha tumbom tumbom (proportionate stratified random sampling technique) wee sere onugwu ahụ.

### **Ngwa Nchọcha**

Ngwa nchọcha onye nchọcha ji mee nchọcha a bu Nnwale Mkpopta Mmetuta Fonim Olu Igbo Waawa n'okwu Igbo Izugbe (NMMFOIW).N'ihi na isiokwu nchọcha a metutara mkpopta fonim, nke mere na e ji nnwale onu bu NMMAOIW wee mee, e nyere umuakwukwo okwu 15 (iri na ise) nke ha kpoputara n'Igbo Izugbe jii choputa etu olu Waawa si emetuta ha na mkpopta fonim Igbo Izugbe.

### **Nnyocha Ngwa Nchọcha**

Iji hụ na ngwa nchọcha e ji mee nchọcha a tozuru oke maka inweta ihe orụ e ji mee nchọcha a, onye nchọcha weere ya nyefee n'aka ndị okammuta na dokinta nọ na fakoliti keedukeshon, Mahadum Najjiria dī na Nsuka ka ha nyochaa ha iji hụ na ha zuru oke maka ime nchọcha a. Aro na mgbazị ha nyere aka mee ka ngwa nchọcha ndị ahụ buru nke a hazighariri ka o nwee ike ruo oru o kwesiri iru. O bu site na mgbazị na ntuzi aka ha nyere ka ndi nchọcha ji hazie ngwa nchọcha ahụ etu o di n'oru a.

### **Usoro Nnweta Ihe Nchọcha**

Ndị nchọcha gara n'ulo akwukwo 20 (iri abuo) ndi ahụ e jiri mee nchọcha kee umuakwukwo ngwa nchọcha site n'enyemaka ndi nkuzi iri abuo na-akuzi Igbo bukwanu ndi nchọcha nyere nkowa abali anọ maka nke a. Ihe kpatara nkowa a ndi nchọcha ji were abali anọ bu na o ji abali abuo wee gazuo ulo akwukwo isii di na Nsuka so n'ihe e ji mee nchọcha ma werekwa abali abuo ozọ wee gaa uloakwukwo isii ndi nọ n'ebe mepere emepe na ebe emepeghị emepe n'Enugu.

Naị nchọcha ji abali nke ise wee gaa Ebonyi wee kowakwaara ndi nkuzi enyemaka nchọcha gbasara iji ngwa ahụ wee nweta osisa umuakwukwo. Nkowa e nyere ndi nkuzi ahụ bu maka inweta nka gbasara iji tepu rekoda na ekwentị wee dorọ mkpopta okwu ndi ahụ umuakwukwo kpoputara maka nchọcha a. Ndi enyemaka nchọcha ahụ nyere aka n'inakota ngwa nchọcha ndi ahụ. N'ihia na ngwa nchọcha e ji mee nchọcha a metutara mkpopta okwu, onye nchọcha na ndi enyemaka weere nnwale ekwurunonu e deputara okwu ufodu nke a si umuakwukwo kpoputa, nke nyere aka imata ka ha si kpoputa fonim di iche iche e nwere n'Igbo Izugbe. Ndi nchọcha ji rekoda na ekwentị wee dorọ mkpopta uda maobu mkporuokwu ndi ahụ.

### **Usoro Nhazi Ihe Nchọcha**

Ndị nchọcha ji ngwa mgbakọ na mwepu pesenti, wee hazie ma tuchaa ihe oru/data e nwetara na nchọcha a. O bu ngwa mgbakọ na mwepu pesenti ka e ji wee tucha ihe e nwetara site na nnwale ajuju ekwurunonu. Na nchọcha a, ndina obula nwere bido na pesenti iri ise (50%) gbagowe ka a nabatara na nchọcha a, ebe ndi nwere opekaa mpe pesenti iri ise (50%) bu nke anabataghị na nchọcha a.

### **Nhazi Ihe A ChOpUtara**

#### **Ajuju Nchọcha**

Kedu etu Fonim Olu Igbo Waawa si emetuta Umuakwukwo na Mkpopta okwu Igbo Izugbe?

Osisa umuakwukwo gbasatara ajuju nchọcha maka mmetuta mkpopta olu Igbo Waawa n'omumu utosasusu Igbo Izugbe ka e gosiputara na tebul di ebe a.

**Tebul nke Mbụ: Akara pesenti gosiri etu fonim olu Igbo Waawa si emetuta Umwakwukwo na Mkpopta okwu Igbo Izugbe**

Ọgụ	Ndeputa Okwu N'Igbo Izugbe	Ndeputa Okwu na Bekee	Ogo Mbiam ugboro ugboro (Frikwensi)	Pesenti	Mkpebi
1	Aghara	Careless	677	43.5	ONM
2	Onwu	Death	782	50.3	ONGHIM
3	Oñu	Happiness	468	30.1	ONM
4	Anyi	We	708	45.5	ONM
5	Onye aririọ	A beggar	507	32.6	ONM
6	Enwe	Monkey	634	40.8	ONM
7	Anwu	Sunshine	637	41.0	ONM
8	Anya	Eye	557	35.8	ONM
9	Ezi	Pig	613	39.4	ONM
10	Agha	War	499	32.1	ONM
11	Amaghi m	I do not know	512	32.9	ONM
12	Nwere	Have	567	36.5	ONM
13	Were	Take	497	32.0	ONM
14	O nweghi	Does not/none	471	30.3	ONM
15	Oghere	An opening	369	23.7	ONM

**Kii:**

OMUU/f:	=	Ogo mbiam ugboro ugboro/frikwensi
P	=	Pesenti
ONM	=	O nwere mmetuta
O NGHI M	=	O nweghi mmetuta

Tebul di n'elu ebe a na-egosi na o bu naani okwu ndina nke abuo n'ime okwu iri na ise e nyere umwakwukwo kpopta ka ha kpotara nke oma n'ih na okwu ahụ nwere pesenti 50.3% (iri ise, kpom ato) bu nke ruru pesenti 50% (iri ise) nke bu onodu mkpebi ndina a nabatara dika nke enweghi mmetuta na nchocha a.

N'aka nke ozọ, o gosikwara na umwakwukwo akpotaghi okwu 14 (iri na anọ) ndi ozọ n'ih na ha enwezughi 50% (pesenti iri ise). Ndina nke mbu nwere 43.5% (pesenti iri anọ, kpom ise), ebe malite na ndina nke ato wee ruo na nke iri na ise nwere pesenti ndi a n'otu n'otu: 30.1% (pesenti iri ato, kpom otu); 45.5% (pesenti iri anọ na ise kpom ise); 32.6% (pesenti iri ato na abuo kpom isii); 40.8% (pesenti iri anọ kpom asato); 41.0% (pesenti iri anọ na otu kpom efu); 35.8% (pesenti iri ato na ise kpom asato); 39.4% (pesenti iri ato na itoolu kpom anọ); 32.1% (pesenti iri ato na abuo kpom otu); 32.9% (pesenti iri ato na abuo kpom itoolu); 36.5% (pesenti iri ato na isii kpom ise); 32.0% (pesenti iri ato na abuo kpom efu); 30.2% (pesenti iri ato kpom ato), na 23.7% (pesenti iri abuo na ato kpom asaa). Site na ndeputa pesenti ndi ahụ di na tebul nke mbu, o gosiri na o bu naani otu okwu nwere 50.3% (pesenti iri ise kpom ato), ebe okwu iri na anọ ndi ozọ na-enwezughi 50% (pesenti iri ise), o dabara ikwu na fonim olu Igbo Waawa na-emetuta umwakwukwo na mkpopta nakwa omumu utoasusu Igbo Izugbe.

### **Nchikọta Ihe A Chọputara**

Site na rizolt nchọcha e deputara n'elu ebe a, nd[ nchọcha chọputara na tebul nke mbu gosiri na fonim olu Igbo Waawa na-emetuta umuakwukwo na mkpopta okwu Igbo Izugbe n'ebe o di ukwu n'ih na o bu naani otu okwu nwetara akara miin ruru pesenti iri ise.

### **Mkparita uka maka Ihe A Chọputara Etu Mkpopta Fonim Olu Igbo Waawa Si Emetuta Umuakwukwo Na Mkpopta Okwu Igbo Izugbe**

Ihe a chọputara na nchọcha a gosiri na o bu naani okwu nke abuo n'ime okwu iri na ise ka umuakwukwo koptara etu o kwesiri n'Igbo Izugbe n'ih na o nwere 50.3% (pesenti iri ise kpom ato) ebe ndi ozo nwere pesenti ndi a: 45.5%, 30.19%, 45.5%, 32.6%, 40.8%, 41.0%, 35.8%, 30.1%, 32.9%, 36.5%, 32.0%, 30.30% na 23.7%. Akara 50% (pesenti ndi a erughi pesenti iri ise) bu pesenti onodu mkpebi ndi anabatara na nchọcha. Nd[ nchọcha chọputara na otutu umuakwukwo ndi ahụ akpotaghi fonim Igbo Izugbe ndi ahụ putara ihe n'okwu ndi ahụ e nyere ha ka ha kopta. Fonim Igbo Izugbe ndi ahụ gunyere: /gh/, /ŋ/, /ɲ/, /ŋʷ/, /ɲ/, /z/, /w/. Nchọcha a gosiri na o bu fonim olu Igbo Waawa ka ha ji kopta okwu ndi ahụ. N'ih nke a, onodu di otu a nwere mmetuta n'ebe umuakwukwo no. Omumaatu, ha ji /h/ nochite anya /gh/; /y/ maka /ɲ/, /w/ maka /ŋʷ/, /dʒ/ maka /z/, omumaatu n'okwu ndi a: aɲara, ha dere ya anyara, ɲuo mmiri, ha dere ya ghuo/nwuo mmiri.

Nke a dabara n'ihe onyeisi ule WAEC (2002) kowara na umuakwukwo emeghi nke oma n'ajuju nke ato metutara utasusu n'ih na a juru n'ule SSCE ka ha kowaa ebe mkpopta mkpuru udasusu ndi a /m/, /p/, /b/, /f/, /v/ n'ih na ihe gbasara udasusu diburi na mbu buuru umuakwukwo nsogbu. N'ih nke a ka Nnachi (2007) ji kowaa na ndi na-amu asusu obula kwesiri imukwazi maka fonim iji wee nwee ike gosiputa ndiche di n'etiti okwu abuo maobu karja bu ndi yiri onwe ha site na mkpopta ha di iche iche. O gosiri na umuakwukwo kwesiri imuta nke oma fonim Igbo Izugbe na fonim olundi ha n'otu aka ahụ.

### **Mmechi naNtunye Aro**

Na mmechi, o di mkpa irutu aka n'isi ihe a chọputara na nchọcha a nke gosiri na mkpopta fonim olu Igbo Waawa na-emetuta umuakwukwo ndi Waawa n'omumu utasusu Igbo Izugbe. Site na nchopta nchọcha e nwetara na nchọcha a ka nd[ nchọcha ji atunye aro na ndi nkuzi asusu Igbo n'uloakwukwo di iche iche n'Igbo Waawa ga-agba mbu kuziere umuakwukwo etu e si akpopta fonim maobu udasusu Igbo Izugbe n'uzo kwesiri.

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## **WOLE SOYINKA'S *ABIKU*: A METAPHOR FOR HIS ACTIVISM**

**David Essi**

### **Introduction**

Wole Soyinka needs no introduction. He is one of Nigeria's foremost poets who has given African poetry popularity, identity and makes it stand tall with both the occidental and oriental poetry. Soyinka's poetry is highly performative; this performative bent thus popularized his poetry and makes him an internationally acclaimed literary giant. Soyinka is a prolific writer motivated by his profound African heritage. Born Akinwande Oluwole on the 13<sup>th</sup> of July, 1934, in Abeokuta, Ogun State, Nigeria. He made Nigeria and black Africa proud in 1986, when he won the Nobel Prize for literature. He attended the University College, Ibadan and Leeds University in England, graduating in English Language and Literature in 1958. Donatus Nwoga refers to Wole Soyinka as "a creative artist with a fever-pitch imagination" (181). Wole Soyinka uses his art to present his world and drawing from Yoruba myth, ritual, songs and so on and reinterpreting it to his own requirements, makes him in the words of Steven Arnold, "a profoundly rooted cosmopolitan" (Cited in Osundare 15). With poetry, Soyinka draws on traditional Yoruba genres like Ijala, Oriki and Ifa to construct a unique lyrical style. Femi Osofisan describes Soyinka as "This singular personality bestrides the Nigerian theatre like a mortal reincarnation of Ogun, the: axe-handed one" "(151). Soyinka's poetry as well as his plays (Drama) deals with things that matter: things that are worth troubling about. They are concerned with the fate of man in his environment, the struggle for survival: the cost of survival; the real meaning of progress: the necessity for sacrifice if man is to make any progress; the role of death-even the necessity for death in man's life (Jones 15). Wole Soyinka himself says, "The drama would be non-existent within and against this symbolic representation of earth and cosmos, except within this communal compact whose choric essence supplies the collective energy for the challenger of chronic realms" (39).

Away from his forays in the cosmic and the terrestrial realms, Soyinka had his induction into activism quite early in life. In his autobiography *Ibadan: The Penkelemes Years*, he acknowledges the strong influence of his aunt, the reactionary Mrs. Fumilayo Ransome Kuti who galvanized the women to war and drove into exile the paramount king, the Alake of Abeokuta. As a little boy and right in the palace of the Odemo, he refused to lie prostrate before an elder in the formal traditional Yoruba mode of greeting wondering: "if I don't prostrate myself to God, why should I prostrate to you?" (Cited in Okoye, 43). This activism continued through his secondary school days at Government College Ibadan where his temperament and knack for contesting and pursuing his convictions earned him the early reputation of "a cantankerous argumentative pest, whose size and early demeanour belied... his capacity for disruptiveness" (Okoye 43). Soyinka took his activism into the University College, Ibadan, where he shone as a student activist. After his University

days, Wole Soyinka has been at daggers drawn with successive governments in power in Nigeria since independence. Niyi Osundare says of Soyinka thus:

... I know of no other African writer today that embodies and typifies the ideals of the aesthetic and social accountability of art the way Soyinka so impressively does. And apart from Christopher Okigbo and KenSaro-Wiwa who paid the supreme sacrifice, no other Nigerian writer has risked so much, suffered so repeatedly in daring the behemoth of evil and misrule in Nigeria, that promising but cruelly misgoverned country. No Nigerian writer's works capture more sensitively, more audaciously, the vicissitudes of Nigerian, nay African existence. Soyinka's is the excoriative, the admonitory, regenerative vision (150).

### **Poetry in Africa**

African poetry is as old as other genres of African Literature like folklore, mime, drama and oral performances of storytelling. The earliest forms of African poetry are derived from storytelling theatre, chants, incantations and libations that form mores of the African's daily activities as seen in simple and complex rituals, initiation and marriage ceremonies and rites of passage, music and songs that accompany African legends, myth and folklore, which are essentially mythogenic and mythopoetic since they are techniques of language elevation (Ebo and Nwosu 201).

African poetry, just like African drama and theatre has gone through development and transformation. The developmental direction in African poetry could be gleaned from four segments. Senanu and Vincent say they are:

- The pioneering phase of the 1930s and 1940s
- The transitional phase of the 1950s and 1960s
- The modernist phase of the mid-1960s and 1970s
- The contemporary phase which we are now experiencing (8).

The pioneer phase was somewhatly a period of imitation and to some extent, a period for indigenous poetry making dominated by precursors like Dennis Osadebe, Raphael Armattoo, Casely Hayford and Michael Dei-Anag. The thematic preoccupations of poetry of this phase show that it was a dispensation of protest against colonial exploitation: Nationalism and nostalgic evocations were recurring themes in the poetry of this era. This phase also witnessed the Negritude poets of Francophone origin like Leopold Sedar Senghor, Birago Diop and others. These poets who were of Francophone extraction had their poems dominated by nostalgia, because many of them lived and had their education in France. Negritude poets wrote poems permeated with a love for the mores of Africa as well as a longing to return to their African roots. In this regard, Nwoga informs that:

These thoughts and experiences led to a poetry of protest, a poetry that expressed a rejection of Europe and a new glorification of Africa and blackness. It is this glorification of blackness that led to the evolution of the title Negritude which is the name of the Movement for this purpose led by Aime Cesaire, a black poet from the West Indies, and Leopold Sedar Senghor. They believed that the blackman had offered much to world

culture and civilization... and they said this on their poetic and prose writings (217).

Experimentation and appropriation differentiate between the second and third phase. Emma Ebo and Canice Nwosu aver that while the second phase relied on appropriation of the European languages, the third phase relied on experimentation. Ebo and Canice observe that poets like Abiodun Nicol, Gabriel Okara, Kwesi Brew, Dennis Brutus, and Lenrie Peters distinguished themselves during the transitional phase. Senanu and Vincent opine that the characteristics of the poetry of the transitional phase are, "It's competent and articulate use of the received English language, its enforced grasp of Africa's physical, cultural and socio-political environment and often its lyricism" (Cited in Ebo and Canice 201).

The modernist phase is basically an era of experimentation with local materials of native music, mythologies, dirges and legends of the African indigenous people and an admixture of metropolitan poetry practices of modern occidental poets. Hence, there is a sense of liberation, national consciousness and spirit of the age as depicted in the poetry of writers like Wole Soyinka, John Pepper Clark-Bekederemo, Okot Bitek, Kofi Awoonor and Christopher Okigbo. The deference between the modernist phase and the contemporary phase is the attainment of cultural independence and the portrayal of a true African identity through consciousness of African worldview (Ebo and Nwosu 202). Poets like Niyi Osundare, Kofi Anyidoho, Ezenwa Ohaeto, Muktar Mustapha, Tanure Ojaide, and Funsho Ayejina belong to this contemporary phase. This writer makes bold to say that Wole Soyinka's style and technique of poetry distinguish him as a breed apart, making him bestride both the modernist and contemporary phase. Some of his poems apart from *Abiku* are *Death in the Dawn*, *Season*, *Requiem:5*, *Telephone Conversation*, *Idanre and other Poems*, *Mandela's Earth and other poems*, *Samarkand and other Markets I have known etc.*

### **Soyinka's *Abiku*: A metaphor for his Activism**

Abiku, is a Yoruba word for spirit children, born only to die young and then return to be born again repeatedly to the same mother. Amongst the Ibos, such spirit child is called an 'Ogbanje'. In most cases, a dead abiku (ogbanje) is marked in the expectation that if he comes again, he will be recognized and it is believed according to Nwoga, that recognition (marking an abiku) is traditionally one of the ways of forcing an abiku to stay and grow like a normal child (185). Chinua Achebe, in his reference to the abiku phenomenon, expounds.

After the death of Okwefi's second child, Okonkwo had gone to a medicine man, who was also a diviner of the Afa Oracle, to inquire what was amiss. The man told him that the child was an "Ogbanje", one of those wicked children who, when they died, entered their mother's wombs to be born again (*Things Fall Apart* 61-62).

Consequently, amongst the Ibos for example, these names are prevalent: Onwumbiko; -'Death, I implore you': 'Ozoemena' – May it not happen again:

Onwuma-‘Death may please himself (Achebe 61) These names relay the unpleasant experiences mothers of such spirit children (Ogbanje) have gone through.

Conversely, Wole Soyinka uses his poem *Abiku* as a metaphor for his activism- He combines in him the intellectual and revolutionary hardware of such fathers of postcolonial resistance as Che Guevara and Franz Fanon. This abiku has confronted every government in Nigeria since independence –has been in and out of prison severally. Soyinka is the proverbial cat with nine lives. His confrontation with the dictatorial, inglorious regime of the late General Sani Abacha resulted in his involuntary exile between 1994-1999. For this ‘abiku’:

Let actions alone be the manifestations of the authentic being in defense of its authentic visions (Soyinka 81-88).

The poem *Abiku* written in eight (8) stanzas is enriched with images of confrontation, death and fear. In contrast to J.P Clark-Bekederemo’s *Abiku*, which is being begged to stay, Soyinka uses his *Abiku* to refer to himself- for, he impudently and audaciously boast of his power to overcome all attempts to hold or appease him. Bangles, sacrifices of goats, cowries, palm oil and sprinkled ash, markings with snail-shells-these are all in vain. The first stanza captures this, “In vain your bangles cast charmed circles at my feet I am abiku, calling for the first and the repeated time”. This poem indeed carries a powerful feeling and meaning beyond the traditional abiku myth. Activists like Soyinka acts as watchdogs of our society. When repressive governments emerge and clamps down on the citizens, “abikus” (activists with strong personalities) who are considered as ‘plagues’ makes such repressive governments to toe the line of sanity.

The stubbornness of the activist is depicted in the second stanza. Sending the activist to jail or exile does not deter his activist fervor- he will definitely come back to haunt the draconian government in power. Brutalizing the activist will not deter him, for he will surely come repeated times to criticize the government-this is affirmed as follows, “So when the snail is burnt in his shell whet the heated fragment, brand me deeply on the breast. You must know himwhen Abiku calls again”.

Soyinka was incarcerated during Nigeria’s civil war (1967-71) on trumped up charges. He was lucky to have survived his solitary confinement of nearly twenty-seven months. This colossal figure, whom friends and admirers know as “Kongi”, is not a man to keep quiet in the face of oppression. He says: “The man dies in all who keep silent in the face of tyranny” (23) Referring to Wole Soyinka, Osundare says thus:

You cannot keep quiet about the situation in the kind of countries we find ourselves in Africa. When you wake up and there is no running water, when you have a massive power outage for days and nights, no food on the table, no hospital for the sick, no peace of mind: when the image of the ruler you see everywhere is that of a dictator with a gun in his hand... (Ajakah 43).

Soyinka uses a metaphor to describe himself as the squirrel teeth-squirrel’s teeth are small but they will make a hole in a nut which man’s teeth cannot crack.

Hear him, "I am the squirrel teeth, cracked the riddle of the palm. Remember this, and dig me deeper still into the god's swollen foot". Any government in power must know that Soyinka is the squirrel teeth who will not stop at causing a rumpus in the body polity of such government when it becomes inept or draconian. Soyinka refers to himself as ageless whom death does not deter from his calling- activism. He says:

Once and the repeated time, ageless though I puke. And when you pour Libations, each finger points me near the way I came, where the ground is wet with mourning. White dew suckles flesh-birds. Evening befriends the spider, trapping flies in wind-froth;

In the lines above, Soyinka creates a world of nightmare where horrible things happen-The ground is wet not with dew or water, but with mourning; that is, with tears of crying mothers (governments) who are plagued by abikus. The activities of the activists (abikus) leave the draconian government a crying mother. Draconian governments cannot continue to ride roughshods on the citizens and expect the citizens to remain quiet and cowed. There is bound to be a backlash from abikus in the mould of Wole Soyinka and others. Hence, Wole Soyinka is a recurring decimal in the defense of peoples' rights against repressive governments in Nigeria. Soyinka employs metaphor in referring to himself as a suppliant snake coiled on the doorstep. Soyinka as an activist operates under the cover of night causing draconian governments much discomfort. Quite revealing is the fact that Ebo and Nwosu opine that Soyinka unfolds night as a cosmic fluid with a flow that wraps up the physical and metaphysical realms in a molten magma that spurs for an interpretation of each others realm (203). The stanza below captures fear and death that lurks, "Night and Abiku suck the oil from lamps, mothers! I'll be the suppliant snake coiled on the doorstep. Yours the killing cry". Soyinka prides himself as a suppliant snake that lurks in the night waiting to bite as it were, tyrannical governments to death. Soyinka imbues himself with the courage of Demosthenes the Athenian charismatic patriot who chose to fiercely defend democratic ideals in his City-State against tyranny. In his poem *Ah Demosthenes*, Soyinka says;

I'll thrust all fingers down the throat Demosthenes To raise a spout of bile down the world it's petrified, Demosthenes, mere forms, Usurp the hearts we knew, mere rasps This stuttering does not become the world This tongue of millions fugitive from truth I'll thrust all fingers down the throat (Cited in Garba 247).

To Soyinka, the poet must never cower or be intimidated in a compromising position. He must rather take his place among the leadership of thoughts in the society as a promoter of positive goals. Soyinka therefore, aims to revitalize the political and social consciousness of the society through his poetry and dramaturgy (Udeh 143). In the same vein, Ifeyinwa Ogbazi observes that:

The people must possess a type of strong Will with which they can stand against Injustice, confront bad leaders and punish Corrupt practices. In this sense, a kind of revolutionary spirit is necessary In order to checkmate

the Actions of people in society and what Ernest Emenyonu describes “the psychopathic personality of African dictators” (183).

The major literary device in Soyinka’s *Abiku* is the use of “I”- the first person singular pronoun- which is akin to the first person narrative technique. Soyinka is the one talking boldly in this poem and he is addressing tyrannical regimes in Nigeria. Examples are!. “I am Abiku”, “Must I weep for goats and cowries?” “I am the squirrel teeth, “Though I puke”, “The way I came“, “I’ll be the suppliant snake”, “where I crept”. There is equally the repetitive use of “I” in the poem for emphasis. The repetitive use of “I” unfurls the radical nature of the poem. Images combine effectively with other figurative expressions (Personification) for desired effects as in. “The ground is wet with mourning”, “Evening befriends the spider”. “The ripest fruit was saddest”, “In the silence of the web” There is equally the use of alliteration in the poem. These are “Charmed circles”, “Flies in wind-froit”, “Suppliant Snake”.

Soyinka fervently adheres to justice as his abiding philosophy. Hence, his writings are literary expressions of his ideas, views, convictions and even documentation of a conspicuously public figure who always felt morally and spiritually beholden to intervene in affairs concerning his people (Roy 15). This is the personality of Wole Soyinka, a defiant and radical African whom Nwoga considers as follows:

People with strong personalities are considered plagues (Abikus) to the society and various means are used to make them conform to the accepted behaviour. In this situation, most people would, of course, take the side of society. But there is also place for admiration of, and sympathy with the strong personality who is able to defy society and live a life according to his principles and nature (188).

In *Abiku*, Soyinka has, as always, shown that activism is a necessary component of positive change that he is ready to endorse, instigate and partake in, where circumstances leave him with no option.

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**INTERNET USAGE, SOCIAL SUPPORT AND GENDER  
AS PREDICTORS OF SELF CONCEPT OF  
UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATES**

**Victor O. Odo & Mary B. Nwoke**

**Introduction**

Every individual as it may be has a self concept. This is a unique characteristic that transform human beings into a special kind of organisms. As a psychological concept it refers to as the totality of inference a person has made about him or herself (Baumeister, 1997). It could also be inferred as a mental image or picture one has about oneself, regarding one's beliefs, personality traits, physical characteristics, abilities, values, goals, and roles. Self concept could take a positive or negative dimension. It takes a positive dimension when the person perceive him or herself as pleasant, secure, contended and confident and negative dimension when the person is unpleasant, insecure and, unhappy (Cox & Pyszczynski, 2004). Ideally, positive self-concept has been identified as the means of facilitating desirable outcomes for all individuals (Datta, 2014). Though, no individual is born with self concept but it develops through ones exposure and interaction with the physical world. Meanwhile social cognitive and self identity theories were identified to explain further how individuals self concept come to be. According to social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1991) self concept develops with regards to how individuals perceive and interpret their own existence from cues they receive from external sources. Bandura maintained that these observations help to shape the cognitive processes, self concept and social behaviours of the individual.

Self identification theory also indicates that things become a part of the "me" through our emotional identification with them. The "me" according to the theory includes; that which is inside one's body and anything that symbolizes and affirms who and what the individual is. The theory maintained that individuals who emotionally identify themselves with the new trend in fashion and designing, ideal images and pictures on the internet, definitely the individuals self concept will be significantly determined by how much they perceive, integrate and evaluate what they have seen with regards to their present perception of what they are and what they ought to be like (ideal self).

Meaning that those who were identified as being high on public self-consciousness, regardless of their level of private self consciousness, are much unlikely to publicly act according to their true attitudes. Arguably, through self-reflection, people often come to perceive who they are in a new and more powerful way, and it is through this new and more powerful way of viewing the self that self concept develops. Thus, following the current global trend, internet technology and usage have become the order of priority for younger generations. Internet technology has gain popularity and serves as a safe and private environment for identity experiment and role playing among young people (Susan, 2004). Due to the

unprecedented rapid growth in the field of internet technology, there has been an increased in the availability of internet access open to the populace, both in their homes, schools and work places. Examples include mobile phones, desktop computer, I Pads, palmtops, laptops, modem and sophisticated wrist watches. These aids easy access to internet content such as Blogs, customized portals, and many social networking sites as Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, CyWorld, 2go, Friendster, Video diaries and Twitter that are likely to modify individual self concept to reflects their own personal tastes, disposition and interest.

Advances of this nature have resulted in expanded internet influence especially among university undergraduates' with a new interactive element that was not previously seen in media. Livingstone, (2003) noted Internet to be untamed frontier; an uncharted territory rich in opportunity and potential that serve to create an online environment wherein individuals can establish online persona that are in contrast to how they view their offline selves. This concurs with what (Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008) affirmed that internet online interactions are laboratory for identity construction and expression.

Ideally, it is through this medium that imprudent messages are delivered and likely to assist in leaving behind a plethora of needless and unwanted detrimental circumstances associated with the self concept such as negative body image, considerable increase in sexual activity and body dysmorphic disorders including bulimia and anorexia nervosa. Among Nigerian university undergraduates, it is apparent that one could notice all forms of indecent dressing ("Super getty hand", Ikam iyara", and "Ara ga agba di ara"), body mutilations with tattoos, different hair do styles, sagging of trousers, men wearing of earrings, substance abuse, violent behaviours and crimes especially among the youths. Some models due to what they perceive to be true in these media seem to have become an object of plastic surgery; some got taped-up to mold their bodies into what they assume to be more "photogenic" representations of themselves. Brown, Steele and Walsh-Childers (2002) noted that, children and young adults especially take on these media culture as a symbol or representation of what to grow to be.

Through this medium, positive self may develop, many young people who find it difficult to discuss with parents or adults, on vital issues such as personal relationships, sexuality, HIV/AIDS, drugs, self esteem, could achieve it, and could as well develop a better self concept on those issues. It may also lead to formation of negative self-concepts; low self esteem and low self image, feelings of hatred towards the self, and also perpetuates self-destruction. On the other hand may strengthen individual's sense of pride, power, ability, curiosity and self esteem, self consciousness and self regulation. Arguably, proliferation and globalization of internet usage are among the key factors that have shaped and defined the current generation of young people's self concept (Brown, Steele & Walsh-Childers, 2002).

Notably, apart from internet usage, social support is also known to plays a significant role in shaping ones self concept. Mindful (2008) defined social support as the perceived availability of people whom the individual trusts, and who makes one feel cared for and valued as a person. Social support in this study refers to the

assistance rendered by potential provider (family, friends and government) to an individual inform of emotional, appraisal, informational and instrumental such as; love, empathy, money, advice, security and caring in situations of need.

Relationships with the significant persons (e.g. family, friends, and government.) are known to exert certain influences on self concept, either consciously or unconsciously. The school one attends, occupation, social activities one engage in, and the type of friends one chooses reflect one's self concept. This supported the claim made by Wong, Wiest and Cusick (2002) that social acceptance, social approval, and social support help to give individuals a sense of social identity. The amount of social support provided (Sohlberg, Norring, & Rosmark, 1993; Tiller, Bouwer & Behnke, 1999), are implicated in the degree that a person will negatively or positively respond to social reinforcement around him/her.

Another important variable the researchers considered to predict self-concept is gender. Self-concept between genders begins to develop at an early age as a result of gender-segregation enacted by both adults as well as by children's own self-directed behaviours. Right from birth, the child keeps internalizing some of the expected ideals delineated by the culture and society. In the African traditional setting as Nigeria, it becomes more pronounced at the age of five years when the children will begin to identify themselves with the same sex parent, either with the father or the mother and sex role norms. Children develop their gender identity through observing and imitating gender-linked behaviours. The males begin to identify with the men's role like going to the farms with the father, the females helping their mothers with the house cores. In this study the purpose is to find out whether internet usage, social support and gender will significantly predict self concept of university undergraduate.

### **Hypotheses**

The study hypothesized that:

- H<sub>1</sub> Internet usage will not significantly predict self concept of university undergraduate.
- H<sub>2</sub> Social support will not significantly predict self concept of university undergraduate.
- H<sub>3</sub> Gender will not significantly predict self concept of university undergraduate.

### **Method**

#### **Participants**

Five hundred undergraduate students of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka participated in the study. Participants were drawn from five (5) out of the nine (9) Faculties in the University which includes; Faculty of Education, Faculty of the Social Sciences, Faculty Engineering, Faculty Agriculture and Faculty of the Biological Sciences. One hundred participants were drawn from two Departments within each faculty, fifty (50) from each department. The Departments includes: Faculty of Education (Health and Physical Education and Adult Education): Faculty of Social the Social Sciences (Economics and Political Science): Faculty of

Engineering (Electronics Engineering and Mechanical Engineering): Faculty of Agriculture (Crop Science and Food Science and Technology): Faculty of the Biological Sciences (Micro Biology and Biochemistry). Out of the five hundred questionnaires distributed, five were wrongly completed and were discarded while nine were not recovered. Four hundred and eighty six questionnaires were recovered and used in the study. Among the four hundred and eighty six participants participated, two hundred and thirty were males and consisted of 47.36% of the sample, and two hundred and fifty six were females and consisted of 52.67% of the sample. The participants' age range was between 18 and 32 years with a mean age of 25 years.

### **Instruments**

Self Concept Questionnaire (SCQ), Social Support Questionnaire (SSQ) and the Internet Use Inventory for Undergraduates (IUIU) were used for the study. Self Concept Questionnaire (SCQ) was developed by Ezeilo (1982) and consists of 54 items designed to assess how one perceives and evaluates him/her self. The items are scored on a 1 to 7 semantic differential bipolar format with the number 1 at the negative end of the pole and 7 at the positive end. On each item, respondents reported the extent (on a scale of 1-7, with 1 = very strongly related, 2 = strongly related, 3 = slightly related, 4 = neutral, 5 = slightly related, 6 = strongly related, 7 = very strongly related) on how they perceive and evaluate themselves. Twenty seven (27) of the 54 were scored in reversed format so that higher scores would reflect a more positive and higher self concept. Ezeilo reported a test-retest reliability coefficient of .70. A pilot study was conducted to determine the reliability of the instrument for use in the present study and a reliability coefficient of .95 was obtained.

Social Support Questionnaire (SSQ) was developed by Sarason, Levine, Basham, Vamp and Sarason (1983) to assess the extent to which one receives support from others. It originally consisted of 8 items, Asogwa (2010) re validated it in the Nigerian context with the addition of 16 items. There are three subscales within the (SSQ). They include: Government (8 Items), family (8 items) and friends (8 items). The instrument is rated in a five-point Likert type scale of great extent (5), large extent (4), moderate extent (3), slight extent (2), and not at all (1). Examples of items in the scales are: To what extent do you think your friends will help you in time of crisis; To what extent does the government console you when you have a problem. Respondents are required to rate the extent they agree with each statement as it applies to them on the five-point Likert scale. To determine the reliability of the instrument for use in the present study, a pilot study was conducted and a Cronbach's alpha of .87 was obtained for the scale.

Internet Use Inventory for Undergraduate (IUIU) was developed by the researchers and consisted of (10) items designed to assess the extent to which undergraduates assess the internet. The items were drawn from a pool of 17 items. Firstly, the scale was subjected to face and content validity which was done by eight (8) judges who expressed their judgment on the items in the scale. Thereafter, it was subjected to a pilot study in order to validate and also determine the reliability index

of the instrument for use in the present study by sampling two hundred participants from Nnamdi Azikiwe University Awka with age range between eighteen to thirty two years (18-32) with a mean age of 25years. Respondents were required to rate the extent they agree with each statement on a five-point Likert type scale of not at all (1), slight extent (2), moderate extent (3), large extent (4) and great extent (5). Examples of the items in the scale are: “To what extent do you use the internet for educational/school purposes”. “To what extent do you assess the internet everyday”. “To what extent do you assess the internet in a month”. The result of the pilot study yielded a Cronbach’s alpha .65. Item analysis on the 17 items of the scale led to the discarding of 3 items that had item-total correlation of less than .30. It was also subjected to factor analysis in further validation of the scale for the present study. For the validity results, the researchers obtained .73 measure of sampling adequacy estimate for the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin and Barthlett’s test of Sphericity estimate of 3.10 (df =231,  $p < .001$ ) which proves adequacy of the data for factor analysis. The component matrix factoring using extraction method indicates that the entire items in the GSSI were combined as a single factor and explained about 67.23% variance for the item scale. Some items were double loaded and were discarded. Thus, 10 items survived the analysis and was further subjected to item analysis which yielded a Cronbach’s alpha of .81. The researchers also tested for the concurrent validity of the Internet Use Inventory for Undergraduate with Internet Addiction scale which yielded coefficient of  $r=.50$  ( $p < .05$ ).

### **Procedure**

The researchers selected five (5) Faculties out of the nine (9) Faculties in the University and two (2) departments within each of the five selected Faculties using a simple random sampling technique. Thereafter, the researchers sought the permission of the Heads of selected Departments as well solicited for the consent and assistance of the departmental lecturers before distributing the questionnaires to their students during the lecture period. Each student was given a set of questionnaire to response on self concept, social support and internet use inventory for undergraduates. Five hundred questionnaires were administered to five hundred participants. Nine (9) participants failed to return their copies of the questionnaires whereas four hundred and ninety one returned their own representing a return rate of 98.2%. Out of the four hundred and ninety one copies of the questionnaires returned, five (5) copies were wrongly completed, and thus were discarded remaining four hundred and eighty six copies of questionnaire. Four hundred and eighty six copies of the questionnaire out of five hundred were then used for data analysis. To ensure for high rate of return, the researchers distributed and collected the questionnaires on the spot.

### **Design/Statistic**

The design for the study is a cross sectional design. Linear Regression analysis was the statistics used for data analysis in this study. Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS 16.0 version) was used for data analysis.

**Result**

Table 1: Model Summary and Linear Regression of the standardized and unstandardized Coefficients analysis of Internet usage, social support and gender as predictors of self concept of university undergraduates.

Variables	Unstandardize Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Model Summary		
	B	Std. Error	( $\beta$ )		R	R <sup>2</sup>	AR <sup>2</sup>
Internet Usage	.44	.22	.09	2.01*			
Social Support	.47	.12	.19	3.94**			
Gender	8.21	3.33	.11	2.47*	.23	.05	.05

Dependent Variable: Self Concept Note \* = P < .05; \*\* = P < .001

The result indicated that internet usage significantly predicts of self concept of university undergraduates ( $\beta = .09, p < .05$ ). The result shows that social support significantly predict self concept of university undergraduates ( $\beta = .19, p < .001$ ). The result also indicated gender to be statistically significant predictor's of self concept of university undergraduates ( $\beta = .11, p < .05$ ). The model summary table portrayed the association between the predictors; Internet usage, social support and gender and the dependent variable self concept. The result of the analysis yielded an R value of .23, a sufficiently large R<sup>2</sup> of .05 and Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> of .05, for the variables. It indicates that internet usage, social support and gender accounted for approximately 5% of the variations in university undergraduates self concept.

**Discussion**

The study investigated internet usage, social support and gender as predictors of self concept of university undergraduates. The result of the present study upheld the hypothesis that Internet usage will significantly predict self concept of university undergraduates. It indicates that internet usage had a negligible influence on self concept of university undergraduates. It also indicates that alteration in undergraduates self concept is directly proportional to increase in internet usage. The possible explanation might be that (Andic 2003, Yesil, 2003) it undermines their moral values and social inclusions in life which helps to create an online image of themselves that can compensate for perceived flaws or other characteristics they consider lacking. According to self identification theory it essentially perpetuates a disparity between their "ideal" and perceived "actual" selves. The finding complements with the previous studies (Salimkhan, Monago & Greenfield, 2010) that reported a positive correlation between MySpace, a social networking internet site on youths self concept and identity construction. The result also supported the findings of (Ferneding & Mustafa, 2007) which indicated that internet usage was implicated to a decline in individual's perception and evaluation with regards to pro-social attitudes, quality of social networks with both families and friends, frequent online communication activities and increased quality of social network with friends and loneliness. The result of this current study is also consistent with the previous studies

(Tiggeman & Slater, 2003) which reported that viewing the appearance images featuring thin women led to a state of incongruence between their actual self image and ideal self increasing the level of social comparison and body dissatisfaction among them. The result of the present finding is also in agreement with the study by (Cattarin, Thompson, Thomas & Williams, 2000) which indicates that participants instructed to compare themselves with the image in commercials featuring thin and attractive women reported more comparison and were more affected negatively than those exposed to neutral or distractor instructions.

The second hypothesis was confirmed as the result of the study indicated that social support significantly predicts self concept of university undergraduates and as the level of social support increases, so also the self concept. Meanwhile the rationale behind this could be that the amount of social support provided are implicated in the degree that a person will negatively or positively respond to social reinforcement around him/her (Sohlberg, Norring & Rosmark, 1993; Tiller, Bouwer & Behnke, 1999). Consistent with the study by Wong, Wiest and Cusick (2002), it helps to give individual a sense of self and social identity. Allison, Callie and Lucas (2009) also reported in their studies that as the level of perceived social support increases, level of self worth also increases.

In addition, the result also supported the third hypotheses. It indicated that gender significantly predicts self concept of university undergraduates and that men and women do differ in their approach to self concept. The basis which may underlies these differences in males and females self concept could be as a result of gender identity and sex role norms. This is because, through socialization, men and women tend to identify themselves with a set of expected ideals or norms delineated on them by the society and culture as the normative standard. Cross and Madson, (1997), Markus and Oyserman (1998) posited that this can generate sex differences in social behaviour through self related process. The finding is consistent with the previous studies (Sethi, Foster & Best 2008) that reported a significant gender differences on self concept. It also buttressed the studies of (Shafiro, Himeline & Best, 2003) which reported that females appeared to have a more extensive self concept than males.

Through the interactive world of technology, self concept of university undergraduates is being shaped because it allows them to socialize, share different cultures and traditions with others through the use of email, chat rooms, and instant messaging. Internet usage is a powerful device that, if used appropriately, could lead to gains in cognitive abilities such as memory, spatial and logical problem solving, critical thinking, concentration, abstraction, comprehension and increased development in communication and social skills. When it is abused, Internet usage can also take one away from doing important social activities such as homework, chores and spending time with family and friends. It also exposes the individual to pornographic videos, films, still pictures, and even comics. An erotic depiction intended to provoke a sexual response (Casanova, Solursh, Solursh, Roy & Thigpen, 2000).

On the other hand high social support could be implicated for undergraduates' enhanced scholastic competencies, honors and awards, global self

worth, mutual understanding and communication and maintaining a state of physical, mental, social and psychological well being. When it is low may results to school dropouts, being suspended or expelled from school (Kaplow & Widom, 2007), violence perpetration (Abilleira & Rodicio-Garcia; Fang & Corso, 2008), posttraumatic stress disorder (Kaplow & Widom, 2007), alcohol-related problems (Thornberry, Ireland & Smith, 2001) and drug use (Riquelme, Garcia & Serra, 2018; Spatz Widom, Marmorstein & White, 2006). It can also result further to depression, anxiety and conduct disorder (Ramos-Cejudo, Salguero, Kannis-Dymand, Garcia-Sancho & Love, 2017) failing of courses, low self worth, self image, and self efficacy, and even perpetuates self hatred, suicide thoughts and suicide attempts.

However, it can be inferred that individuals who perceive themselves as failing to live up to their gender ideal by engaging in gender nonconforming behaviour, they may experience more negative affect, lower state self-esteem, and greater self-discrepancy. This is because it serves as a personal standard against which people judge themselves. For people who were highly invested in gender ideals, recalling norm-congruent behaviour leads to positive affect and less discrepancy between the actual, ought, and ideal selves which make up the self-concept (Christensen, Hebl & Rothgerber, 1997). Thus, for people who are highly invested in gender norms and gender conformity, behaving in accordance with those norms may close the gap between their actual and ideal selves, leading to positive feelings about the self.

In conclusion, the result of the present study emphasized on individuals' developing self concept and making a better sense of their world through internet exploration and internet environment. It indicates that internet usage, social support and gender are powerful influence surrounding individual's perception and evaluation of who they are, how they think, compose their thought, analyze and authentically criticize issue about their existence.

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**THE CULTURAL DYNAMICS OF POWER AND PATRIARCHY:  
A STUDY OF IDOMA-ALEKWU ORAL EPIC**

**Ikwue Abah & Stella Okoye-Ugwu**

**Introduction**

This paper investigates the Cultural Dynamics of Power and Patriarchy in Idoma-Alekwu oral epic with the aim of exploring and revealing the relationship between the poems and their socio-historical relevance to the Idoma people. This critical inquiry adopts the analytical lens of New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt's "Poetics of Culture" and Michel Foucault's Power discourse theory to interrogate Idoma-Alekwu oral epic. This oral epic not only documents the social forces that inform and constitute the people's history and society but also features prominently in the social processes themselves which fashion both individual identity and the socio-historical and political situation.

The study seeks to find meaning in the texts; *Kwararafa* and *Okwutachi* by considering them within the framework of the prevailing ideas and assumptions of their historical era. New Historicists such as Stephen Greenblatt, Louis Montrose, Jonathan Goldberg et al and Michel Foucault in his power discourse, concern themselves with the political function of literature and with the concept of power, and the intricate means by which cultures produce and reproduce themselves. These critics of historicism and power focus on revealing the historically specific model of truth and authority reflected in a given work. Truth and authority to them were viewed as a cultural construct, and therefore, they found the need to deconstruct truth and authority.

In other words, history here, as found in the above texts is not a mere chronicle of facts and events of Idoma migration experience, but rather a complex description of human reality and evolution of preconceived notions held as tenets to those in that particular society. Literary works may or may not tell us about various factual aspects of the world from which they emerge, but they will tell us about prevailing ways of thinking at that particular time: ideas of social organization, prejudices, traditions, social values and so on. This view of history became problematic to the New Historicists who felt that history should be more concerned about the society and history than it digging deep into information that might be interesting but not important and concerned with ideological products or cultural constructs which are formations of any era. Therefore, this study sets to prove that ideology manifests itself in literary productions and discourse, and interests in the interpretive constructions which the members of a society or culture apply to their experience.

Emanating from the analysis of the roles of actors and personas in the two texts under study, it is imperative to find out who uses power as an instrument of coercion, and even away from the discreet structures in which those personae operate, toward the idea that 'power is everywhere', diffused and embodied in discourse,

knowledge and 'regimes of truth'. Power, for Foucault, is what makes us what we are, operating on a quite different level from others. His work, according to Gaventa, marks a radical departure from previous modes of conceiving power and cannot be easily integrated with previous ideas, as power is diffused rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them.

Foucault challenges the idea that power is wielded by people or groups by way of 'episodic' or 'sovereign' acts of domination or coercion, seeing it instead as dispersed and pervasive. 'Power is everywhere' and 'comes from everywhere' so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure (Foucault, 63). It is, rather, a kind of 'meta-power' or 'regime of truth' that pervades society, and which is in constant flux and negotiation. Foucault uses the term 'power/knowledge' to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and 'truth'. It is on this note that we make bold to say that the rise of New Historicism owes heavily to Post-Structuralism in general, and Michael Foucault in particular. The Post-Structuralism assumptions that appealed to New Historicism included that history was always 'narrated' and therefore the first sense of the events of the past are unreasonable and cannot be defended successfully and that a unified history or harmonious culture, like during the Elizabethan times, was a myth spread by the ruling classes in their own interests. Eustace Mandeville Wetenhall Tillyard on his introductory notes brings out Elizabeth rule:

People still think of the Age of Elizabeth as a secular period between two outbreaks of Protestantism: a period in which religious enthusiasm was sufficiently dormant to allow new humanism to shape our literature. They admit indeed that the quiet was precarious and that the Puritans were ever on alert. But they allow the emphasis to be on the queen's political intuitions, the voyages of discovery, and the brilliant externals of Elizabeth life (2).

Tillyard talks of the way the Elizabethan culture was been thought of as a seamlessly unified system of meanings, which could not be disturbed by unorthodox or controversial voices and that Christopher Marlowe never seriously challenged this settled world of the renaissance age. It is through this publication Tillyard in 1943 and with such kind of sentiments that defended the Elizabethan reign that became the sustained object of attack by the New Historicists and was used as the centre for establishing the dimensions for their own methodologies.

Tillyard in his own right tries to establish the interconnections between literature and the general culture of a period. However, the New Historicists depart from Tillyard's approach in every aspect. Selden outlines the new set of assumptions which were as a result of the poststructuralist intellectual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s which include the fact that history is not unified and is unstable. According to her, "the past is viewed as impure and can only be availed to us in the form of 'representations'. Every expressive act, or the 'representations', is viewed as a network of material practices" (105). During the renaissance period, human

experience was shaped by the social institution and, to be more specific, the ideological discourses.

Under the influence of Louis Althusser and Michel Foucault, the New Historicists in America and Britain wrote a body of works in Renaissance literature and society. In his essay, *Return to History*, Foucault emphasizes the relationship between structuralism and history by saying that structuralism, in its initial form, was an undertaking that aimed to give historical investigations a more precise and rigorous method. He further argues that, “structuralism did not turn away from history, at least not in the beginning; it set out to construct a history” (419). The expression ‘in its initial form’ gives us an impression of the stance he will take in the later form of structuralism, which is actually Post Structuralism. Through his critique on Franz Boas, an American considered to be the father of structural ethnology, Foucault argues that the human society, whether simple or complex, does not obey internal relations that defined them in their specific organization. By this, he was putting forward the fact that history is not always narrated. To him, there was no detached or objective study of history.

This study however makes a ‘re-situation’ of literary texts under study in the cultural context and redefinition of literary studies in terms of an activist agenda. We are basically committed ideologically to the aim of subverting the hierarchies of power among the ethnic groups within Kwararafa confederacy. In his challenge to Friedrich Nietzsche’s view of discourse as wielding power, we find Foucault’s view of discourse equally wielding power which is relevant in the above characterization. According to Foucault, culture is essentially textual and verbal productions, poetry included, are equally products of discursive practices or episteme whose unforeseen ruptures dominate a historical period’s thinking. But we find that New Historicists, on the other hand, have used Mikhail Bakhtin concept of ‘Carnival’ as a way of escaping the apparent structural closure of Foucault’s historical and power theories. ‘Carnival’, which was regarded as a second culture opposed to the official Elizabethan culture, and which was carried on by the common people throughout the middle ages, provided one way of describing how subjects might respond to dominant discourses through, as Selden puts it, “the modalities of ‘counter-identification’ or even ‘disidentification’ (109). To him therefore, the micro-physics of power produced by discourse creates a network of relations that encompasses the rulers as well as those they rule in a large web of discreet, local conflicts and makes the individual as subject in, as well as subject to, the disciplinary mechanisms of the capitalist culture and ideology. Through the above discussion, we can see that this study provides a nexus which covers a wide range of approaches to the study of literature, culture and power.

### **Instances of Power Acquisition in the Texts**

Idoma-Alekwu oral epics are both products of a historical context and means of understanding the people’s cultural and intellectual history as well as power. The epic for instance, reflects the movement of Idoma people from Kwararafa confederation to their present location. In one of the poems, collected during Eje-Alekwu festival in Umogidi for instance, the poet praised the heroic qualities of the

first king of the community, His Majesty, Omakwu Aibe. The poem was performed to herald the arrival of Omakwu from Otukpo to Umogidi his father's land. At this time, Omakwu was a wealthy man who traded on several goods between the Idoma nation and other surrounding ethnics like the Igbos through Obollo-Afor, in the present Enugu State, Iyala and Ogoja in the present Cross River State, etc. The poem further reveals that, on his arrival in Umogidi, his people saw him as the only one who could liberate them from the attack of their hostile Tiv neighbours. As it is common with historical poems, the poem succeeds in revealing the incredible power of the character which eventually gave his people their freedom; an achievement that made them crown him king.

This study therefore, sees the texts as historical artifacts that emerge among particular social, political, and economic circumstances in Idoma society, and is further concerned with the tendency to emphasize the "voices"- the perspectives and existential concerns- of power or group who were marginalized or unrepresented within that Kwararafa political circle or discriminated against because of their gender, ethnicity, religion, or social class. This could be what Greenblatt has in mind when he explains that by means of an economic metaphor, texts and other symbolic goods contribute to the distribution of social energy by which he means the intensities of experience that give value and meaning to life and that are also indispensable to the construction of self-awareness and identity. His aim is to prove that Literature and the arts are integral with other social practices that, in their complex interactions, make up the general culture of an era.

In the interpretive and analytic procedures we adopted in this research, we have been able to establish a strong link between the Idoma oral literature, poetry in particular and their political power play. This is so because, interviews with a group of Idoma oral historians at the palace of Omakwu revealed that Idoma people hailed from Apa in Kwararafa confederacy and are descendants of Idu. This claim is supported by a particular Alekwu poet who chants a poem on the people's migration history. He establishes that Idoma ancestors lived side by side with other ethnic groups and that the term Apa was a blanket one covering a wide collection of people.

In view of the above, we find in the evaluation of the legendary poem for Omakwu, an insight into the social cultural experiences of the community of birth of the subject of praise which is Okwutachi and circumstances surrounding his birth. Through its constituent elements of allusions, events, oblique references, we also see in the above poem the construction and the deconstructions of the migration history of the Umogidi people. The poem no doubt fuses imaginative inventiveness with historicity. The new historicists, most of them literary scholars, such as Ann Dobie, have challenged and resisted the assumptions and goals of traditional historicism, "they deny, for example, that anyone can ever know exactly what happened at a given time and place. All that can be perceived is what has been handed down in artifacts and stories, making history a narration, not pure, unadulterated precise observations" (176).

Therefore, to avoid being swept away by criticism of the New Literary Historicists, the researchers seek to understand in this research, the texts of Idoma

poetics under study, by examining their cultural context; the anxieties, issues, struggles, politics (and more) of the era in which they were created, by looking at the people's literature. It is important to point out too that the texts even though performed recently are literature handed down to the current generation of artistes by the ancestors of the people. What is important however is that, the thematic thrusts of these performances are such that are relevant in all ages and times. So the concern of this paper is to classify the people's oral poetry and see how these oral materials can be used for the socio-cultural, religious and political well-being of Idoma people.

In achieving this, the study seeks to look at the 'point of origin' of Idoma oral poems under study, by first of all, looking at the biography of the Alekwu poets who recited them. By so doing, the study considers the expressed intentions of the artists, because, these intentions have also modified the developing history of the works. Subsequently, the paper seeks to learn the history of the works' reception, as body of opinion has become part of the platform on which the paper is situated when the works are studied at this particular 'point of reception'. The study further points toward the future, toward its own audience, defining for members of this audience the aims and limits of the critical project and injecting the analysis with a degree of self-consciousness that alone can give it credibility.

### **The Cultural Dynamics of Power in the Texts**

The paper views *Okwutachi* for instance as a legendary poem for Omakwu which gives an insight into the social cultural experiences of the community of birth of this subject of praise which is Okwutachi and circumstances surrounding his birth. But as a study hinged on New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt and Michael Foucault's power discourse, the concern is on seeing the texts as symbols and metaphor who's dissection contributes to the distribution of social energy by which we mean the intensities of experience that give value and meaning to life and that are also indispensable to the construction of self-awareness and identity among Idoma people.

It is unarguably clear from the text that Kwararafa was a confederacy populated by several ethnic groups. With the collapse of the northern marches of the confederacy and the mass exodus of people to establish the new capital at Apa, the Idoma, the Jukun and the Abakwariga (Hausa people) struggled for power and this was reflected in the transfer of the capital first to Kororofa, then to Puje and finally to Wukari. At Jukun, hegemony was assured and this explains why all kings are still confirmed there and why the place holds a special, almost sacred position in Jukun thinking. The following lines from *Kwararafa* explain that;

We are the Kwararafans. Yes we are. Apa is our capital Where our king ruled. And received tributes. From kings of our neighbours. Suddenly, the forces from Borno Overran the capital and took the able – bodied away. The capital then moved to Kororofa, then to Pujue and finally, to Wukari.

It must however be remembered that until later in history, the Jukun state as recorded in the above lines did not form a majority of the Kwararafa population. By

the later take-over of Wukari, the multi-ethnic confederacy had shrunk to a Junkun state. The political upheavals were almost constant as a result of the infiltration of the Junkun, midway. This is evident by the poet's view in the above lines that "We are the Kwararafans" meaning the Jukuns were the later entrants into the confederacy. This series of events and constant change in leadership and seat of power indicates the shrinking of the protective umbrella of Kwararafa which is in turn provoked the southern migration away from the troubled areas.

Subsequently the text equally proves that what the Idoma mean by referring to Apa as their ancestral homeland is a geographical location, and has no bearing with their ancestral origin. This clarification becomes important as shown in the text by the poet because the Jukun took over Apa and a major sub-group became known as Wapa or the people of Apa. However, the Idoma evidence in the poem suggests that the name "Apa" pre-dated the Jukun invasion and was not associated with the Jukun but with the ancestors of many Idoma, Alago, Igbira and Igala, who claim Apa origins. More over *Wapa* in Idoma literal interpretation is "come into Apa". Therefore, this supports the view of the poet that Apa was already in existence and populated by others before the arrival of Jukun people. The question however remains that, where did the Jukun migrated from to join these other groups in Apa? This is scantily flashed on in the succeeding episode of this epic where the narrator mentioned Jukun as those who migrated from around Ogoja and Calabar in Cross River State through the Southern flank of Kwararafa confederacy to dispose the Abakwariga and took over the headship of Apa. Upon the basis of different situations within society, then, people are likely to develop different interests and this will inevitably lead to conflict over many issues. The possibility of the kind of anarchic strife which we initially considered between Kano, Borno, and Zaria against the Apa kingdom in Kwararafa now appears to be arising again: if groups with different interests come into conflict, why does society not simply disintegrate into internal warfare? There is inequality amongst groups with respect to power, and some groups, simply because they are the most powerful, can impose their will upon others. This is clearly seen in the power relation between Idoma and other ethnic groups that populated the confederacy, especially the Jukuns.

Therefore, the powerful group among them at every point in time tends to preserve and command the order of that society by dominating subordinate groups and compelling them to comply with whatever the ruling groups consider best serve their own interests. This is a major grouse the New Historicists have against the formalists. They believe in the re-situation of literary text in the historical context and redefinition of literary studies in terms of an activist agenda which was basically committed ideologically to the aim of subverting the hierarchies of power. It is on this note that this paper challenges the historical claim among Idoma that Idu was their putative ancestral father. They also claimed that he was a king at a time in Apa. There are reasons in the text, *Kwararafa* to believe this, but how are we sure that this is not a deliberate creation or historical invention to support the ideological power structure of the Idoma ruling class in their own interest.

### **Historicizing the Narratives**

Therefore, history, as far as this study is concerned, should be viewed from a neutral position. Hence the questions; how did Idu become the leader or Oche of Idoma people in Apa? Is it not curious that in a segmented and egalitarian society such as the Idoma during their stay in Apa there should emerge an institutionalized leadership? Idu emergence could be attributed to “a father-figure” philosophy. It could also be attributed to the fact that he possessed attractive qualities and charisma which made others choose him as their leader. Textual evidence is in support of the latter option.

In the text, Idu is a character who inspires his people to stand up in defense of their father land. He cites instance of similar war which their ancestors fought and lost and later fought again and won. So he is a symbol of unity and strength. These qualities may have attracted followers to him and made him wield some influence within the community. To Read, who is strongly identified with this school of thought, charisma wins because in a tradition-oriented society, it is the autonomous individual, superior as leaders, who usually win out. In other words, the emergence of the Oche among the Idoma should be traced to the existence of a charismatic leader who over the years attracted a number of followers who later recognized him and his descendants as their leader.

There is also a textual evidence in support of the view that the prevalence of warfare in Apa could have led to the emergence of a military leader like Idu who would in turn develop a military institution to help his people. According to Spencer, if warfare is endemic in any society, otherwise disparate groups unite against the common foe and if the threat to the existence of the group is continuous a war leader or his “governing centre” will emerge. This is clearly a classic combination of the conflict theory with that of the social contract. Thus, Spencer sees successful warfare as a major factor in state formation. He asserts that headship of a conquering chief has been a normal accompaniment of that political integration without which a high degree of social evolution would have been impossible. “Only by an imperative need for combination in war were primitive men led into co-operation. Only by subjugation to imperative command was such co-operation made efficient” (24).

### **Conclusion**

From the fore-going, it has been seen that power dynamics and patriarchal hegemony come into play in the culturally instituted ownership of communities and land domains. The chants and songs rendered by performers in traditional events constitute a delineation of power, entrenched to protect the territorial integrity of the community. This critical inquiry engaged the New Historicism of Stephen Greenblatt’s “Poetics of Culture” and Michel Foucault’s Power discourse theory to postulate that texts of Idoma-Alekwu oral epic not only document the social forces that inform and constitute the people’s history and society but also involve actively in the social processes themselves which fashion both individual identity and the socio-historical and political convergence that foster patriarchal hegemony in Idoma nation.

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## **NIGERIA-INDIGENOUS PEOPLE OF BIAFRA RELATIONS: A STUDY IN PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTIONS**

**Ifeanyi Fidelis Njoku**

### **Introduction**

Nigeria, Africa's most populous country, came into being in its present form on January 1, 1914, when the two British Northern and Southern protectorates were amalgamated by Sir Fredrick Lugard. Sixteen years earlier, Flora Shaw, who later married Lugard, first suggested in an article for *The Times* that the several British protectorates on the Niger be known collectively as Nigeria. Nigeria, as it were, is a political edifice which was built in the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century under political masonry of the British. But added to that is the fact that British colonial over-lordship of Nigeria dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, precisely on August 6, 1861 when Lagos was annexed by Britain.<sup>2</sup> However, following the provisions of the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, a conference summoned by Otto von Bismarck, to discuss in a peaceful manner Europeans' claim of African territories and to agree on modalities for the partitioning of African continent, Nigerian territories were allocated to Britain.

Thus, a proper understanding of the Nigerian state cannot be had unless and until a proper nexus is established between its pre-1914 and post-1914 evolution. Every reason upon which such link can be factored becomes a corollary justification for understanding the relative peaceful inter-ethnic relations in Nigeria before the introduction of the policy of *divide and rule* by the British that sowed the seed of suspicion, hatred, animosity and discord that fanned the embers of disunity and ethno-religious conflicts that have continued to threaten the precarious foundation of the Nigerian state.

### **The Emergence of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB)**

One cannot understand the emergence of IPOB without first coming to terms with the emergence of MASSOB which is the precursor to the IPOB. This is premised on the fact that IPOB is a splinter group from MASSOB.

The advent of the Fourth Republic on May 29, 1999, marked the emergence and subsequent proliferation of ethnic militia and secessionist groups in Nigeria like the Odu'a Peoples Congress (OPC), Arewa Peoples Congress (APC), and Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) etc. MASSOB is a secessionist and irredentist movement founded on September 13, 1999, by Chief Ralph Uwazuruike.

The problem in Nigerian polity began during the colonial period. During this period, the British, through their *divide and rule* policy, tore the country apart through the politics of regionalism introduced by the Arthur Richard constitution in 1946. This Constitution introduced regionalism which culminated in the regionalisation of political parties in Nigeria. The three political parties that emerged became regionally based, namely the Northern People's Congress (NPC) in the North; Action Group

(AG) in the West, and the National Council for Nigerian and Cameroons, and later, Citizens (NCNC) in the East. Also with the adoption of a Federal Constitution in 1954, federal and regional public services emerged.<sup>8</sup> The aim of this was to accelerate the drive towards *Nigerianisation*. Nigerian leaders in the Western and Eastern Regions during the 1950s accused the Northern politicians of their slow pace of *Nigerianisation*. The pace of *Nigerianisation* in the former Northern Region was understandably slower. The above scenario created an atmosphere for bitterness and acrimony among the major ethnic groups. According to Coleman,

It was not until 1948 that the northern peoples were shocked into a terrifying awareness of a great divide that separated them from the south; indeed, so wide was the gap that it was patently impossible for them to catch up. Needless to say, when northern leaders contemplated the rapidity of political advance and saw that the trend of events was leading inexorably to a self-governing Nigeria at a much earlier date than any of them had previously contemplated, north-south tensions were greatly exacerbated.<sup>9</sup>

This could be attributed to late establishment of Western educational institutions which brought about paucity of Western educated elites in the Northern Region. The Southern part had more western educated people than the North; and the northerners were afraid that if they embarked on the policy of allowing the southerners in their civil service, they could be replaced by them. To avoid that problem they preferred to retain the white civil servants in the North until such a time they produce their own man power. The general election of 1959 was rigged by the British in favour of Northerners, who were amenable to British suzerainty, to achieve northern domination of the country. Harold Smith, a colonial officer who served in Lagos, said that, "The world should hold the British accountable for an unstable Nigeria. At independence, Britain did not hand over a model democracy. What they handed over was an arrangee, custom-built democracy. The various pre-independence constitutional conferences in London were a charade".<sup>10</sup> The post-colonial Nigeria was fraught with series of political problems caused by the type of democracy handed over to the Nigerians.

After the capitulation of the Republic of Biafra, there appeared to be a period of interregnum between 1970 and 1999 in the assertion of Igbo self-determination and emancipation in Nigeria. This period of interregnum was marked by well-coordinated and organized reparations meted against the easterners. This is often considered a civilized way of compelling the defeated side to bear the greater burden of waging the war.<sup>11</sup> Easterners, especially the Igbo, became scapegoats in most Nigerian political crises. At the end of the civil war, the easterners were kept out of the top echelon of the civil service and public corporations through the Public Officers, Special Provision, and Decree N0.46 of 1970 respectively. The Igbo were seen as foreign nationals in the nation state of Nigeria. They were treated as 'pariah' in various levels of services. Their property seized in various part of the country in what is generally referred to as 'abandoned property'.<sup>12</sup> According to David Mark over 90 percent of the properties in Port Harcourt were owned by the Igbo people.<sup>13</sup>

The easterners suffered untold hardship, marginalization and deprivation, all of which stirred up ethnic nationalism among the young people. Their maltreatments cut across all spheres of life. Decree No 14 of 1970, reduced the total allocation of the East Central States (core Igbo states) from 17.5% (gotten between May 1966 and early 1970) to 10.6%. The Banking Obligation Decree of 1970 provided that all bank deposits operated in old Eastern Region (except Calabar) between May 31, 1960 and January 12, 1970, would not be honoured by any bank, but may honour at par any bank account not operated in any way during the same period. Opatra observes that through these draconic laws aimed at subjugating the Igbo to the position of servitude, the Igbo lost upwards of 4 million pounds.<sup>14</sup> Having impoverished the easterners through this; the Nigerian government in 1972 indigenised some of the sectors of the economy through the Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree. They were timed to ensure that the impoverished Igbo people did not benefit from them. Thus, the Igbo were systematically excluded from ownership positions in the Nigerian industrial sector.

In all the ethno-religious crises that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, easterners were the scapegoats. There were crises in Maitaistne-Kano in 1980, Maidugrui in 1982, Jimeta, Yola 1984, Funtua 1993, decapitation of Akaluka in Kano in 1994 and Gboko 1998; not forgetting the June 12, 1993 crises.<sup>15</sup> All these led to the death of innumerable numbers of people from the east, mainly the Igbo. In the west, the Yoruba people accused the Igbo of being behind the June 12, 1993, annulment. Arthur Nzeribe and his Association for Better Nigeria (ABN) were seen as the brains behind the annulment. On this pretext, the Yoruba people killed many Igbo people and destroyed their property and this has gone down in history as *OsOAbiola* (Mass exodus of Igbo people from Yorubaland).<sup>16</sup> In October 2000, there was a clash between the OPC and the Hausa in Okomaiko. In this clash, the Igbo were used to settle the scores between them. In that crisis, the house and property of Anthony Ike Nwodo valued over ₦35m was burnt.<sup>17</sup> All the above justifies the statement of Barack Obama, former President of the United States of America that, "No person wants to live in a society where the rule of law gives way to rule of brutality and bribery. That is not democracy; that is tyranny, and now is the time for it to end. Africa doesn't need strong men; it needs strong institutions".<sup>18</sup>

The emergence of MASSOB is informed by these ugly trends. The movement believed in its messianic role of redeeming the Igbo and restoring their self-worth. It is an irredentist struggle to break away from the subtle but vicious modern day Nigerian enslavement of the Igbo. According to Chukwuemeka Odumegwu-Ojukwu, "The Igbo people have more reason than ever to seek independence; what upsets the Igbo population is, we are not equally Nigerians as the others and as such separation becomes an attractive option".<sup>19</sup>

The Igbo feel hated by other groups and, therefore, MASSOB believes there is no reason for the Igbo to continue being part of Nigeria. One thing the other groups have in common is their hatred of easterners. With the defeat of Biafra in 1970, and the subsequent maltreatment of the people, there was a yearning to fill the vacuum the defeat of easterners has created. It is in recognition of this fact that the new generation

of the Igbo, suffering these exclusionist policies, have either become members of MASSOB, or given their unflinching support to its struggle. MASSOB was forced to resurrect the idea of Biafra which, they believe, stands for equality, liberty, justice and fair play, which are vital ingredients of democracy. MASSOB represents a second generation nationalist movement that contends against the marginalization of *Ndigbo* since the end of the civil war; and fights to resuscitate Igbo ambitions for self-determination. This resuscitation is not unconnected with the opening up of the democratic space and the advent of a civilian administration on May 29, 1999. The long years of military rule in Nigeria did not eliminate ethno-nationalistic consciousness; rather it curbed its *conflictual* manifestations to some extent. Claude Ake argues that the failure of military rule to stem the tide of ethnic consciousness was a consequence of the fact that it blocked democratic aspirations and the space to ventilate group grievances.<sup>20</sup>

There was the need to openly discuss the serious and pressing issues that were agitated for by the demoralized and defeated Igbo people; especially the post-war generation. This post-war generation believed that their leaders have failed them. There was no leadership in Igboland, even the Ohanaeze—Igbo socio-cultural organization—has not achieved much. Hence most of these people, especially the unemployed, saw an opportunity to vent their anger against the federal government through MASSOB. The unfortunate situation and marginalization of easterners in the scheme of things, made the formation of MASSOB inevitable. This is because the Igbo who bore the brunt of the civil war emerged from the war thoroughly demoralized, psychologically disoriented, materially impoverished, and politically marooned. Their future appeared permanently blighted, such that to be Igbo became a “taboo”.<sup>21</sup>

A combination of state repression and internal dissent weakened MASSOB and introduced deep cracks in its organization such that all the former pro-Biafra organisations—Biafran Liberation Movement (BLM), Biafra Foundation (BF), Biafra Actualisation Forum (BAF), EkweNche (EN), the Biafra Zionist Movement (BZM), later renamed the Biafran Zionist Front (BZF)—that were established in the United States of America and elsewhere to fund and champion the course of Biafra struggle at home, decided to withdraw their support from Uwazuruike’s MASSOB alleging that he had compromised the secessionist struggle and deviated into the mainstream of Nigerian politics.<sup>22</sup> The weakening of MASSOB and the emergence of other factions like BZF etc., opened the space for the emergence of the Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) to continue the agitation for Biafra restoration. The protests by the IPOB have heightened security fears and tension in the South-east and South-south Regions of Nigeria, and put pressure on the Nigerian government to deal with the agitation.<sup>23</sup> The recent upsurge in the demand for a separate Biafra State, as led by the IPOB, has brought about the need for an inquiry into the reasons why the agitation has persisted 49 years after the end of the Nigerian Civil War, the consequences of the recurring agitation, and possible remedies. Being the longest active separatist movement in Nigeria, the persistence of Biafra separatism is particularly interesting because it could provide insights into other separatist movements and identity-based

conflicts in Nigeria,<sup>24</sup> and how such agitations can be solved, whether through the use of police action or negotiations.

The Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB), a splinter group from the Movement for the Actualisation of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB); was an initiative of Nigerians in the Diaspora. It was formed in 2012 by Nnamdi Kanu, the Director of Radio Biafra. The IPOB appears to be more confrontational than other pro-Biafra groups. Its struggle is based on the use of the media; and non-violence, just as the MASSOB, remains the official principle that guides the group. The perceptions of marginalisation, exclusionary politics, cumulative injustice, a weak economy, politics of the hatred, ethno-religious killings, as well as state repression are factors that strengthen the neo-Biafra agitation.<sup>25</sup>

As is already established, the major reasons that led to the emergence of MASSOB undoubtedly led to the emergence of IPOB; and each of them is concerned with the actualisation of the sovereign state of Biafra. However, what inspired the breakaway of IPOB was the perceived and assumed abandonment of the Biafra course by the Uwazuruike led MASSOB. The IPOB emerged as a result of the disagreements between Ralph Uwazuruike and his lieutenants in the Diaspora. Nnamdi Kanu, one of Uwazuruike's lieutenants, decided to reignite the agitation using his own platform. Consequently, the emergence of the IPOB was largely decided by those in the Diaspora as most of her pioneer leaders are based abroad.<sup>26</sup>

### **Nigeria-IPOB Relations**

The relations between the Nigerian government and the IPOB can only be factored in line with the government's relations with the defunct Eastern Region, especially the Igbo people. This is because IPOB believes that it is championing and representing the course of the indigenous people of Biafra. Prior to the civil war, when the killings of the Southerners in Nigeria continued unabated, Ojukwu was left with no option but to declare the Eastern Region a sovereign state named Biafra on May 30, 1967. Both the federal military government and the young state of Biafra went to war against each other. While the young Biafra state fought against Nigeria for survival, Nigeria had to fight to maintain 'one indivisible Nigeria' and to protect the interest of the minorities in the East who were alleged to have been coerced into joining Biafra against their will.<sup>27</sup> The effort of the Eastern Region to pull out of Nigeria to a new country called Biafra, was vehemently resisted by the Nigeria Government. After the war, General Gowon announced the principle and philosophy of *no victor, no vanquished*, which was meant to reassure the international community against further mass killings of *Ndigbo*. This pronouncement was, however, belied by what actually happened on the ground. According to Ahazuem,

The proclamation of the 3R programme of Reconstruction, Rehabilitation and Reconciliation was meant to regenerate hope among *Ndigbo* and probably make it possible for them to pick up once more, the broken rhythms of their lives. Unfortunately, the 3R programme remained ominously silent on the most important issue of 'Reintegration' or the 4<sup>th</sup> R, on which permanent peace could have been won with the end of the war.

The inherent cynicism with which the programme was implemented completely vitiated its avowed good intention.<sup>28</sup>

The parochial and negligent attitude of the Federal Government of Nigeria towards the affairs that are of prime importance to *Ndigbo* made a section of the people to believe that the civil war was now being fought through other means. Hence, IPOB believes self-determination was the answer since all other answers had failed to deliver. This explains the emergence of the contemporary Igbo nationalism whose main aim was to achieve the self-assertion and emancipation of the easterners or Biafrans from Nigeria. Supporting this view of the Igbo leaders, Dahiru cited by Omeire argues that:

The resurrection of the spirit of Biafra...is as a consequence of the heightened marginalization of the Igbo ethnic group under the current administration. Buhari's political scorched earth policy of 97 percent and 5 percent patronage distribution formula directly proportional to the percentage of vote cast for him is made real and the Igbo appear to be punished for freely making democratic choice, as guaranteed by the constitution.<sup>30</sup>

Just like the MASSOB, the ideology that drives IPOB was the passion for freedom which was the most repeated explanation of the members of the organisations. They were of the opinion that the current structure of Nigeria does not allow them to express themselves freely and to maximize their potential fully. This made Oloyede (2009),<sup>31</sup> to assert that the members of the group see Biafra as not only their birth right but as the only means of regaining their lost freedom. He went on to say that:

The feeling of being in "bondage" in Nigeria is an idea that emerged from the post-war realities. Of course, any vanquished in a duel is most likely to assume such disposition especially when the victor either through overt or covert means suggests thus. The militarisation of the Igbo public space further strengthens this mind-set and makes the agitators feel that the only way that they can be free to express themselves the way they want is through self-rule.<sup>32</sup>

In its quest for separatist self-determination, the IPOB movement, just like MASSOB, claims that their strategy of engagement and pursuing her ambition is non-violent. This is captured in the words of one of the member of the group:

We make sure we are non-violent even when attacked. If we are shot and we retaliate, they will call us rebels and use that opportunity to wipe us away. Our strength lies in the fact that we don't retaliate we just remain resolute. This is what makes us relevant. Our leaders always tell us... "Don't go with any arms...just go with your flag. Don't destroy anybody's property". We operate a command and control system thus we obey our leaders to the latter.<sup>33</sup>

A member of the civil society group agrees no less that most IPOB programmes are non-violent. He states that:

Most of their protests have been largely non-violent. No cars were destroyed, nobody was kidnapped, shops were not looted etc. Note that we define the nature of a protest as peaceful or violent based on the early conduct of such activities. This is because the intent of the protest is always made manifest at such early stages.<sup>34</sup>

No doubt, most activities of the IPOB seldom lead to physical violence. In fact, from observation of the group's meetings and announcements of the leaders on radio show that the leadership emphasizes that no member should harass any other citizen or violently engage any law enforcement agent during their processions or other activities, even when they are being shot at. Although the leadership of the group, especially Nnamdi Kanu, and other members of the group are verbally aggressive, they still do not engage in any form of physical abuse of other groups nor do they engage state agents violently. The IPOB effectively makes use of the media, both electronic (radio) and social media to engage its members and nonmembers both locally and internationally. This greatly promotes group-cohesion as their leaders, once in a while, directed members to tune in at particular time for vital information. They equally make use of the social media in engaging the public. They encourage their members to video and snap pictures of all their activities and to post them on social media platforms. These strategies, no doubt, have made the group to internationalise the various extra-judicial killings, highhandedness and gross violations of the rights of the members by the Nigerian government. According to Opejobi, "The leadership of the IPOB recognises this fact and even makes effort to provide free Wi-Fi feed for all members on days during which they plan to hold rallies or protests. They often do this in anticipation of mobile network shut down by the Nigerian government on such days".<sup>35</sup>

The IPOB also uses rallies, market boycott and engagement with the Diaspora Igbo community and others to promote the independence of Biafra. In fact, it was the success achieved in the sit at home of May 30, 2017 by the group that made the Arewayouth, in retaliation, to give a quit notice to the Igbo people leaving in the North to leave the region on or before October 1, 2017. Thus, following this development, President MuhammaduBuhari approved the process of proscribing IPOB. The order proscribing the pro-separatist IPOB was granted by a federal high court, Abuja on September 20, 2017. The court also declared illegal all activities of the group, particularly in the South-east and South-south geo-political zones.<sup>36</sup>

This police action launched against the IPOB led to the militarisation of the South-east and South-south, and the subsequent declaration of the Operation Python Dance in the South-east and Operation Crocodile Smile in the South-south. The military introduced so many activities which led to the gross violation of the rights of the people both the members of the group and others, in the South-east and South-south regions; and in some cases death. Buhari is not the only president who used these acts of aggression against the Southeast and South-south. It was a repetition of

the declaration of war against the Republic of Biafra by Gen. Yakubu Gowon and the Olusegun Obasanjo. In fact, during the regime of Obasanjo, the Attorney General and Minister of Justice, Akintola Olujimi, described the activities of MASSOB as amounting to treason against the Nigeria state. According to him,

MASSOB is championing a cause that could lead to the breaking up of the country. The government cannot sit back and watch any movement or organisation do anything that would jeopardize the unity of this country. What MASSOB is doing amounts to treason and they have to be stopped.<sup>37</sup>

Chief Gani Fawehinmi reacted to this by warning the federal government not to take any punitive action against the group, stating emphatically that no power can subdue the legitimate protest of MASSOB because they represent the genuine interest of the Igbo.<sup>38</sup> Gani went on to say that MASSOB is merely reacting to the political injustices that the Igbo are encountering. To allay their fears is not by declaring the MASSOB an illegal organisation or threatening them. The government should call for a dialogue with MASSOB instead of issuing threats and blackmailing them. Government should look at the grievances of the Igbo which MASSOB represents and that is assimilation. They should be assimilated to the political leadership of this country.<sup>39</sup> He, therefore, concluded that;

I condemn what Olujimi has done; I don't think it will augur well for peace, order and good governance. MASSOB is expressing the genuine feelings of the Igbo all over Nigeria. If charges are pressed against MASSOB, I will defend them. If Olujimi should make the mistake of pressing charges of treason against them, they can be sure that I will be one of the people to defend them. I don't see any treason in what they have done so far.<sup>40</sup>

The Federal Government of Nigeria was unable to heed the warnings of Gani. Rather it became violently disposed to the group, by claiming that the activities of MASSOB were posing a threat to the Nigerian government. With this, the federal government, under Obasanjo, discretely arrested many members of the group, including the leader, Uwazuruike, such that it was difficult to ascertain the number of MASSOB members who were arrested during this clampdown. So many of them were arrested, maimed, killed, others went missing, and their properties were destroyed. In fact, it is hard to ascertain the number of MASSOB members that were killed. It was this incessant and merciless attacks and killings that made the Movement to become more violent and aggressive in achieving their goals. This same fate befell IPOB. Many of its members have been arrested, including the leader, Nnamdi Kanu, while others were maimed, killed and others went missing. This brings us to a pertinent question, should the country concentrate on Human Security or National Security?

### **Human Security or National Security**

Security simply means safety or freedom from danger and threats to the survival of individuals, nations and the international system at both internal and external levels. For too long, the concept of security has been shaped by the potential

for conflict between states and equated with the threats to a country's borders thereby making nations to sought arms to protect their security. This makes the concept of security to assume a relative term that means different things to different people, hence differences in approach in the pursuit of it.<sup>41</sup> Nwanegbo and Odigbo, are of the view that there are two major ways of looking at security. According to them, one is the neo-realist perspective that sees security as strictly a state affair aimed entirely at securing the territorial integrity of the state through military approach. This conception of security dominates security debates and logic during the cold war era. However, with the end of the cold war, the world is adopting a postmodernist perspective in conceptualizing security. This approach seeks to displace the state as a major provider of security but rather places greater emphasis on non-state actors.<sup>42</sup> Thus; they argue that the concept of security goes beyond a military determination of threats. There are so many aspects of security. But our concern here is on National Security and Human Security. The clarification of these concepts will give clear direction to our work. National security, according to Held is,

The acquisition, deployment and use of military force to achieve national goals. It is the preservation of the values a nation holds as relates to the defense of its territory from human as well as non-human threats and guides in the pursuit of its national interest in the international system.<sup>43</sup>

National security is primarily concerned with the preservation of independence and sovereignty of nation-states. Defining national security from a military perspective, Olaniyan and Omotola conceptualise national security as “the build-up of a formidable military defense to protect the territorial integrity of the state from both internal and external violations.”<sup>44</sup> By this, they mean that a country is secured only when it is able to build its military capabilities to deter potential aggressors or defeat aggressors should deterrence fail. On this, Kalu, Ajuzie and Chukwu warned that any society that seeks to achieve adequate military security against the background of acute food shortage, population explosion, low level of production and per capita income, low technological development, inadequate and inefficient public utilities, and chronic problem of unemployment, has a false sense of security.<sup>45</sup>

By implication of this definition, it is so clear that security is not just the protection of national territorial integrity of the state. Security like development must have a human face. A man without assurance where his next meal is coming from does not have security, even if he is protected by the best army in world with the most sophisticated military hard ware. This brings us to the concept of human security. The recent upsurge in Biafran agitation, no doubt, has its roots in the failure of the government policies to provide or manage the basic human psychological needs of its citizens. On the basis of this reality, redefining security beyond the parochial scope of “National Security” becomes imperative in Nigeria if sustainable peace and national development are to be achieved. In view of the foregoing, the concept of ‘Human Security’ has become highly imperative. Before the emergence of this concept, the

US Secretary of State, in 1945, was quite specific on this point when he reported to his government that:

The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace,...No provisions that can be written into the Charter [UNO] will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs.<sup>46</sup>

The term Human Security appeared in the United Nation's 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) to expand the scope of security beyond the narrow sense of security as national protection of territorial integrity of a state against aggressions from enemy nations. According to the 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) of United Nation,

The idea of security focuses basically on individuals having access to safe drinking water, shelter, food, security for every household, employment opportunities, eradication of poverty, social and political inclusion, good governance, environmental protection and access to quality healthcare services. One cannot be said to be protected until one is economically, socially, educationally, medically, politically and environmentally protected. It makes no meaning spending millions of dollars on military hardware annually while individuals living in the 'protected territories' are languishing in abject poverty, excruciating pains of hardships, in a disease-infested area, without safe drinking water, access to healthy food, quality education or shelter.<sup>47</sup>

This brings to the fore the fact that even though Nigeria is not fighting any external aggression, the fisherman and woman in the Niger-Delta whose land and aquatic life are destroyed by oil exploration and exploitation lack security. In the same vein, a young graduate who has searched for job without hope of getting any cannot talk of security. A poverty-ridden market woman struggling every day to survive hunger is not secured. In fact, Human Security is synonymous with development. It involves raising the quality of life of the people through provision of safe drinking water, food, quality healthcare, good roads, dignified housing, quality education, quality and sustainable environment, and community participation.<sup>48</sup> The re-emergence of pro-Biafra groups that are championing the course of a new republic, especially the IPOB, no doubt, has its roots in the politics of hatred, exclusionism, ethno-religious crisis, lack of infrastructural development and restructuring which have become the lots of the people of the old Eastern region. In all these, the Nigerian government has mistakenly and narrowly defined security strictly as national security. The logic is that this definition informs her approach and strategies for combating the menace. Hence, the brazen gross violation of the rights of its citizens, especially the members of IPOB, who believe in their messianic role of championing the course of the Biafra people. One does not need a degree in mathematics to know that a wrong

formula will produce a wrong answer. The Nigerian government has spent billions of naira in military hardware and personnel to combat terrorism and other forms of agitations, and has lost so much in terms of military personnel, erroneously believing that it can achieve peace and security through these means. Every effort to tackle security problems in Nigeria has achieved little or no result. This is because national sustainability without national justice will remain elusive, a mirage and white goose chase.

### **The Way Forward**

The basic issue underlying the argument in this work is that the character of the Nigerian state, especially its structural imbalance, made the emergence of ethnic militia and political struggles inevitable. The rise of these movements, especially IPOB, is an indictment to the collective failure of leadership in the country. These failures include power structure, parochial and chauvinistic behaviour of its hegemonic ruling class, politics of exclusionism played along ethnic lines, total indifference of the state to the well-being and welfare of its citizens, state-centered corruption, and the present market norms that “nourishes’ rather than reduce or eliminate poverty, *etc.* It is not overstating the obvious that the grievances which have led to the resuscitation of separatist agitation in Nigeria, whether by MASSOB or IPOB or any other similar group, border on inequality in the distribution of power, economic and other social resource of Nigeria, thereby making ethnic parochialism stronger than national consciousness.

This study, therefore, concludes by saying that mitigating the negative consequences of the recurring agitation for Biafra requires a well thought-out conflict resolution strategy. This is premised on the fact that the current federal government’s strategy for dealing with the Biafra separatist movement which focuses mainly on police action has not been very useful in addressing the problem. Redressing the inherent lapses in Nigeria’s federal structure has become expedient in order to ensure socio-political, economic justice, equity and fairness for all its component parts. Thus, the issue of ethnic agitation in Nigeria, especially IPOB, might be addressed if the government adopts the following positive policies and programmes that are likely to reintegrate the various ethnic cleavages into the main stream of Nigerian politics.

In all, there is need for the restructuring of Nigeria into a true federation which will in turn enhance peaceful coexistence among the various ethnic nationalities. Until this is done, Nigeria will never have peace, and there will not be progress, nation-building and democratisation in the country.

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**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF AZIKIWE'S POLITICAL DIRECTION  
IN "IDEOLOGY FOR NIGERIA: CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM OR  
WELFARISM"**

**Jude Ani (Rev. Fr.)**

**Introduction**

On September 21, 1978, the long ban on political activities in Nigeria was lifted and a new constitution was published. The ban on politics had been in place since January 1966 when the military took over the reins of political governance in Nigeria. With the ban so lifted, five political parties emerged and were cleared to run for elections which would usher in the Second Republic. They were Greater Nigerian People's Party (GNPP), National Party of Nigeria (NPN), Nigeria Advance Party (NAP), Nigerian People's Party (NPP), People's Redemption Party (PRP), and Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN). Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe joined the NPP. The presidential elections of August were in favor of the NPN presidential candidate, Alhaji Shehu Shagari. He allegedly defeated Azikiwe in a close and controversial vote. The NPN also took 36 of 95 Senate seats, 165 of 443 House of Representatives seats and won control of seven states (Sokoto, Niger, Bauchi, Benue, Cross River, Kwara, and Rivers) (Unaegbu *et al*, 2019).

The situation of his being denied the chance of being an executive president of Nigeria for the second time had a thoughtful effect on Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe. He went into writing and by 1980, had quickened action on a manuscript and authored a book which dealt with the problem with Nigeria. The book was entitled, "Ideology for Nigeria: Capitalism, Socialism or Welfarism?". This book was meant to offer a political direction for Nigeria. In the preface, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe revealed that he had four reasons for writing the book. The first was that the Nigerian intellectuals who were coming back from being trained abroad were looking down on the fathers who denied themselves the luxuries of life to educate them abroad. The offspring saw the way of life, including political ideologies, of their fathers as old. In the words of Azikiwe, the fathers were seen as "the old brigade" (Page x, para I, line vii). This stance suggests that there is disrespect for what has been in the land and a preference for any external ideology or for none at all. The second reason for writing the book was that new professionals were increasing in Nigeria being that the Nigerian nationalists had "forced the hands of the British colonial administration, thirty years ago, to formulate a scholarship policy which enabled Nigerians... to be ...trained...to replace their ...mentors when Nigeria became a Republic in 1963" (Page x, para ii, line 5). The third reason was that it was time for the intellectuals to position the nation to its rightful place amongst the comity of nations by adopting a suitable ideology amidst the contending ideologies that may result to complicate issues if not carefully distilled for the uniqueness of the Nigerian situation. The last reason was that there was need for every society to adopt an ideology of its own rooted in its past. According to Azikiwe:

My view is that whilst we must admit that Nigeria is multi-lingual with variegated cultures, there are some unifying elements in its conflicting ideologies which could be harmonized by adaptation to modern criteria and practices.

My ground for taking this stand should be obvious. If our progenitors could create a social atmosphere which was stable and it enabled them to survive the struggle for existence, it is logical to conclude that their ideology worked. (Page x, para v, line ii).

In this book, Azikiwe described Capitalism, Socialism, Communism, Democratic Socialism, African Socialism, Socialism in Nigeria and Welfarism. He attempted a harmonization of ideologies also. This study aims at analyzing the political direction of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as suggested in his book, "Ideology for Nigeria: Capitalism, Socialism or Welfarism?"

### **Deductive Reasoning**

In philosophy, we learn that deductive reasoning is the process of reasoning from one or more statements (premises) to reach a logically certain conclusion. Azikiwe utilized this skill in his comparing the nature of the different available ideologies that were thriving at the time of his writing and tried to reach the best deduction which the Nigerian situation can harness for a stable political direction. In his preface, Azikiwe gave a clear hint of the philosophies that influenced his deduction thus:

I have been obliged to elaborate on two distinct schools of thought, which had influenced my judgment. I refer to eclecticism and pragmatism which, in turn, are based on empiricism and rationalism, as justification for my advocacy of an ideology which, for want of a better terminology, I have decided to christen *Neo-welfarism*. This ideology is eclectic in the sense that it incorporates in its system what I consider to be the most utilitarian and practicable elements in capitalism, socialism and welfarism, that can be adapted to the Nigerian situation and experience. (Page xi, para ii, line v).

This *Neo-Welfarism* which was the conclusion Azikiwe came to was arrived at after establishing that culturally, before modern influences, Nigerians had political directions or ideologies which defined their ways of life. In chapter one, he described this deduction amidst giving descriptions of Pristine Nigerian Ideologies. The first section dealt on dialogue on ideology. In this section, Azikiwe defined some terms necessary for understanding of his premises by readers. The next section in this study showcases the definitions.

### **Definition of Terms**

The following definitions, as given by Azikiwe, are very necessary for clear terms of reference and they are as he defined them:

**Capitalism:** an economic system characterized by private or corporation ownership of capital goods, by investments that are determined by private decision, rather than by state control, and by prices, production and distribution of goods determined mainly in a free market.

**Democracy:** the rule of a people by its majority inhabitants and includes a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation, usually involving periodically held free and fair elections.

**Eclecticism:** a theory based on the selection of what appears to be the best in various doctrines, methods or styles; that is, a composition of elements drawn from various sources.

**Ideology:** a systematic body of concepts, especially about human life or culture. It includes a way of life and the thinking characteristic of an individual or a group of individuals on particular aspects of social relations.

**Neo-welfarism:** an economic system which blends the essential elements of capitalism, socialism and welfarism in a socio-economic matrix, influenced by indigenous Nigerian mores, to enable the State and the private sector to own and control the means of production, distribution and exchange, whilst simultaneously enabling the State to assume responsibility for the social services, in order to benefit the citizens, according to their needs and officially-specified minimum standards, without prejudice to participation in any aspect of the social services by voluntary agencies.

**Proletariat:** a class in the community comprising persons who do not possess capital or property, but are obliged to offer their labour to earn wages with which to keep body and soul together.

**Socialism:** an economic system in which the means of production, distribution and exchange together with the administration of social services are concentrated in the hands of the State and dispensed from each according to his ability and to each according to his ability.

**Welfarism:** a social system where the State assumes primary responsibility for the individual and social welfare of its citizens. It is the complex of policies, attitudes and beliefs which animate the State to provide its inhabitants with minimum standards in education, health, housing, pensions etc., where individual means are inadequate.

**Analysis of the Political Direction of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as Suggested in his 1980 Book, “Ideology for Nigeria: Capitalism, Socialism or Welfarism?”**

In chapter one, after a definition of terms, Azikiwe gave further descriptions of pristine Nigerian ideologies, as they were before being influenced by modern ideologies. In describing the Nigerian politics and jurisprudence, he asserts that Nigerian democracy, on the whole, is a representative government of the generality of Nigerians, by elected or selected councilors, who represent their kindred or families, and who comprise elders or spiritual leaders or titled persons, irrespective of their station in life, for the commonwealth. He sees the Western democracy (Europe and America etc) as government of the people, by their elected or selected representatives, comprising socially –stratified leaders, for the welfare of the electorate. The Eastern Democracy (Asia) is government of the people, by their elected or selected representatives, mainly workers or commissars, for the welfare of the proletariat. It appears that by describing the Nigerian situation, Azikiwe drew reference from the Igbo culture, more of the time than not. The use of the term, “Nigerian” in place of a specific tribe is aimed at making descriptions “detrified”. The Hausa culture, in its pristine state, which is given to mean its pre-contact state or its state before its contact with Western or Eastern ideologies, is imperial or based on kingship with the tendency for authoritarianism rather than a democratic setting. The Yoruba is more Republican with some balance of power. For the Igbo, there were very few pre-contact areas which had Igbo kings (such as the Nri and Onitsha areas), leading to the saying that the Igbo had no king. Because of the situation of not having kings for the Igbo, the description about the Nigerian democracy as given above is fitting for the Igbo.

There is a conscious attempt by Azikiwe to bring out the positives in the Nigerian culture with regard to its pristine ideologies and to accentuate the negatives of the Western and Eastern polities. The justification for this stance is neither here nor there. But the researcher deducts from other literature, especially from African intellectuals, that Western and Eastern ideologies must have their own positives as African cultures with their politics and jurisprudence are sometimes seen in negative light. One of such opposing literature is authored by an acolyte of Azikiwe, Dr. A.A. Nwafor-Orizu in his 1944 book entitled, *Without Bitterness: Western Nations in Post-War Africa*, “For the last hundred years Africans have been guilty of the sin of complacency and unconsciousness. They have long been living an equivocal life, their economic order, their social institutions, their religious convictions, and their political philosophy— have been at a standstill”.

The argument here is that European influences had caused the African to forget his values. But the fact of forgetting these values is a negative, which had been around from about 1844 as Nwafor-Orizu reasoned. If the African culture is fool-proof, it would not have given way or imploded easily in the advent of other ideologies. Something gave way. In the case of the Igbo, the *Osu* or ostracized people who had ran to deities for protection were some of the first to embrace Western government and religion. The fact of ostracizing people, who might have been innocent, in the politics and jurisprudence of the pristine Nigerian ideologies must be

a weakness which gave way to an advancing external force. In arguing for a prevalent system of positives for the Nigerian jurisprudential system, a paradoxical affirmation of the positives in the jurisprudence of Western Democracy, despite surface negatives, is demonstrated by Azikiwe still:

The jurisprudence of the Western Democracies is based on fairplay and equity; nevertheless, it follows the rules of warfare and relies on technicalities not only to absolve *prima facie* criminals from punishment but to evade the just interpretation of the law strictly on merit, apart from other aberrations (page 7, para 8, line 1).

Azikiwe also argues similar strengths in the Eastern Democracies, seeing them as comparable with the Nigerian pre-contact democracies, but he also brings out heavily the weaknesses in the Eastern Democracies, and ending with “I hope I will not be accused of prejudice in this respect.” (page 7, para 8, line 1). Whatever Azikiwe’s approach, the researcher appreciates Azikiwe’s conscious hold on pragmatism and eclecticism, not throwing away Western or other external ideologies, but taking the best aspects of them for amalgamation with authentic African indigenous ideologies.

In the section, Sociology and economics, Azikiwe describes the Nigerian social ideology as altruistic and observant of the extended family system and the Western and Eastern Democracies as fostering discriminatory practices in many instances. The Nigerian economic ideology is seen by Azikiwe as welfarist in its purest form. It is community-based. This he called proto-welfarism. In describing the Western and Eastern Democracies, the author showed that, for the West, the rich keeps getting richer and the poor keeps getting poorer, in propagation of their economic ideology, which, rather than based on the community more extended family is based on the individual. For the first time, Azikiwe did not attach any negative for the Eastern Democracies. In a clear positive description, he said, “The Eastern Democracies promote the material prosperity of the proletariat” (.

In Philosophy and Religion, Azikiwe explains that the Nigerian believes that the spirit of his ancestors permeates the fabric of his society and guides his thoughts and activities. Like the researcher showed above, in making this assertion, Azikiwe either betrays an Igbo cultural influence on his thoughts, generalizing the culture for all Nigerians, or writes in that deliberate way to foster unity for Nigerian readers and bring about the Nigerian Dream as similar to the American Dream, a unification and oneness of diverse cultures in the bid to create a gestalt whole, an easily malleable ideology that could be-all and fit-all for the benefit of focus in the polity. The Western Democracies mostly embrace Christianity. For the Eastern Democracies, the oriental states are pantheists, while Russia and its neighbouring countries are atheistic.

In Chapter Two entitled, “The Case for Capitalism”, Azikiwe aptly described the capitalist society. We learn that for a society to be tagged as practicing capitalism, the minority would be the owners of property and capital goods whose production, distribution and prices are determined by this minority, motivated solely by profit in a free market, and without any serious state interference. Citing Galbraith (1958:265),

Azikiwe shows that in such an arrangement, the majority without property would work or give their labour as a commodity to earn profit to survive. Two features of capitalism are the specialization of labour and competition as an incentive. In Chapter Three, "The Case against Capitalism", the author showed that capitalism is weak in that "monkey work, baboon chop", this means that the worker may not receive his fair share of the fruits of his labour. There were more than one criticism against capitalism. Some of them include the law of the jungle. This is a situation in which competition created by the capitalist society is unnecessary and unhealthy, and man is seen as unfairly ambitious right from his cave days. Another criticism argues that capitalism is incapable of planning intelligently that is in a coordinated and systematic way. So far money is always in the hands of the few and they determine the market and there are the majority that have little or no money, then capitalism encourages inequality. Chapter Four of Azikiwe's book deals with "The Case for Socialism". There would be people who would want to share the collective property, rather than leave it for everyone equally. Another weakness is the tendency towards totalitarianism which is fostered by the desire to force the human nature to align to not owning property, but to be altruistic. Azikiwe reveals a nugget:

From my limited but practical experience, as Premier of Eastern Nigeria, for over five years, I have had the opportunity to come into closer contact with human beings, as rulers, administrators and the ruled. I was so dumbfounded and astonished that I have yet to recover from the shock of my almost losing faith in the goodness of human beings... unless discipline is engendered in the community by means of totalitarian methods, which need not be brutal necessarily; human beings do not voluntarily serve with a spirit of altruism. (Page 24, para 5, line 2).

In Chapter Six, a form of socialism which is totalitarian in nature is showcased. This is the theory of communism as expounded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their famous 1848 book, *The Communist Manifesto*. The book reveals that history, all along, has been a struggle between the bourgeoisies (owners of properties and means of production) and the proletariats (those who labour for the bourgeoisies to survive and who do not own properties). The authors promised that the proletariat would rise and take over the means of production and wealth would be distributed equally to everyone. Chapter seven shows that in practice, communism was not entirely the way it was envisioned in the *Manifesto*. Human nature corroded the practice. Azikiwe demonstrated a dislike of Josef Stalin, the Soviet Union ruler, by Vladimir Lenin, one of the two pioneer leaders of the Soviet communist revolution. The other person was Leon Trotsky. Lenin had to say of Stalin, "Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution..."(Page 34, para 5, line 1) Like a sage, Azikiwe warns Nigerians who wishes to have communism as a political system in the country to adapt it to the needs of the country and not to adopt it wholesale (page 56, para 3, line 1). The reason he gives is

that communism in practice breeds totalitarianism as in the case of China, Mongolia and Cuba as at that time.

Chapter Eight explores Democratic Socialism. This concept is simply the use of democratic elections to install the leaders of a socialist state. This will help to remove evil leaders and install leaders elected by the general will of the society.

In Chapter Nine, Azikiwe introduced us to African Socialism and how it was being cognized and even practiced in Africa up to 1979. He particularly shows that his erstwhile protégé, Kwame Nkrumah, former president of Ghana, had his own idea of Socialism which advocated for a blend of both capitalism and socialism in an eclectic way. Nkrumah (1961:119) pointed out that prices of goods must not exceed wages; house rentals must be within the means of all groups; social welfare services must be open to all and educational and cultural amenities must be available to everyone. Azikiwe tagged his idea, "Positive Socialism" or *humanism*. For Senghor as President of Senegal, socialism must make reference to *Negritude*, which is the accentuation of black African values. (Senghor, 1963:67). Colonel Nasser, President of the United Arab Emirate (1954-1970) argued that socialism and democracy should be inseparable. While democracy means political freedom, Socialism means social freedom. And both are necessary for true freedom. President Nyerere of Tanzania put to practice his own idea of socialism with *Ujama'a*, which means "family-hood". In this system, in every family, members of the same family should be involved in being responsible for the welfare of other members of the same family. Azikiwe revealed that he particularly agreed with Nkrumah's *humanism* and Nyerere's *Ujama'a*. But in the latter part of the chapter, Azikiwe saw Nkrumah's action of calling for immediate violence and bloody revolution in the attempt to enthrone socialism in Ghana as "an egregious blunder". The researcher tries to understand from the circumstances which propelled a frustrated Nkrumah to take his decision. Can we call his action an act of "folly" as his "good friend", Azikiwe sees it, using the very word? Azikiwe narrated that Nkrumah died in Romania in exile and was buried in Guinea. His body was exhumed and later re-buried in Ghana with a state funeral years after he was overthrown as a tyrant. The researcher thinks that the elements of Ghana that saw it fit to establish Nkrumah's legacies in goold light must have reasons to do so. Would these elements see his actions as acts of folly as Azikiwe pointed out? Azikiwe shows the gravamen of his criticism thus:

Socialism could be blended with capitalism to produce an eclectic ideology that is practicable and adaptable to the ways of life of any people anywhere on earth. So far as I am concerned, the expression "African Socialism" is not only a misnomer. It is also self-deception (Page 75, para 2, line 6).

Chapter Ten deals with Welfarism in Theory and Practice. In this concept, the State assumes primary responsibility for the individual and social welfare of its citizens. It is the complex of policies, attitudes and beliefs which animate the State to provide its inhabitants with minimum standards in education, health, housing, pensions etc., where individual means are inadequate. Azikiwe gives example of the free supply of milk and meals by the government to school children in the United

Kingdom and other countries, the free immunization of children against many diseases which had helped to preserve their health; war pensions etc. In other words, when the State or government intervenes in areas that are normally the “exclusive preserve for charitable organizations and philanthropists” (page 78, para5, line 7).

Azikiwe pointed out that the more a State is burdened with social responsibilities, the more it is bound to attract heavier taxation for financing welfare expenditures. A very apt lesson is given in the following words:

...it would be most embarrassing, if not suicidal, to plunge into the pool of welfarism without taking note that it is a frailty of human beings to seek to reap where they had not sown. Any social service which is *free* is bound to be inundated with drop-outs, idlers, adventurers, spivs and their collaborators, apart from the genuine sector of the population concerned (Page 86, para 1, line 1).

Chapter Eleven dwells on Socialism in Nigeria. Azikiwe looked at the activities of the then Nigerian National Socialist Party (NNSP) which began in August 1944. The enthusiasm of the young elites with socialism is palpable in the book. But Azikiwe and this researcher also, think that the basic core of socialism was not fully grasped by many of the Nigerian practitioners. The influence of Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, alias *Cunctator* in the political thought of Azikiwe is evident in this chapter. According to Fabius’ biographers (Plutarch, Livy and Polybius), Fabius was nicknamed *Cunctator* (The Delayer) because of his cautious tactics in the Second Punic War between Rome and Carthage. He led the Roman army against Hannibal. He utilized “mastery inactivity”. With his infantry, he would go to the hills where Hannibal’s cavalry could not reach and from there, he would taunt him to come and fight. He cut off Hannibal’s supplies and did everything to confront this great African warrior in an open fight, except to fight. He would give an impression that he was going to attack, but then he would remain where he is or withdraw if he had begun to come out. His adversary was left to worry about logistics, since moving around a cavalry, which included elephants, was tasking. Fabius was misunderstood as a coward by his own people of Rome. They insulted him to derision. He remained focused. When he was sure that he had exhausted Hannibal with his taunting, he gave battle furiously and decisively defeated Hannibal.

This Fabian tactic was utilized by Azikiwe’s NCNC in what is termed, “Fabian Socialism”. The various responsibilities that a government needed to handle were documented in the NCNC manifesto, including free education for all children, agriculture, health, housing etc. The Action Group and its idea of Democratic Socialism was also explained by Azikiwe. Chief Awolowo believed that the aims of socialism are social justice and equality. He advocated for government to advance remuneration for both skilled and unskilled workers. Azikiwe finds Awolowo’s idea as an “academic analysis” and an “instructive exercise”. To end this Chapter Eleven, the socialism in Ojukwu’s Ahiara Declaration was explained by Azikiwe. The author’s subtle suspicion of the Declaration as credited to Ojukwu is evident:

The Biafran leader had no choice but to allow himself to be persuaded to propound The Ahiara Declaration said to have been drafted by a clique of university cranks and which contained a hodge-podge of state capitalism-cum-Christian socialism. What was Ojukwu's rationale for expounding this makeshift ideology?(page 107, para 3, line 6).

Azikiwe commended Ojukwu for the laid-down principles and solutions to problems in the Declaration, but he ended his analysis by saying that Ojukwu was being "tautologic" in the contents of the Declaration, thereby intensifying the problems of those who are making efforts to enthrone socialism.

In Chapter Twelve, Azikiwe harmonized the ideologies he had described thus far. He advocated for getting the best aspects of the three ideologies: Capitalism, Socialism and welfarism and adapting them to indigenous ideologies, thereby producing a new system. This will pander to the "Eclectic Philosophy".

In Chapter Thirteen, Azikiwe reveals his New-Welfarism for Nigeria. His thesis presupposes that Africa had existing indigenous ideologies as against the belief of some writers that there was no such thing as African philosophy or ideologies. Therefore, what Nigeria needed was ideological reorientation, a re-learning of who we are and the worldviews that defines how we live. Azikiwe's reason for propounding neo-welfarism was to provide a direction in the midst of confusion in Nigerians about what ideological direction to take.

Here is a summary of the articles of faith. In some respects, they pander to the Nigerian Constitution as at 1979, and the categories are the refurbishment of the instrument of power is advocated; the Rule of Law is promoted; the reinforcement of fundamental Rights of the Nigerian as is in the Constitution; the maintenance of the separation of powers and the balance of power in a democratic setting; enforcing the laws of government without compromise; the administration of welfarism by the State in form of public utilities, health care, educational institutions; agricultural production; recreational facilities; and amusements and entertainment; and the adoption of an open door policy.

These canons define Neo-welfarism and, according to Azikiwe, activate his belief in the "practicability of this blueprint for the emancipation of Nigeria from the thralldom of alien ideologies and the shackles of our traditions". By adhering strictly to the canons, there will be the prevention of the existence of "want in the midst of plenty and cure the co-existence of a class of HAVES and HAVE-NOTS" (Page 131, para 5, line 2). In Neo-welfarism, there should be national unity, federation, democracy, regarding the Nigerian constitution as the Fundamental Law of Nigeria, individual freedom, legislature, executive, judiciary, checks and balances, international relations (which should have pragmatic neutralism, good neighbourliness, positive reciprocity, world power, African Co-operation, and commonwealth fellowship); international obligation, armed and security forces, revenue allocation, public debt (there should be minimal public debt as much as possible through the competency of personnel of the Central Bank of Nigeria), order of precedence (the respect and mention of predecessors and continuum in policies).

Chapter Fourteen concludes Azikiwe's book on the Ideology for Nigeria. Here Azikiwe mentions the thoughts of other scholars in finding an ideology for Nigeria. He mentions Mallam A.D. Ajijola as saying that no amount of foreign capitalism or pragmatic socialism will be suitable for Nigeria. Mallam Ajijola advocated for the adoption of ideas which reflect on Nigerian ways of life and thought. He was for the system which "will raise the general consumer goods for the few" (page 171, para 5, line 3). Azikiwe reveals that "Nigerian political institutions in the hoary past were essentially democratic". They believed in private ownership of property. They cooperated with other members of the community as their brother's keeper. Thus, their society was socialist in structure but capitalist in content. Azikiwe asks, "Should we not use this heritage to prepare a socio-economic matrix with which we can harmonize capitalism and socialism together with the paraphernalia of a welfare state?"

### **Conclusion**

Azikiwe showed bias for indigenous ideologies and a suspicion of Western and Eastern Democracies and their subscribing to Democratic capitalism and democratic socialism respectively. He advocated for an ideology which combines the virtues of eclecticism and pragmatism (especially as advanced by Pierce, James and Dewey) to make a hybrid of the best aspects of capitalism, socialism and welfarism, a hybrid which he called "Neo-welfarism". This new ideology, Azikiwe sees as the suitable political direction for Nigeria. How has Nigeria fared since 1980 when his book was published? Just as if the players did not heed his advice, detailed as elements of Neo-Welfarism, they continued in extreme democratic capitalism, even divesting some welfare responsibilities of the State through privatization or capitalization of power supply etc. The reason for this action is that Government is incapable of handling some of these responsibilities and that private individuals could be scrupulous in carrying out the same responsibilities because of the desire for profit. That the State divested itself of some welfare responsibility, thereby weakening aspects of welfarism in its practice, on the reason that it was inefficient in shouldering them shows that Neo-Welfarism itself may have a challenge when practiced in Nigeria, a challenge it has to viciously surmount: that of the reprobate individual. The corruption in the State is the trouble with Nigeria. It could weaken the golden elements of Welfarism within the hybrid fabric of Neo-welfarism. The same corruption can accentuate and bring in the weak aspects of capitalism in the same Neo-welfarist system just for the inordinate desire by individuals to make high profit, thereby widening the gap between the rich and poor.

The researcher believes that the moral rectitude of the individual Nigerian needs to be worked on. This is where Zikism (coined by Dr. Nwafor Orizu) in which the element of Spiritual balance is very important. With spiritual balance, the rest of the five elements of Zikism comes in: Political Resurgence or Risorgimento, Economic Determinism, Mental Emancipation, and Social regeneration.

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## **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MBOM FESTIVAL TO THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF ITEM COMMUNITY**

**Peace E. Udensi, Joy I. Obayi & Johnson K. Udensi**

### **Introduction**

Every African community is virtually endowed with one form of traditional festival that is celebrated annually, bi-annually or spaced up to three or more years. These festivals include the new yam harvest celebrations, wrestling contexts, puberty initiations, fishing and hunting expeditions, deity and ancestral worships etc. According to Okafor (2005: 4), Festival is that chain of activities, celebrations, ceremonies, foods, drinks and rituals, which marks the continuity of culture in an environment. These festivals occur at appointed times in the lunar calendar and mark the rhythm of life. Similarly other musicologists such as Bame (1991: 12), Hornby (1995: 429), and Onwuekwe (2005: 99) see festivals as “seasonal, propitiatory, sacrificial events by means of which people with common cultural and religious identity come together to celebrate and request or acknowledge the blessing of the supreme God as well as the lesser deities and ancestral spirits.

From the foregoing, festival could be seen as a cultural centre of a community in that it brings people of common ethics and ancestral heritage together regardless of their socio-economic and political status. This implies that festival accommodates both the rulers and the ruled, literates and illiterates, the rich and the poor, male and female, young and old etc. It provides abundant opportunities for the practice and exhibition of the communal musical arts such as praise songs, satire, dances, dramatization, miming and sacrifices to the gods and ancestral deities.

### **Background of Mbom Festival**

Mbom festival is a new yam celebration performed annually among various villages within item autonomous community in Bende Local Government Area of Abia State. This community is bounded on the east by Nkporo and Abriba, on the west by Ugwueke, on the North by Akeze, and on the South by Alayi and Igbere communities. The town is made up of nine villages; namely Apuanu (the capital), Amaeke, Amaokwe, Okoko, Okagwe, Okayi, Akanu Amaekpu, and Umakpa. Historically, item people are great farmers and traders. They have rich loamy soil for the production of different types of arable and cash crops such as yams, cassava, oil palm and cocoa for which old Bende province ranked second largest producer in Nigeria. To buttress on this, Isichei (1975: 206), observed that:

In the extreme South East of Igbo land near Arochukwu, the absence of forest was compensated for by the number of palm trees extending in all directions round the villages... The fields seemed to be almost entirely devoted to yam cultivation, although, maize was scattered in patches between some of the yams, and in the small gardens around each house and compound.

Apart from the farm work, Item people are highly industrious in areas of trade and craft. They travel far and wide in search of good fortune. These movements in the past resulted in series of wars for which they were known and remembered. The development of Aba town, for example, was primarily borne out of the business activities of most early traders from Item. This quest for fortune which was often marked with wars brought about the Ikperikpe Ogu dance presently associated with the Mbom festival in Item. The Mbom as a New Yam Festival celebrated by the entire Item community features the Ikperikpe-Ogu dance. This dance serves as the life-wire of the festival. The *Ikperikpe-Ogu* dance actually originated from the neighborhood Ohafia community and was imbibed by the Item people in view of the relationship that existed between the two communities. Initially, the dance was performed exclusively to announce the return of warriors and to celebrate with those of them that made successful exploits in the war. During the celebration, each successful warrior is often praised by the Ikoro and in response to the call, he presents his human exploits and demonstrates, his actions during the encounter with the enemies. This henceforth, marked the beginning of military prowess which was then celebrated with the war dance. It also became mandatory that every male adult of Item must accomplish this warring task for human exploits in order to be recognized as a full fledged adult in the community. Besides, only heads of adult male were used for the celebration.

However, the advent of the western civilization has led to the drop of the old custom for the current practice involving the use of sculptured wooden heads in place of the human exploits. In addition, some of the instruments used for this festival dance have been replaced. For example, the Ikoro is now replaced with membrane drum for easy movement while the war daggers (opia) that used to serve as clappers have be replaced with wooden clappers. The only instrument that is still retained is the horn (opi). This new development is often reflected in one of the festival's chants:

“Ma o bughu nwa Bekee, Igbo amara ihe anyi yaeme our reaction.	English translation: If not for the white man, Igbo would've known
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As people are no longer engaged in head-hunting, the Mbom new yam festival therefore, became the main avenue for the Ikeprikpe-Ogu dance performance. This does not however, mean that Ikeprikpe-Ogu cannot be performed on other occasions such as burial of prominent member of the community, for welcoming August visitors, commissioning of projects in the community or for honouring some illustrious sons and daughters of Item who have distinguished themselves in various fields' of life.

Before the commencement of the festival which usually takes place on one of the Eke market days known as “Eke Mbom”, certain preparatory events are usually put in place. These include religious and material preparations.

### **Religious Preparations**

This comprises of those items needed for the consultation of the gods, fortification of the chief priest for the sacrifices, purifications of the land as well as selection of the actual date for the celebration. During this preparatory time, some gods and ancestral deities such as 'Kamalu' (god of thunder) and 'Agwu' (god of war) are usually appeased through various ritual activities which usually involve dance performances. For instance, 'the Igwa Agwu' ceremony takes place between the 4<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> day to Mbom festival. This ritual is first performed by the Amukabi kindred in line with the tradition. Other sections of the Amaokwe village perform similar sacrifices two days after Amukabi. Failure to perform the 'Agwu' ritual ceremony implies that the entire Item community will not be able to celebrate the new yam festival. Certainly, history has never been told of any year the celebration did not hold.

### **Material Preparations**

The material aspect involves the cleaning of the paths leading to the shrines, renovation of the shrines' houses, purchasing of all the materials needed for the celebration as there will be no more markets or farm work some weeks after the celebration. This preparatory event also includes performance rehearsals which usually takes place on the eve of the celebration. This rehearsal is usually referred to as '*Igba Mbom Anyasi*' (evening celebration). To highlight on this, Ehiwario (2005: 68) remarked that as soon as the date of the festival is fixed, the community was kept in a festival mood with series of activities such as thorough sanitation of the entire community, clearing of the route leading to the deities of *Osiezi juju* shrine... The clearing of the path leading to the *Mbom* shrines covers a period of two weeks. This exercise is known as '*Ikwa Mbom*' and it involves every adult male member of the Amaokwe village which is the core centre of the *Mbom* festival. The last preparatory event is the *Ilu-ilu* dance which takes place on the eve of the festival. It is an all night affairs. Participation is free to both male and female indigene of Amaokwe as well as their friends and neighboring villages.

### **The Core Event**

The core events are the actual sacrifices that take place on the day of the festival. They are the worships or ritualistic aspects of the Mbom festival in which few elects are involved. Before the celebration begins, a ritual known as "Ituda Ofo" is usually performed at the early hours of the Mbom day. As soon as the Ikoru drum is heralded, each family head of the elects brings down the family Ofo (staff of authority and righteousness) in readiness for the family's sacrifice which has to be made before they leave for the celebration. The nature of the sacrifice depends on the family. Some families use fowls and kola nuts while others prefer yam and kola nuts. Which ever way the sacrifice is made, one basic fact is that all pray for the guidance and protection of the gods and the ancestors throughout the ceremony and to live and witness the next year's celebration. This act is akin to some other African communities as Tamuno (1968: 97) observes that before and during the Odum festival display, customary sacrifices would be made so that the festival would take

place under favourable auspices. At the end of Itūda Ọfọ, each family comes out in full ceremonial regalia and joins other celebrants at Amafo central village square. Costume for the celebration comprises a single george wrapper or multiple of assorted wrappers tied round the waist in war-like fashion, a ram fur worn on the upper left arm, war cap (opu-ugboḡu) on the head. The upper part of the body is left naked and decorated with spotted white chalk (nzu) which helps to cool down the body heat. It is also a symbol of peace and vision when rubbed within the left eye lids. Other celebrants that are not part of the Ikperikpe Ọḡu group, often add small jingle bells round their waists, and hold either single or double metal gongs which they beat in rhythm to their chosen war chants. From Amafo, the group proceeds to salute the *Ikoro* at Amaefi. At the end of this exercise, the journey to the historic *Mbom* shrine through the ancient war paths begins with the *Ikeprikpe-Ọḡu* group on the lead. This event is then followed by the 'Itū Ọmū' sacrifice which begins from *Uduala*; the first *Mbom* shrine. According to Ogali (1985: 15), This ritual is performed by an elderly man who says the prayers; thanking God and the ancestors for preserving them to see and eat the new yam. He prays for peace and prosperity of the entire Item community.

At the end of each prayer, one fresh Ọmū (palm tendril) is thrown into the shrine. This is done four times to reflect the four market days of the Igbo lunar calendar week –Afo, Nkwọ, Eke, and Ori. At the end of this event, the group proceeds to the main *Mbom* shrine known as 'Kamalū ọḡbū' (god of thunder situated at Ọḡbū - a special ritual tree) where a ram is usually sacrificed in addition to the Itū Ọmū that is performed in all shrines. From this shrine, the group moves for the final phase of the core event known as 'Ikpa Ndi Agwū' (harvesting of the yam). This even is performed at 'Egbugbo' shrine situated at the boarder near Ndi-Uko family of Akanū village. At the end of this ritual that is exclusively for the elect, the dance group returns to the Amafo village square for the actual ceremonial entertainments. However, the journey from the shrine to the village square known as Igba ọṣọ Mbom (Mbom racc) is usually in segments of three or four age grades while the Ikperikpe dance group comes last. Each of these groups decorates their bodies with the Ọmū as a mark of reaching the last place of the sacrifices.

### **Celebratory Event**

The celebratory event which is usually the climax and most exiting part of the celebration is regarded as the nucleus of the celebration which every spectator or visitor would never dream to miss. It often determines the success or failure of the festival since it serves as a yard stick for comparing the past with the present. As soon as these groups return, they dance round the village square, chanting various war turns accompanied with their Ogene (metal gongs) and the dangling sounds of the bells tied round their waists. In all, the Ikperikpe Ọḡu dance group are usually the most celebrated as every spectator would want to watch them perform. On the arrival of the Ikperikpe Ọḡu group, the bearer of the 'Isinwa Ebulu' (the war exploits) in the company of his two side attendants moves to the elders' shade (canopy) for salute, returns to the group who now dance to the arena for display.

Apart from the dance performance, another interesting event performed simultaneously is the '*Ichu Iyi*' (fetching of water). This is entirely a role played by all the women of Amaokwe village that gave birth to babies after the last *Mbom* festival. This group who are customarily forbidden to go to the stream after delivery, takes their earthen pots to the '*Avu*' stream and fetch water for their personal use or for their friends and relatives; passing through the village square in a single file. This exercise serves as a census instrument since the number of women involved in this ceremony determines the number of children born between the last and the present celebration. Perhaps, this is the reason why Uche (2005: 116), sees festival as "some of the measures for evaluating a true member of the society".

At the end of the *Mbom* celebration which is usually in the evening, each celebrating group retires to Amaefi section of the village to drop their *Omụ* as a signal for the end of the ceremony. Besides, Amaefi is the custodian of the *Isi Nwa Ebulu*.

### **The Role of Music in the *Mbom* Festival**

The role of music in the *Mbom* festival of Amaokwe Item community cannot be underestimated in that music occupies a predominant position throughout the celebration. According to Iyeh and Aluede (2008: 93), "Chernoff said that a village where there is no musician is not a place where human being can stay". Music is said to be the **life-wire** of the *Mbom* festival. Various aspects of musical activities displayed at the preparatory periods of the festival help to create awareness as well as awaken the spirits of the gods and ancestors that are consulted or worshiped.

Secondly, the *Ikperikpe Ogu* music serves as a social commentator especially as it employs the declamatory speech technique to recount some historical events of the community in addition to praises on both past and present heroes. This situation is similar to stone's (1998: 411) observation that "People enjoy a passion that moves them to dance, sing, and weep when occasion demands it". The musical effects of the *Ikperikpe Ogu* dance often drive the celebrants into trance and frenzy state especially at the climax of the instrumentation. Apart from the above, *Ikperikpe* dance and other aspects of chanting from the youths make the atmosphere quite exciting and entertaining as some members even dramatize their occupational trades as they dance.

### **The Significance of *Mbom* Festival to Item Community**

The *Mbom* festival is usually a period for general assessment of the entire Item community. It is a time when citizen of Item see to the general sanitation of their environments. They use this occasion to scrub, sweep, renovate and even decorate or paint their houses; cut down all heavy bushes and weed the paths leading to their streams, farmlands as well as the entire markets and their village squares.

### **Political Value of *Mbom* Festival**

*Mbom* festival is a symbol of dignity as well as a period of open door policy to all citizens of Item. During the festival, every member of the community is free to enter anybody's compound to exchange greetings, gifts and be entertained without

fear of molestation. It is an occasion that calls for exhibition of certain historical artifacts and recounting of some past events associated with the community.

### **Social Value**

The *Mbom* festival has tremendous impact on the social life of the Item people. It is one of the most crucial periods when families return home to join their relatives, friends and in-laws in the celebration. It creates opportunity for eating and drinking, exchange of ideas, discussions on family matters and settling disputes or misunderstandings if any. Individual social status is also manifested in terms of family strength, children, marriage, and wealth. It is an occasion when friends and age mates that have been separated for years meet to exchange ideas and re-affirm their relations. It is on similar ground that Nketia (1975: 22) noted that the degree of social cohesion in such communities is usually very strong. Not only may the members know one another but also may be bound by network of social relations. This is certainly true as children born in the big cities often use this forum to know more about their home, brothers, uncles, aunts and other relatives. Besides, members of the community that were absent from home for a long period of time, use this opportunity to fulfill such personal and social obligations as paying of condolence or congratulatory visits to friends and members of their lineage.

### **Economic Value**

As a ceremonial event, the *Mbom* festival calls for lot of expenditure on the people. This is due to the importance Item community attaches to it. People spend huge sums of money to invite their friends, distant in-laws and business associates to witness the ceremony. A lot of money is also spent on drinks and food stuffs used for the entertainment of the people. Some of these items serve as presents to friends, in-law, their intending suitors and other relations. In appreciation, these friends and relations give them some farm products such as palm oil, garri, yam tubers, melon, pepper etc. In the same view, Ehiwario (2005: 5) noted that “during festivals, the society spends its energy and income towards providing the best entertainment in arts and hospitality to its visitors”.

Apart from the above, spectators and the invited guests in expression of their excitement during the celebration, present money/drinks to the individual dancers they admire most or to the entire group. Some times, business matters are often discussed by the invited guests. A lot of video and cassette works on *Ikperikpe* dance are now in the markets.

### **Cultural Value**

The *Ikperikpe Ogu* is the core dance music for the *Mbom* festival. It encourages the continuity of the people’s customary practices, ensures a broad scope for revitalizing and promoting the artistic and aesthetic norms and values of the Item people, hence, the festival constitutes unique avenue for both cultural and social education of the children and the youth alike. For instance, the artistic decoration of the celebrants’ bodies with the *white chalk* dignifies strength as it reflects the leopard’s colour. This is also portrayed in the celebrants’ mode of dressing as well as

in the dance steps such as the 'Ije Nwa Agu' (Young leopard's steps). In addition, stories and histories associated with the community and her past heroes, often chanted in the *Ikperikpe* music, are all of some educational value to the youth and visitors to the town. Culturally, the festival helps to re-affirm and sustain people's belief in their ancestral deities.

### **Influence of Western Education/Technology**

This factor is of great effect on the *Mbom* New Yam Festival. A lot of innovations are presently seen in the celebration. Some educated youths no longer strain themselves in the dance but merely turn to western disco/reggae styles of dancing. Again, some participants take along with them, sophisticated audio recording and visual equipment such as cameras, video tapes, and cassette recorders for filming and recording during the celebration. There are many changes in the costumes and instruments used for the dance. Some visitors also record, film or take photographs of the events for research and documentations, or for other educational purposes within and outside the country. This has even made it possible for the *Ikperikpe Ogu* group to embark on overseas tours in the past. This was made through the able work of Late James Iroha (Alias Grengory Akabogu); an illustrious son of Amaokwe Item who incidentally, belongs to the *Ikperikpe Ogu* dance group. This new dimension makes it accessible and cheap for both the rich and poor within and outside the community. Many researchers from various parts of the world such as America, India, China, Germany etc. visit Item regularly to update their knowledge. This has in no small measure, contributed to the socio-cultural and economic development of the community. Furthermore, all those cannibalistic and hostile attitudes of the ancient warring days are no more in practice as they have all been replaced with modern facilities and concepts. None indigenes interested in the dance can now participate at any occasion that calls for the performance.

### **Summary/Recommendations**

In spite of the fact that the *Mbom* festival is associated with the new yam celebration in Item, one cannot summarize its benefits without emphasis on the *Ikperikpe Ogu* dance which is the core music of the ceremony. Although the dance was initially a symbolic dance associated with the historic wars and socio-cultural beliefs of the people, it has undergone series of useful modifications which gave it a ticket as one of the most famous popular and memorable cultural dance for which every Item citizen and Bende is proud to be identified with. It is indeed considered as a unifying factor as well as an institution for manifestation of both individual and communal fame. It is presently a symbol of strength, love, unity and identify throughout Item. As Ogali (1984) pointed out, its unifying force has helped the people of Item to work in one accord towards the development of the town to its present enviable position.

In view of the musical potentials inherent in the *Mbom*, the Federal Government should assist the community in the documentation of all the activities associated with this festival for study in various National Museums in the country. Since the world is becoming a global village where every nation is ready to sell out its

musical heritage for recognition and acceptance in the field of study, it is therefore important that professional scholars in Musicology should assist in the notation and publication of this war music for interested researchers and students of Ethnomusicology world wide. It is therefore expected that if these are accomplished, they would help to promote and project this culture to all parts of the world.

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**SEMEMIC VALUES OF ENGLISH PHONEMES IN SOME  
PSYCHOLOGICALLY CONSTRAINTS WRITTEN WORDS BY  
HARD-OF-HEARING STUDENTS**

**Auwal Muhammad**

**Introduction**

Empirical substantiation has shown that the performance (speech and writing) of hard-of-hearing persons learning English as a second language is characterized by psychological constraints such as deletion, insertion and substitution of phonemes. Studies such as Ibrahim (2008), Muhammad (2012), have shown that the speech of hard-of-hearing learning English as a second language demonstrates such psychological constraints. Similarly, Garman (1994) and Muhammad (2016) have also shown that these problems exist in the written performance of hard-of-hearing persons. While the former refers to such psychological process as three different kinds of slip namely, omission, addition and substitution, the latter, on the other hand, describes such psychological constraints as impaired speech leading to deletion, insertion and substitution. The nomenclature - impaired speech - is chosen in order to attest the justification of the claim that hearing impairment affects competence formation leading to defective output irrespective of the medium i.e. speaking or writing.

Thus, these psychological constraints – deletion, insertion and substitution of phonemes that violate the English language syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations could lead to structural problems. For instance, the deletion of a phoneme - say /t/ - in the word ‘cat’ distorts the word morphologically and semantically. What this implies is that phonemes are not only slot fillers within the syntagmatic axis but they also perform semantic function. Similarly, the insertion of another phoneme – say /s/ - in the final position of the word implicates the word semantically hence ‘cats’ is different from ‘cat’. Thus, the argument underlying the phonemes semantic implication suggests for them a semantic role beyond the structural function they fulfill in a word. It means, therefore, that phonemes represent both themselves and sememe (a unit of meaning) hence when they are affected by any psychological incapacitation, they suffer as well as the unit of meaning - sememe. This paper attempts to provide a discursive framework within which a sememic contributory ration of phonemes could be calculated as they appear in different morphological environment.

**The basic Concepts: Sememe, Phoneme-grapheme**

**The Sememe**

The concept of sememe is first used by Sydney Lamb to construct structural units for meaning. This is essentially important because of the structuralists’ claim that meaning is not part of language and therefore it cannot be accounted for scientifically. However, Sydney Lamb sees it differently and therefore has this to say:

As part of the justification for their existence, languages have an intimate but partially understood relationship to a vague entity which we call meaning. There is no general agreement as to just how intimate this relationship is: that is, as to whether meaning is or is not included within language, partly or wholly, in one of its aspects or levels or more than one (if indeed there are more than). But many linguists have thought it would be very desirable, and perhaps also ;possible, to set up or discover some structural units which would either be units of meaning itself or in some other way would help us to systematize our treatment of that vague entity. A name for such a unit, sememe, has been made available for long time, (Lamb p.57)

Similarly, according to Lamb, Bloomfield sees sememe as the meaning of a morpheme. This concept, Lamb notes, would seem to put sememes in a one-to-one correspondence with each other- that is, a sememe for every morpheme and morpheme for every sememe. This means that the morpheme is the structural unit which stands for the sememe. In support of the above view, Lamb notes that the relationship between sememe and morpheme would seem to put sememes in a one-to-one correspondence with each other- that is, a sememe for every morpheme and morpheme for every sememe.

Advancing the concept of the sememe, Crystal (2009) further goes to describe it as a term used in some semantic theories to refer to a minimal unit of meaning. For some, as he argues, a sememe is equivalent to the meaning of a morpheme. For others, it is a feature of meaning equivalent to the notion of semantic component or semantic feature in some theories. The term sememic is used as a part of the description of strata in Stratificational Grammar. The sememic stratum, which handles the systems of semantic relationship between lexical items, is here distinguished from hypersememic stratum, at which is analyzed the relationship between language and the external world. Semotactics, in this approach, involves the study of the sequential arrangement of sememes.

### **The Phonemes as Units of Meaning**

At the level of speech (performance), the possible linguistic candidates with philosophical orientation of physicality contesting in the discourse of meaning are phonemes and morphemes. Phonemes according to Chapman and Routledge (2009:156) refer to fundamental abstract linguistic units physically realized by multiple context-dependent, phonetically similar speech sounds... Phonemes, therefore, seem to win the contest because Sampson equally sees them as the structural units that reflect the sememe in a language. Defending this position Sampson (1980) points out the extent to which sounds and meaning relate. He cites Firth who insists that sounds and meaning in language are more directly related than they are usually taken to be. The, latter according to the former, seems reluctant even to regard expression and content as distinct sides of the same coin. For Firth, as the former notes, phonology is a structure of systems of choices, and the systems are systems of meaning.

Morphemes, however, reflect meaning but at different level of linguistic analysis. They are meaningful units of a word, and therefore they bear morphological identity. The selection of phonemes against morphemes in an attempt to examine sememe from the physical, phonological and morphological forms for representations is informed by the concept of 'Empty Morph'. Empty morphs have physical representation but do not realize any idea or meaning. The case of the word children is a typical example. The word has two morphs 'child' and 'en'. The first morph realizes the child and the second realizes the plural marker as in oxen. However, the emergence of the morph 'r' in between the morphs 'child' and 'en' doesn't realize any morpheme or an idea behind the morph. Similarly, there is also the case of zero morph which has behind it a morpheme but with no morph to reflect it. For this reason, the analysis exploits the phonemes as structural units reflecting sememe - meaning.

In addition, the idea of functional load and probability of occurrence of phonemes at different linguistic environment enables us to examine and treat individual phoneme as sememe. Lyons (1979), for instance, examines the functional load of some phonemes. Through paradigmatic contrasts, Lyons argues that not all paradigmatic contrasts are of equal importance of language. They may vary considerably in respect of their functional load. According to this view, Lyons sees phonemes as having different functional loads and the difference is informed by factors such as structural position the phonemes occupy in a word and the frequency of occurrence of the phonemes. According to Lyons an important statistical notion has to do with the amount of functional load carried by linguistic units in a given context. With regard to probability of occurrence, Lyons states:

Probability is related to frequency in the following way. If two, and only two, equiprobable units may occur,  $x$  and  $y$ , each of them will occur (on average) in just half the instances of the context in question: each has probability, a priori, of  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The probability of a particular unit  $x$  is denoted by  $p_x$ . Thus, in the present instances,  $p_x = \frac{1}{2}$  and  $p_y = \frac{1}{2}$ . More generally, each of  $n$  equiprobability units ( $x_1, x_2, x_3, \dots, x_n$ ) has a probability of  $1/n$ . (it will be observed that the sum of all the probabilities in the set is 1.) If the units are equiprobable, each of them carries the same amount information, (Lyons, pp: 83-84)

To make the argument more statistical, Lyons provides set of consonants with their probabilities in different positions of words. According to him probabilities can also be calculated for particular structural positions. He, for instance, gives three sets of probabilities of twelve consonants in the following order: (i) their a priori probability averaged over all position; (ii) their probability in the word-initial position: and (iii) their probability in word-final positions. The following table provides the probabilities of the consonants.

Probabilities of selected English consonants in different positions of the word

	(i) Absolute	(ii) Initial	(iii) Final
{t}	0.070	0.072	0.105
{n}	0.063	0.042	0.127
{l}	0.052	0.034	0.034
{d}	0.030	0.037	0.039
{h}	0.026	0.065	
{m}	0.026	0.058	0.036
{k}	0.025	0.046	0.014
{v}	0.019	0.010	0.048
{f}	0.017	0.044	0.010
{b}	0.016	0.061	0.0005
{p}	0.016	0.020	0.008
{g}	0.015	0.027	0.002

From the above table, it can be observed that there are some striking differences between the frequencies with which particular consonants occur in different positions of the words. According to Lyons (1979) the units {v} is the least frequent in word-initial position; but the third in most frequent in word-initial position, but the least in the frequent in the word-final position apart from {h} which does not occur at all finally. Thus, this shows the different function load of the consonants in different positions. What then will happen if a phoneme with a certain functional load is deleted, inserted or substituted?

### **The Graphemes as Units of Meaning**

Linguistic perspectival views or contradictions warrant excogitation; otherwise they lead to intellectual laziness hence knowledge production suffers. Phoneme-grapheme non-correspondence is among such claims which exploit some irregular cases between phonemes and graphemes to make generalization. Finegan, E. (2004) points to this fact or axiom:

As many readers of English, you are accustomed to seeing language written down as a series of words set by spaces, with each word consisting of space of separate letters that are also separated by spaces. You readily recognize that words spat and post, for example, are readily judged by English speakers to have four sounds each, while adult has five and set has three. Somewhat less obvious is the number of sounds in the words speakers, series, letter and sequence which do not have the same number of the letters and sounds. This lack of correspondence is common in English. Cough has three sounds but spelled with five letters; freight has only four sounds despite its seven letters. Through with seven letters and thru with four are alternative spellings for a word with three sounds. Phone and laugh have three sounds each, represented by five letters. Delicacy, with an equal number of sounds and letters, uses the letter <c> to represent two different sounds-one a k-like sound, the other an s-like sound, (2004 p: 80).

Does this lack of correspondence in English highlighted in the above quotation a fact or an axiom? It may be a fact if we are talking of irregularity in linguistic data, for irregularity is a phenomenon that saturates all linguistic raw materials. However, it may be an axiom if attention is paid to the graphemes' contrastive predisposition. Crystal (2007) in his discussion about grapheme made the following thought provoking assertion, "Graphemes are the smallest units in a writing system capable of causing a contrast in meaning. In the English alphabet, the switch from cat to bat introduces a meaning change; therefore, c and b represent different graphemes". (P: 195).

Both Finegan and Crystal use the grapheme <c> to explain their perspectival philosophy with regards to the issue at hand. While Finegan, on the one hand, uses it to show evidence of irregularity on the claim of non-correspondence between phoneme and grapheme, Crystal, on the other hand, uses it to demonstrate its contrastive tendency. Crystal's argument presupposes that the ability of a grapheme to generate a contrast in meaning qualifies it to represent a sememe. Thus, the grapheme could stand for sememe in the same way phoneme does to sememe. Based on the latter argument, graphemes are units of meaning in written language for they are a product of phonological form for representation.

### **Insertion, Deletion and Substitution**

#### **Insertion**

Insertion is a phonological process characterizing the performance of hard-of-hearing students learning English as a second language. It is a process in which certain phonemes or graphemes are added to a word. In other words, it is an inappropriate addition of a phoneme or grapheme in a morphological environment leading to the distortion of the morphological structure of a word. For instance, the word difficult is morphologically distorted because of the addition of an alveolar nasal and voiced /n/ sound in between the alveolar /l/ and /t/ hence the word difficulnt. Therefore, since phoneme or grapheme is a segment in a word with semantic import, the insertion of the consonant increases the sememic value of the word.

#### **Deletion**

Deletion is another phonological process featuring in the performance of the hard-of-hearing students. It is a process whereby certain phonemes or graphemes are dropped or deleted. The process may sometimes be morphologically productive, but in most cases it appears counter-productive for it mostly distorts the morphological structures of the words affected by the process. Equally important is the fact that the deletion of a sound in a word affects meaning because the individual sounds constitute the meaning of each word. Therefore, the word's sememic value tends to decrease with deletion.

### **Substitution**

Substitution is another process which characterizes the performance of the hard-of-hearing. It is a process where one phoneme is substituted with another and in most cases violating the correct paradigmatic relation of the English language. Thus, where substitution becomes a ‘morphological friendly’ different word is formed. However, when it violates the English demands of the paradigmatic relation, it will lead to a distorted word. In this case the phonemes in such word remain intact but because the substituted sound is not the desired one will affect the sememic value of the word. So, sememic value analysis does not ignore this fact. Thus, using the formula below we can compute the value of any phoneme that is inappropriately substituted.

### **Source of the Data and Analytical Procedure**

The data for this analysis is drawn from unpublished Ph.D work entitled A Linguistic Study of the English Language Performance of some Hearing-Impaired Students of the School for Special Education, Kano-Nigeria. The subjects comprise SS, 1, 11 and 111 students 2013-2014 academic sessions. The work examined the subjects’ performance through their writings and the findings of the work demonstrate psychological constraints such as deletions, insertions and substitutions of phonemes which violate the English syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. Some of the words with such morphological deformity among others are: about, parent, university, doesn’t, difficult, regard, primary and confidential realized as bout, prent, universty, donit, difficulnt, preimary and comfidential respectively.

The data was analyzed using percentile approach and the following formulae were used to calculate the percentage of words affect by deletion, insertion and substitution phonological processes.

Deletion formula

$$SV = \frac{dp}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

SV means sememic value

D = deletion

P = phonemes

dp means deleted phonemes

tpmeans total number of phonemes

Formula for calculating the insertions of phonemes

SV means sememic value

Ip means inserted phonemes

tpm means total number of phonemes in a word

$$SV \longrightarrow \frac{Ip}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

Substitution formula

SVsememic value

Sp = substituted phonemes

$$Tp = \text{total phonemes} \quad SV = \frac{sp}{p} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

**Calculation of Sememic Values of English Phonemes in Psychologically Constraints Written Words**

The following is the percentage of phonemes affected by either the process of deletion, insertion or substitution as found in some words in the writings of the hard-of-hearing students. The calculation is done using the formula stated above hence the following percentage of the sememic contributory ratio of each of the sampled words. The percentage is based on the process involved.

**Sememic Value of Phonemes through the Process of Substitution**

Sememic value of 'a' /ə/ in about /əbaut/

$$\frac{dp}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1} = \frac{3}{4} \times \frac{100}{1} = 25$$

$$SV = \frac{3 \times 25}{TP} = \frac{75}{100}$$

$$100 - 75 = 25$$

SV OF /ə/ in about is 25%

(2) Parent (prent) /peɔrɔnt/

$$SV = \frac{dp}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1} = \frac{5}{6} \times \frac{100}{1} = 16.67$$

$$\frac{5 \times 16.67}{1} = 83.33$$

$$Tp = 100$$

$$100 - 83.33 = 16.67$$

$$\therefore SV \text{ of } /eɔ/ \text{ in parent represented by 'a'} = 16.67$$

$$\therefore 16.67 \times 6 = 100.02$$

(3) Universty /ju:nivɜ:sɔti/ SV of 'I' = /ɔ/

$$SV = \frac{dp}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1} = \frac{9}{10} \times \frac{100}{1} = 90$$

$$100 - 90 = 10$$

$$\therefore SV \text{ of } /ɔ/ \text{ represented by letter 'I' in university is } = 10$$

$$\therefore 10 \times 10 = 100$$

Phonological problem tagged deletion signals that the higher the number of the phonemes in a word, the less the sememic value; and the less the number of the phonemes, the higher the sememic value.

**Sememic Value of Phonemes through Insertion**

(1) Welcomed /welkɔ̃mt/

SV of /t/ represented by grapheme /d/ in welcome

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{SV} \longrightarrow \frac{\text{Ip} \times 100}{\text{Tp}} = \frac{7}{1} \times \frac{100}{\cancel{6}1} = 16.67 \\
 \\
 \frac{7 \times 16.67}{1} = \frac{116.67}{1}
 \end{array}$$

Tp = 100

= 116.67 - 100 = 16.67

SV of /t/ in welcomed = 16.67

∴ 16.67 x 6 = 100.02

(2) donit (don't)

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{SV} \longrightarrow \frac{\text{Ip} \times 100}{\text{Tp}} = \frac{5}{4} \times \frac{100}{\cancel{1}1} = 25 \\
 \\
 5 \times 25 = 125
 \end{array}$$

Tp = 100

SV = 125 - 100 = 25%

∴ 25 x 4 = 100

(3) Difficulnt /difɪkɔ̃lt/ SV of /n/

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \text{SV} \longrightarrow \frac{\text{Ip} \times 100}{\text{Tp}} = \frac{9}{8} \times \frac{100}{\cancel{1}1} = 12.5 \\
 \\
 \frac{9 \times 12.5}{1} = 112.5
 \end{array}$$

$$Tp = 100$$

$$112.5 - 100 = 12.5$$

$$\therefore 12.5 \times 8 = 100$$

(4) Readly /redi/ the sv of /l/ in ready

$$SV \longrightarrow \frac{Ip}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1} = 5 \times \frac{100}{4} = \frac{500}{1} = 125$$

$$\frac{5}{1} \times \frac{25}{1} = \frac{125}{1}$$

$$Tp = 100$$

$$SV = \text{of /l/} \frac{125 - 100}{100} = 25\%$$

$$\therefore 25 \times 4 = 100$$

### **Sememic Value of Phonemes through Substitution**

(1). Primary /praimɔ̃ri/ /ai/ is substituted with /ei/

$$SV \longrightarrow \frac{Sp}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

$$SV \longrightarrow \frac{6}{7} \times \frac{100}{1} = \frac{600}{7} = 85.71$$

$$0.8571 \times 100 = 85.71$$

SV of /ei/ in primary

$$= 14.28$$

$$\therefore 14.28 \times 7 = 99.96$$

(2) Regart /riga:d/

$$SV \longrightarrow \frac{Sp}{Tp} \times \frac{100}{1}$$

$$Tp = 100$$

$$SV \longrightarrow \frac{4}{5} = 0.8$$

$$\frac{0.8 \times 100}{1} = 80$$

$$Tp = 100$$

$$SV \text{ of /t/ in regard} = 100 - 80 = 20\%$$

$$\therefore 20 \times 5 = 100$$

(3) confidential /kɒnfɪdəntʃl/ /n/ substituted sound /m/

SV of /m/

$$= \frac{11}{12} = 0.916$$

$$SV = \frac{Sp \times 100}{Tp \times 1}$$

$$SV \longrightarrow \frac{0.916 \times 100}{1} = \frac{11 \times 100}{12}$$

$$= 91.6$$

$$Tp = 100$$

$$\therefore 100 - 91.6 = 8.4$$

SV of /m/ in confidential is 8.4

$$\therefore 8.4 \times 12 = 100.8$$

### **Discussion of the percentages and their Linguistic Relevance**

Lyons' view about functional load of consonants occurring in different positions of words reveals different loads of the consonants. This goes to show that distribution of consonants in different positions amounts to different loads. This further indicates that deletion, insertion or substitution of a phoneme as reflected in the writings of hard-of-hearing students affect the functional loads of the phonemes hence tempering with the morphons or phonemes' sememic values. From the above mathematical analyses of sememic value of these sampled words, it is obvious that phonemes are the smallest meaning unit of meaning since their substitutions, deletions or insertions affect the sememic value of the words. Using the deletion formula, it has been seen that a deleted phoneme /ə/ represented by 'a' in the word 'about' has 25% as its value. Similarly, the same deleted letter 'a' which stands in for /eə/ in another word (parent) has different contributory ratio of 16.67%. This indicates that phonemes' contributory ratio is not the same. That means that the ratio

is determined by the process or number of phonemes found in a word. Moreover, a phoneme 'i' standing in for /ɪ/ deleted in the word university has different contributory ratio with 11.11%. Multiplying this number by the total number of the phonemes or morphons contained in the word will give 99.99%. And this shows the accuracy of the formula.

Besides, through a phonological problem called insertion, the sememic value of the inserted phonemes can be observed. From the sampled words used to calculate the value, it can be seen that 'welcomed', 'donit', 'difficulnt' and 'readly' have inserted graphemes corresponding to the phonemes such as /d/, /l/, /n/ and /i/ respectively. The values of these phonemes are 16.67%, 25%, 12.5% and 25% respectively. These figures ranked the percentage above hundred with the above figures indicating or emerging as the increase.

Similarly, through phonological problem called substitution, different values of the phonemes were found. Substitutions of /ai/ with /ei/, /d/ with /t/ and /m/ with /n/ give different values of the phonemes and this was calculated by computing the value of each phoneme substituted in each of the words. Therefore, the values of /ei/, /t/ and /m/ are 14.28%, 20% and 16.67% respectively. Thus, what is obvious from the above analyses is that different sememic values of phonemes could be obtained depending on the phonological problem involved or the number of phonemes contained in a word. In other words, the sememic value approach to the study of the contributory ratio of morphons or phonemes can reveal different variations of values of these phonemes based on the process used to calculate the value or the total number of phonemes contained in the words. Similarly, phonotactic restrictions or sound distributions in any language have been proven to have a psychological justification.

Finally, this paper highlights the fact that phonemes or graphemes can represent sememe and the paper relies on their physicalist tendency to compute the different values of phonemes or graphemes appearing in different morphological context. Thus it has been shown that different phonemes or graphemes have different values depending on the process involved or number of phonemes or graphemes contain in a word.

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## **TOWARDS THE REVIVAL AND SUSTENANCE OF INDIGENOUS AFRICAN PERFORMANCE FORMS**

**Anthony Chiedozie Nwosu**

### **Introduction**

African indigenous performances are those activities peculiar to the African people, its origin lies in the African belief systems, its structures content and form essentially African. Indigenous, in this context, refers to that which bears the characteristics of the African people. Traditional indigenous performances take place in almost every community in African and the basic feature of African indigenous performance is that it closely tied with the people's belief system. The evolution of indigenous performances dates as far back as the emergence of man and the organised organized society which is hinged on the performance traditions which is the words of Ted Anyebe 'acts like a cultural warehouse of the people'(s). In the same light, Canice Nwosu affirms that 'Traditional African theatre is that form of theatre which started from the origin of African, it started like theatre in any other part of the world; a congeries of the atavistic performance of a traditional society' (160). African indigenous performance range from festivals, dance, wrestling contests, music, ritual, mime, storytelling, puppetry and masquerade performances. More so, Canice observes that 'traditional African theatre manifests in the seasonal festivals, ritualistic performances, mythologies, folklores and fertility dances that define the existential essence of the African' (109). Succintly put, indigenous performances are usually manifested in festivals and one predominant features is the display of masquerades which connotes the concept of like after death and is regarded as the most serious and zealous phenomenon in Africa. In the words of Dandaura, 'Africa has along indigenous performance traditions which subsumes ritual, dance, song, storytelling, wedding ceremonies, initiation ceremonies, harvest festivals, puppetry, shadow dance-drama, dramatic enactment, mime, masquerade, etc' (2). Each country in the African continent has each unique theatre traditions which in turn inform their performances and as can be seen, the masquerade performance is a very important feature of Nigeria Indigenous performance.

Essentially, African theatre is based on religion, folklore and mythology. Traditionally, African drama is a kind of special performance as well as an aesthetic activity. All of the popular forms of drama exists; ritual and ceremony, dance and mime, modern play and storytelling, puppetry and ritual drama, it is the integrated use of music, dance, mime, masquerade, puppetry and symbolic body movements. The scope of traditional theatre, Meki Nzewi opines as cited by Adeoye includes, 'drama, dance, music, visual, plastic, costume arts and functioned as mass media for every given community for it is highly rationalized and organized, having two ideational categories: the spiritual and the secular' (85). Ritual is a great component of African drama as ritual drama in Africa is a portrayal of everyday life and usually takes place

as a ritual festival, incorporating music, song, drumming, chanting and mass participation. According to Abiodun Adeoye,

The traditional African theatre is a festival theatre, it housed the total theatre performance aesthetics which is a theatre of collective rhythm and the total theatre idiom welds many performance kernels into one unique, communicative, entertaining and educative performance (89).

The Igbo people, many scholars have opined have been entertaining themselves with dramatic performances before the white man came to their environments to sojourn. These performances have been serving several purposes and performing important functions and as Fanyam Joel Avaungwa reiterates 'indigenous performances have had serious impact in social control and organization, it was also a creative source of revenue for the artist and a means of cultural re-intensification before the coming of the colonial master' (182). In its right, indigenous performance serves a multitude of functions to the people and manifests in different forms.

More so, highlighting the functions of indigenous performances, Avaungwa states:

It serves cultural education and documentation, provide financial and economic stability and rewards for performers, a place of tourist centre, cultural expression and social integration as it have the ability to socially integrate the people through creative skills and cultural displays because they are closer and familiar to the people (184).

Regardless of this great important function, Nigerian Indigenous performances, it may seem has continued to fizzle out even though the literary circle continues to boom as Nigerian playwrights continue to chunk out plays, the indigenous traditional performances have been on the receiving end of the literary world. Tochukwu Okeke, citing Lai Mohammed, the minister of Information and Culture in his welcome address at the 2016 National Summit on Culture and Tourism observes:

We have a vibrant culture sector which is second to none in the world. Moreover, our rich cultural heritage is 'soft power' to confidently take on the world. Therefore, to deploy this soft power to effectively promote international cultural diplomacy, we have to leverage the potentials in our culture to help drive tourism sector, so as to obtain our own share of global tourism benefits that would help resuscitate and redefine our tourism industry for sustainable economic development (203).

This statement therefore underlines the crux of this research, for in as much that Nigeria is blessed with rich cultural heritage and numerous indigenous performances spread across the country, they are yet to fully maximize their potentials to serve as agents of both cultural interaction and tourist attraction. Moreso, due to the twin burdens of colonization and globalization, most indigenous performances have unfortunately succumbed to western imperial agenda and have in some instances been effaced. However, some traditions have defied the 'destructive effects' in Adeoye's parlance of modernity and still stand firm as testimonies of the

existence of theatre in Africa since time immemorial. Consequently, it is on this premise that a syncretic investigation into indigenous performances is being conducted in the face of newer realities. Two questions become pertinent to the researcher in this quest; 'how has indigenous African performances evolve in the light of changing realities?' and 'what does the future hold for indigenous African performances?' The objective is to suggest ways by which indigenous African performance can evolve in face of newer challenges and suit newer realities and in retrospect promote tourism and enhance development thereby receiving global recognition. And to focus this study and check on the researcher's fugitiveness, the Imoka masquerade performance of the Awka people in Anambra State is used as a critical study guide.

### **Theoretical Framework and Definition of Basic Concepts**

Essentially, this study will examine indigenous performances in traditional African societies with attention to their ritual beginnings, their social contexts, modes and function. The fusion of drama, music and dance as typically characterized in indigenous performances will be highlighted; the concept of total theatre will be enumerated. Consequently, case study and participant observation approach will be adopted for the realization of research objectives. This study is therefore anchored on two theories, the Omnipresent Theory and the Social Construction theory. The Omnipresent theory realizes the fact of the Omnipresence of a Supreme Being or deities perceived and conceived differently by different religious systems. This theory suggests that the Supreme Being or deity is all present at every time and place. This theory becomes paramount because the Imoka masquerade performance is dedicated to the god beseeching his blessings and protections and praying for a bountiful harvest. The social constructionism theory is of importance as the researcher advocates for the incorporation of new dramatic forms that suits the new African milieu. Propounded by P.L. Berger and T. Luckman (*The Social Construction of Reality*, 1967), prefigured by Karl Mannheim (*Ideology and Utopia*, 1936) but given a major direction by Alfred Schutz. Social Constructionism hypothesizes that patterns of social performance are not 'given in the world' or pre-scripted by the culture but are constantly constructed, negotiated, reformed, fashioned and organized out of scraps of 'recipe knowledge'. According to Schutz:

Instead of following institutionalized, externally given and essentially stable 'scripts'. The 'actor' of the social world navigate this world by using a patchwork of 'recipe knowledge' in which 'clear and distinct experiences are intermingled with vague conjectures, suppositions and prejudices across well proven evidences, motives, means and ends, as well as causes and effects, are string together without clear understanding of their real connections (44).

Basically, this theory is apt for the study of cultural performance and the Imoka masquerade performance, for it possesses a potential implication for the constructive innovation for performance, as it suggests how performance while

operating within a highly coded system of culture, may yet generate constantly new configurations of action. Michel de Certeau in his (*The Practise of Everyday Life*) not directly opposing cultural strategies and their operations in improvising upon these strategies are combining elements of them in new ways, provides a continual performative ground for change, since new strategies come into being through classical improvisation. Certeau's 'tactics' have served a useful theoretical and practical tool for contemporary performers seeking to resist, challenge or even subvert the dominant codes and assumptions of their culture. Victor Turner, in similar light, in his theory of Liminality, identifies the quality of ambiguity or disorientation that occurs in the middle stages of ritual, when participants no longer hold their pre-ritual status but have not yet begun the transition to the status they will hold when ritual is completed. Turner recognised the possibility for ritual to be creative, to make the way for new situations, identities and social realities by means of what he called, 'anti-structure'. Aligning with Turner, Arpad Szokolczai, postulates the dissolution of order during Liminality which creates a fluid, malleable situation that enables new institutions and customs to become established.

### **The Imoka Masquerade Performance**

The Imoka masquerade performance of Awka is the only festival of the people, which has withstood the test of modernity and globalization. It is the most colourful and popular festival collectively celebrated in Awka which ushers in the beginning of a new planting season and as J.O. Uramar rightly observes, 'many places in Igboland, the general life of the community still largely hinges on the lunar calendar and the people look up to the kings and priests who determine agric-season based on the lunar calendar' (219).

### **Historical Antecedents**

Like most indigenous festivals, according to oral tradition, Imoka masquerade performance originated from the worship of Imoka deity which is the greatest male god revered in Awka. Due to the lack of sufficient written documents detailing the history of the festival, information was therefore gotten from oral traditions. As is common in most societies in the West Africa rain forest belt, the communities celebrated a number of rituals and festivals connected to agriculture, fertility and the relation between the living and the ancestor. Imoka masquerade performance is observed in traditional Awka calendar and ushers in, the beginning of a New Year and planting season; it is an occasion through which the community pay homage to the Imoka god beseeching him for a prosperous new planting season.

Like most other festivals, which have their origins deeply rooted in ritual worship, Imoka festival originated from the worship of Imoka deity which is the greatest male god revered in Awka. It is communally worshipped and its origin could be traced down to ancient times during the time, when Awka people were continuously menaced by their neighbours. According to oral traditions, King Okoli-Ijeoma of Ndikelonwu, one of the oppressor of Awka planned to invade the community, but at the hint of the impending invasion, the elders of the land sent some

delegates to Akoto, near Idoma, a land inhabited by potent herbal doctors, to avert the invasion of the land, peradventure war becomes imminent, that the charm would notify them. However, they were cautioned that for the charm to be effective, it must be venerated by the community, which the people called Imoka (The Avenger god of Awka people).

More so, a festival called 'Egwu-Imoka' (The dance of the gods) was initiated to commensurate the worship. The festival was scheduled to hold annually at the beginning of the planting which is the month of MAY, according to Awka Lunar calendar and an altar was dedicated to the god of Amachalla village, Awka close to Nkwo market village and both the market and forest close to it, were dedicated to the god. Furthermore, according to oral traditions, after so many years of peaceful living, Awka people had a dispute with their neighbour, Nawfia, over a piece of land. Unknown to the Awka people, Nawfia people laid siege to attack the people but unfortunately the forest they encamped was that which was dedicated to Imoka god. Therein, the god sent his emissaries, the MONKEY, living in the forest to notify the people. Seeing monkeys roaming the village square were strange and so, a diviner was immediately consulted who exposed the invasion. The sacred drum 'Ikolo' was mournfully sounded to assemble warriors ready for war. The unsuspected attack launched by the Awka people brought them victory. Hence, Imoka emissaries, Monkeys were also dedicated making them Totem. Thus, it became a taboo with severe consequences for an indigene of Awka to either kill or eat the Monkey till date. No indigene or anyone who resides in Awka is allowed to eat or kill monkeys, anyone who kills it will be required to bury it as if burying a human and some purification sacrifices performed, failure to do this, will incur the wrath of the god.

A ritual performance in its totality, the Imoka festival is a sacred festival and highlighting the content of ritual performance, Egwuda comments: 'ritual performance is rigid, dedicated and reverend, it is in agreement with the people's belief system, finds its expression in rites, music, dance, incantation and the performance of incarnate beings (26). The Imoka festival is highly ritualized festival which features predominantly ritual display and masquerade performance. Citing M. Drawel, Egwuda concludes, "Ritual performance is an allegory of thought which is configured as a rigid stereotypic, conventional, uniform, predictable, invariant, structurally, static and repetitive, and it provides an ideal model for the understanding of the culture and custom of the people" (27). Highly immersed in ritualistic content, which has led to its inability to live up to its potentials, it is the researcher's quest to advocate a new methodology for its performance and in retrospect, provide a framework for the performances of Indigenous African theatre.

### **The Performance**

African Indigenous performances are chiefly manifested in festivals which are occasions of celebrations for the people. In the words of Ekpeyong, as cited by Felix Egwuda, who categorically states, "Festivals are periodic reoccurring days or season of gaiety or merry making set aside by a community, clan or tribe for the observance of sacred celebration, religious solemnities or musical and traditional

performance of special significance” (22). Awka year has variable months because of the need to follow the seasons for farming and like everything that they did, their festival were tied to their religion. The Imoka festival is usually celebrated in the fifth month of the lunar year (Izu-Onwa-nese) and started on an Avbo day (Afor day). This is the order of the festival.

In the Oye evening before the Avbo day, the announcement of the festival was made late in the evening before 7pm. The announcement was made by the OPU-EKE followed by the beating of the Ikolo drum (the huge musical wooden drum of the Imoka god) beaten only on ceremonial occasions or in times of danger and housed in a small hut in the shrine. Meanwhile a week before the festival day, a message was sent to Umuokpu villagers living on the border of Awka town that Egwu Imoka was one native week away. Masquerades and young men took the message to Umuokpu and were entertained by the Umuokpu villagers. Back to the performance sequence, in the evening of the Oye day, the leading trumpet starts off with a blast calling:

Okeke Ukozu – e – e – e – e  
Iga agbakwa Opu Eke – e – e – o!  
Meaning  
(Okeke Ukozu,  
Are you ready to dance to the gods, Imoka?)

It is believed that Okeke Ukozu was the father of Adibe and the Imoka priest (Eze Imoka) at the time the Opu-Eke musical instruments were captured from Uvume, in the Uvume war and dedicated to the god, Imoka.

In the ancient times according to oral traditions, when the Opu Eke was being danced to, the dance took the form of mock battle (called ‘nro ota’), village was pitted against village, all dressed in battle dress, machetes and ‘mgbolo’ (staves) were used and also Ekpeke (shields) for defence, and because it was a mock battle, no one was killed but after a person was killed, fighting at Egwu Imoka was stopped and sticks were substituted for machetes. ‘Nro-Ota’ at Egwu Imoka was a test of strength and endurance of pain. As soon as the OPU-EKE sound, all work ceases and whoever was in the farm or anywhere else must stop work. And work was not to resume till after the festival, which lasted for one whole native week – Avbo to Avbo. At the sound of the OPU- EKE, everyone would begin hailing the god, there would be exultation everywhere and the OPU-EKE would play for about an hour and then stop. After the announcement, the ikolo is returned to Obu of Eze- Imoka, kept there till the end of the festival period, playing morning and evening.

**I<sup>ST</sup> DAY:** The day following Oye, that is Avbo day, the festival begins. The Opu Eke resumed at about 5am. The people used the morning and afternoon for preparation and eating and serving of food to their invitees. From 4pm, people begin to move to the Nkwo market place, where the shrine of Imoka is situated, where offerings were made to the god and after that, the people went to the open square where the OPU-EKE was being played, to dance. To close the days celebration, after the invocation to the gods, the chief priest (Eze-Imoka) proceed to the Opu-Eke square for the dance of the gods, the highlights of the day’s celebration, and everybody joins in the dance.

Thereafter, the assistance priest would run a race round the Nkwo market square, followed by the people, shouting praises to the god and after completing the course, the assistant priest dashed into the Obu of Imoka. Shortly after that, the OPU-EKE stops playing and the ceremony is completed and the crowd dispersed to their homes.

**2<sup>ND</sup> DAY:** The second day is Nkwo, the Opu-Eke begins in the morning while the oldest woman in Ifite Quarter performs her usual ritual of going to the Nkwo market alone, displays her goods and after some time, packs it up, signifying that the market must never close. After lunch, the masquerade goes to the Nkwo market place to pay their respects to Imoka. This day is known as the day of masquerades, masquerade dances along the street of Oka town singing the Egwu-Imoka anthem. This lasted into evening.

**3<sup>RD</sup> DAY:** The third day is Eke day, people moved from village to village getting entertained, and masquerades ran about, causing excitement everywhere. There is merriment till night fall.

**4<sup>TH</sup> DAY:** Oye day, people relaxed in their homes. Meanwhile, masquerades continue to move from house to house, accompanied by their followers. The highlight of the day's activities is the initiation into the masquerade cult.

**5<sup>TH</sup> DAY:** Avbo is the last day of the feast. There is eating and drinking until after lunch, when the people moved to the Nkwo market for theatrical displays. Three traditional masquerades, Onyekulie from Umunnoke, Didimbanaka from Amudo and Onwobolofrom Amachalla closed the celebrations. They hold a mock trial, making a case against one another and causing lots of fun and laughter. Egwu Imoka ends on that note – fun and laughter.

### **Modifications**

What has being enumerated is the procedure of the performance at its inception, but now, slight changes and modifications have been effected. Egwu Imoka festival still holds in May, according to the Awka lunar calendar. Though the date for the feast is still announced by the Chief Priest (Eze Imoka) and the feast is usually held on an Nkwo day. Five days prior to the feast day is popularly known as 'Osonogba Umuokpu', where young men and masquerades go to Umuokpu to intimate them that Egwu-Imoka is five days away and after they are entertained, they returned to Awka. Also, a night before the feast day, the people kept vigil in anticipation to the feast, masquerades go about with their followers and young men with sticks parading the villages. Also, a night prior to the feast, known as Opu Eke Umunwanyi where women clothed in white goes to Obu Imoka to keep it neat and clean in readiness for the festival.

On the D-day, Nkwo market day, the elders, old men, young men and women assembles at the shrine of Imoka, where the chief priest pours libation to the god, invoke the god, consult the god and thereafter, prays for the people. After this, there is feasting and displays of masquerades who roam round the villages.

### **Towards the Sustenance of Imokamasquerade Performance**

It can be surmise that the Imoka masquerade performance is the culmination of the religious and social life of the people, their highest form of communal entertainment. The argument has gone beyond the fact whether the performance does have potent dramatic and aesthetic values capable of developing into Afro-Postmodern Theatre, for it satisfies the fun-seeking instincts and entertainment desires of the African society and its audience. And, while the intention is not for African Indigenous performance to borrow from Western entertainment forms to enrich or improve it, the argument the researcher alligns with Canice Nwosuis whether such indigenous performance fall within the theatrical quintessence of the traditional African theatre that embodies post-modernistic potentials requisite for the evolution of Afro post-Modernism. This assessment is the soul of this research work.

Festival is the major manifestation of indigenous traditional performance and if such performances are to be sustained, particular attention should be given to festivals as they abound in several communities across Nigeria. These festivals are usually recurring seasonal festival, highly immersed in ritual, sometimes clothe in secrecy which has been a stumbling block in the maximization of its potentials.

### **Introduction of More Dramatic and Theatrical Arts**

The Imoka festival serves as a period of communal celebration, participation and entertainment where the people gather not just to propitiate the god, Imoka, but also to get entertained. And at the moment, as it can be observed, the only feature of entertainment in the Imoka festival is the masquerade display, which is currently been bastardized by the followers who brandish large sticks and flog people at will, harassing and extorting money from motorists, motor cyclist and bystanders with impunity. This attitude has given the festival a bad name and has led to the depreciation of audience participation who prefer to stay back in their homes rather than get brutally flogged.

Therefore, in an attempt to sustain and review this festival, this important features of the festival, that is, masquerading should be maintained and more importance given to its display. The researcher is of the opinion that all masquerades that will perform at the festival be registered, numbered and all, assemble at the arena of the festival where they will entertain the audience. Each masquerade can then come to the arena, dance and entertain the people. Furthermore, to all glamour to it, masquerades wrestling bouts should be instituted where masquerades are pitted among each other, dancing and throwing each other and the winner receives a prize. Likewise, the thirty-three (33) villages should be asked to display their individual masquerades and award given to the most beautiful and elegant village masquerade. Apart from masquerade display, other entertainment lore of African sensibilities needs to be added to enrich the festival. Cultural dances by troupes, women and children should be encouraged. Dance is a prominent feature of African Indigenous performances, for it performs both the aesthetics and utilitarian functions. Here, villages could be enjoined to present their individual dances like Egwu Umuonaga, Egwu Umubelle, etc. and award given to the best traditional village dancer. More so,

music and song, should be given special attention, the popular Ogene Music (Egwu Ogene) should be allowed to thrive. Musicians of Awka extraction, like Osuma Malaika, Nwazuka Nwaogene, Mgbajala and other upcoming artists should be invited and given the opportunity to thrill the audience with their melodious music.

Furthermore, the revival of wrestling contests and introduction of acrobatics would add glamour to the festival and attract global attention and attraction. Opportunity should be given to acrobats to display their skills and the wrestling tradition which has gone into extinction should be revived and encourage among the thirty-three villages. It is necessary to state emphatically that this wrestling contest should be devoid of any form of diabolism and should essentially be for fanfare. Also, to serve as a form of cultural edification and information, a dramatization of the myth surrounding the festival or rather the origin of the festival could be dramatized. Similarly, the dramatization of popular folkloric stories should be introduced; using mime and pantomime, such stories could be enacted before the audience. Lastly, elements of puppetry are also encouraged to add glamour to the festival.

In conclusion, the researcher believes that a fusion of all these dramatic arts to the Imoka festival will give it a global attention and attraction that it currently needs and seeks and in retrospect serve as a source of revenue to the state. And more importantly, lay to rest, the debates and arguments that have so long surrounded African indigenous performance to reiterate and lay a bedrock foundation that the concept of African indigenous performance is total theatre and largely hinged on mythology and is so much to be differentiated from its European counterpart, and should not be reviewed, analyzed or critiqued using European sensibilities, rather African parameters. And in terms of theory and criticism, that since African Indigenous performance is hinged on the people's culture and their performances are dictated by the social constructs of the peoples, the theory and criticism of indigenous performances should therefore reflect the social milieu of the people.

### **Summary**

African indigenous performances serve as the cultural warehouse of the people. It is the means by which they showcase their values, belief systems, norms, customs etc. to the wider society. Predominantly seen in virtually all communities, these performances, serve both aesthetic and utilitarian functions, deeply rooted in ritual beginnings and manifesting in festivals, be it sacred or secular, which acts as the concept of total theatre because it incorporates masquerade displays, singing, dancing, drumming among other. These indigenous performances is closely linked with the African traditional religion, since it is the religion that gives the Africans their value systems, their spiritual capabilities, their morality and above all, their forms of performance and their theatre. Indigenous performance is total because it combines many art forms like music, poetry, dance, acting, miming, mask, singing etc. and encompasses festivals, rituals, incarnate being (masquerades), folktale (storytelling), among others and appeal to all audience serving multiple functions.

African traditional performance is as old as the African man because it is through this that he accentuates his cultural beliefs, communicates to the supernatural

and entertains himself. The evolution of indigenous traditional performances dates as far back as the emergence of man and the organized society which is hinged on the performance traditions of the people which acts like cultural warehouse of the people and have occurred among all the world's people from the dawn of culture. A closer look at the African indigenous performances showcases a rich ritualistic content, a kind of initiation and a not – so embracing activities, seclusion of its members and activities. But due to religion and Western civilization, it may seem that the traditional indigenous performances have either faded away into oblivion or has experienced changes, modification and adaptation. Difference in opinion, thereby, became the order of the day. Christians particularly holds the opinion that such performances are satanic and paganistic, calling for it to be scrapped, whereas, another opinion, which the researcher has decided to pitch his tent, sees it simply as a means of entertainment and most importantly as a vehicle to uphold the Igbo tradition and legacy handed over to us by our forefathers. This indigenous performances should therefore not be allowed to go into extinction rather it should be revived which is the crux of this research work.

Whereas, some communities have given a new perspective to their sacred festivals, revitalize and revive it to suit newer and changing conditions, other have vehemently refused to remodel it which has led to its extinction or in most cases, lacking in its full potentials. In some cases, some communities have revitalize and modified it to become cultural festivals, and some, modified into end-of –the-year celebration which serves as a reunion, that notwithstanding. It may seem that indigenous traditional performances are yet to fully maximize its potentials. In an era of globalization, cultural heritage, hospitality and tourism, it is disheartening to note the backward slope of these performances. In essence, traditional indigenous performances should serve a bipartite purpose by serving as a way of preserving our culture and promote tourist development.

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## **SOCIAL IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE: THE STRUGGLE FOR RELEVANCE IN NIGERIAN SOCIETY**

**Chidubem J. Nwaogaidu**

### **Introduction**

In a cultural pluralistic society like Nigeria, the compounding relationships that make a group difficult to accommodate the other subgroups continue to expose the nature of social struggle within the society. In this examination, the mode and process by which identity differences manifest themselves, both within and among different associations that structure the relative positions of a group or individual in Nigerian society will form the key-point of analysis. This is to be done by examining the social categories and how they create a discriminatory pattern of relationship that keep one apart from the other.

Social identity is defined using the structural differences that are considered to have particular consequences on social relationships. Social categories such as gender, class, sex, ethnicity etc. influence the manner in which the structural factors are constituted and reproduced in the variety of ways, creating contradictions and conflicts under the conditions of social, political and economic systems. Thus social categories manifest themselves both as structural positioning and as intersectional notions of relational attributes. Though the category of class mostly assumes the dominant positioning, yet each has its own specific notations base upon which identity and differences are constructed. Bringing out the essential components of those categories assume part of the critical response to the conception that social positioning and the identities people possess are articulated within the social categories.

The above response remains clear perhaps in analyzing the social categories in relation to their contingency and dimensionality. In that sense, the categories are based on their mode of contingency especially in terms of their changeable patterns in individual circumstances, and their dimensionality in relation to their manifestations and consequences in different life situations. According to Mahalingam (2007), "A person's race, class, and gendered experience are embedded in a particular social and cultural matrix that influences the person's beliefs about various social categories and about the origins of social differences" (45). It is obvious here that the social categories intrinsically impact and condition individuals' locations especially their functions or performances. These formations also depend on certain historical and social factors such as religion, ethnic origins or race that predominantly reveal differences in various distinctive structures. One stands here to reason that the categories often contribute something to the manner in which the structural, participatory or identity phenomena have some advantages and disadvantage on one's experiences. These phenomena are simply essential especially when one analyzes such relationship or interdependence between different asymmetries of relationships and the social categories that produce them. In this way, social categories are viewed

as normative framework in understanding the reciprocity of social differences as well as the complexity of individual identities.

### **Identity and Difference**

Identity and difference are the key terms that determine the institutional and relational framework in social relationship. To understanding these notions of difference and identity, and the ways in which they manifest to exacerbate marginalization and oppression, the changing patterns of social categories assume a defining role. As the changes relate to identity differences, Woodward (1997) posits that, “Identity is often most clearly defined by difference, that is, by what it is not. Identities may be marked by polarization, for example in the most extreme forms of national or ethnic conflicts, and by the marking of inclusion or exclusion – insiders and outsiders, ‘us’ and ‘them’” (2).

However, the polarization marked by identity and difference is not exclusively an issue of ethnicity or gender or class inequalities, but inclusively a location where there are often simultaneous and compounding relationships of different identities. These identities are repositioned in relation to various phenomena of locations that manifest in the categories of differences and other social formations. Hund (2003) observes that, “Differences that had been considered insignificant before now develop so as to become the foundation of categorical differentiation. The emphasis of mutuality was however replaced by the stress of dissimilarity” (14).

In other words, what assumes the object of similarity, by and large constitutes also the object of difference. It points to the diversity of human and social locations in a given environment. In this instance, Sen (1995) notes that:

The demands of equality in different spaces do not coincide with each other precisely because human beings are so diverse. It is because we are so deeply diverse, that equality in one space frequently leads to inequality in other spaces. The force of the question ‘equality of what?’, thus, rests to a great extent on the empirical fact of our dissimilarity – in physical and mental abilities and disabilities, in epidemiological vulnerability, in age, in gender, and of course, in the social and economic bases of our well-being and freedom (117).

This diversity makes possible the discovery of who may or may not be considered as belonging to a given environment. But it becomes more complex in determining the modality, in the sense that as society and people continue to change so also new forms of differences and identities continue to emerge.

Moreover, the emergence of identity is a complex process that demands proper examination of the existing elements of differences within a particular setting, less influenced by external impositions such as modernity, but contextually constructed attributes and characteristics. The construction reflects the system of descriptions understood in relation to the core dimensions of identity. The essence of these descriptions is argued by Foucault (2004) thus:

From the elements that the system juxtaposes in great detail by means of description, it selects a particular few. These define the privileged and, in fact, exclusive structure in relation to which identities or differences as a whole is to be examined. Any difference not related to one of these elements will be considered irrelevant (152).

This idea suggests that the awareness of differences by an individual within the social or cultural context often determines the way identity development process of the individual is been shaped and redefined. Hall (2007) on the other hand recognizes that the destabilization of the status of identity in the Western ideological context is being governed by a particular kind of force. This force is the object of change and continuity in identity formation and experiences. He however argues that:

The logic of identity is the logic of something like a ‘true self’. And the language of identity has often been related to the search for a kind of authenticity to one’s experience, something that tells me where I come from. The logic and language of identity is the logic of depth – in here, deep inside me, is my Self which I can reflect upon. It is an element of continuity. I think most of us do recognize that our identities have changed over time, but we have the hope or nostalgia that they change at the rate of a glacier. So, while we’re not the fledglings that we were when we were one year old, we are the same sort of person (77).

In this conception, the logic of identity implies that identity changes over time, as a result of the social order in which the logic of ‘true self’ reflects on the changing conditions, but at the same time retains the unchangeable essential components such as the inner traits that make possible for continuity.

Contextualizing identity in this form brings out the differences that characterize the notion of individual traits and associations. As a result of various experiences, whereby the social categories manifest in a unique structural pattern, individuals tend to exhibit different identity formation in relational context. Addressing the position of identity and difference in social relationship is beneficially in detecting the structural barriers that constitute inequality dimensions. Therefore, in dealing with a particular group that sees itself as possessing different identities, this work strongly argues that belongingness does not guarantee equality in the sense that one could belong to a privileged group and at the same time discovers oneself in a disadvantaged few.

### **The Struggle for Survival**

Perceiving difference as a means through which the social identity is formulated and sustained, provides basis for assessing social struggle for survival. To speak of difference is thus to speak of divisions associated with social conflict. This conception implies that it is always easy to detect how the existing difference can become a potential source of conflict especially if there are some perceptions of oppression or marginalization. Hence the social categories such as gender, ethnicity,

sex and class produce hierarchically structured forms of identity differences in naturally, culturally and constructively specific modes.

### **Natural Identity Difference**

Certain structural compositions that militate against equality are considered to be a natural phenomenon. This phenomenon creates differences among individuals and groups that could result to oppression and discrimination. The manifestations of these differences are more eminent in gender studies. In defining the boundary of natural formation, one of the starting points of feminist theory has been the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender', which seems to have enabled feminist critique to confront the ideology of natural differences between women and men. In this conception, two opposing arguments have emerged. Liberals on the one hand have spent a lot of time arguing that differences between men and women are created by socialization alone; which may be through upbringing, education, media influence and so on. They have preferred to believe that they do not want an unchosen quality like the manhood or womanhood to significantly influence who someone is. In this perspective, liberal's first principle is that one should be self-created by one's own individual will and reason that characterize what defines one as human. The liberal further attempts to overthrow the influence of inherited sex role, which is still a contesting issue today. On the other hand, modern scientific view has continued to undermine and disprove the liberal position on account of unsubstantial categorization of certain traits such as genes and hormones of individuals. It is difficult to deny the role of body composition in guaranteeing the natural differences that aid oppressive relationships. Thus, the conservative attitude which strongly suggests that there are natural differences between men and women, which may be reflected in the nature of social life, and particularly family life, is increasingly being vindicated on the daily experiences through the scientific discoveries.

Nevertheless, the question whether race or ethnicity reflects natural difference is still well contested by many scholars. Against this backdrop, Bulmer and Solomos (2000) opine that:

Race and ethnicity are not 'natural' categories, even though both concepts are often represented as if they were. Their boundaries are not fixed, nor are their membership uncontested. Racial and ethnic groups, like nations, are 'imagined communities'. They are ideological entities, made and changed in struggle. They are discursive formations, signaling a language through which differences may be named and explained (79).

In that case, there is always something that is real about race or ethnicity. Okere (2005) thus argues that:

Even if it is a mere invention created ad hoc by ethnocentric Europeans and foisted upon a world they were just poised to colonize and exploit; even if it has no ontological status and is no part of nature; it may yet be something with a merely functional status, but even so, something. Though race may be no more than a social construct or an externally imposed attribute, it is not mere mental fiction. Their scientific basis may be doubtful but their social

consequences can be substantial because of the heavy weight of meaning history has conferred on them (53).

As a historical factor in essence, the manner in which the impact of race or ethnicity is shaping the formation of social and political identities cannot be ignored. Ethnicity is one of the major challenges faced in Nigeria as the place of birth or origin play a major role. The place one comes from is a very important determinant in one's success either in business or civil service in Nigeria. That is why most often individuals change their names to a particular ethnic group either for favour or to look for an opportunity for employment. Ethnic identity struggle has been the bane of underdevelopment in Nigeria because of the purse for interests. Therefore, history plays a major role in constructing this complex identity relationship in Nigeria that has been achieved for a long period of time through shared belief and mutual commitment.

### **Cultural Identity Difference**

Culture provides a major context for identity formation and social difference. The influence of culture on people's relationship characterizes the embodied structures that make possible the manifestation of particular traits inherited or as a result of historical consequences. In this context, Okere (2005) defines culture thus:

The way of life of a people, their traditional behavior in a broad sense, including their ideas, arts and artifacts. It is the social heritage which an individual acquires from his group. It denotes an historical transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, by a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about an attitude towards life (28).

For Shorter (1998), "culture is made up of 'invention' and 'convention'. 'Convention' refers to what is held in common, 'agreed upon', in society. 'Invention' refers to the appropriation of the culture by individuals, who thereby contribute to its ongoing development (23)." These two notions from Shorter however explain the changing nature of culture as a 'dynamic phenomenon'. That means that even though culture may be changeable to suit a particular historical moment, its essential components still remain stable as a source of its continuity.

Subsequently, culture is also a potential source of conflict and division in the sense that it forms a distinguishing as well as a unifying factor. Hall (1997) acknowledges the conflicting aspect of culture but however notes that:

There are many points of similarity, there are also critical points of deep and significant difference which constitute 'what or who we really are'; or rather - since history has intervened - 'what we have become'. We cannot speak for very long, with any exactness, about 'one experience, one identity', without acknowledging its other side - the ruptures and discontinuities which constitute, precisely, the uniqueness (52).

As 'critical points of deep and significant differences', culture distinguishes one from the other either as a group or nation, drawing its own definition from particular customs, norms and concepts. For instance, the 'Osu' caste system in some communities of southern part of Nigeria offers here a case in point. As a form of class division, Giddens (2006) explains that:

A caste system is a social system in which one's social status is given for life. In caste societies, therefore, different social levels are closed, so that all individuals must remain at the social level of their birth throughout life. Everyone's social status is based on personal characteristics – such as perceived race or ethnicity [...], parental religion or parental caste – that are accidents of birth and are therefore believed to be unchangeable (297).

Specifically, Osu caste system is a disgusting practice mostly among the Igbos in Nigeria that is derived from their native religious beliefs and customs. The Osu is considered to be owned by the local deities and separated from the 'Nwadiala' who possess the full citizen right in the cultural community. However, the differences that exist between an Osu and Nwadiala are well pronounced in the area of marriage. An Osu cannot marry Nwadiala. According to this belief, if Nwadiala marries an Osu, he defiles the family and becomes a curse to the entire kinship lineage. That is why the Nwadiala families are always up in arms against any of their associates who attempt to marry an Osu.

On the other hand, culture plays an important role in the perception of one's identity as 'distinct from the other'. It means that understanding one's culture is a way of breaking the borders that secret the differences, which tend to separate one from the other. This understanding involves identifying those elements of the culture that could be shared by the other. Actually, it may be argued that without perceiving strong elements of cultural identity, it is virtually hard to articulate and understand the points of similarity. In this perspective, culture attempts to describe the dimension of identities rooted in certain customs, values, traditions, and heritages. It describes the collective identity that manifests itself in individual positioning in a particular social situation. Thus the collective identity in a culture can transform over time through new discoveries, but still can also retain its essential component as a historical reality. Cultural identity is also marked by persistence and continuity depending on their mode of manifestations. According to Barth (1969):

This makes it possible to understand one final form of boundary maintenance whereby cultural units and boundaries persist. Entailed in ethnic boundary maintenance are also situations of social contact among persons of different cultures: ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behaviour, i.e. persisting cultural differences. Yet where persons of different culture interact, one would expect these differences to be reduced, since interaction both requires and generates a congruence of codes and values - in other words, a similarity or continuity of culture. Thus the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences (15-16).

For instance: if one was born and grew up into one particular culture say Igbo ethnic culture in Nigeria and later decided to earn a living in another ethnic culture say Yoruba, that does not diminish the relevance of the original or native culture but forms a sequence of cultural contact. For one to make a return after a long absence to the former, one is to experience what Hall (1997) refers to as the “shock of the ‘doubleness’ of similarity and difference (52).” This idea implies that it is a ‘profound difference of culture and history’ which is determinant in distinguishing cultural identity. In that case, the underlying elements of both cultures position the Igbos and Yorubas as both alike and different, as a result of cultural contact as well as the perception of interconnectedness of both cultures in certain norms. Moreover, Barth (1959) argues that the interconnection can best be analyzed thus:

By looking at the agents of change: what strategies are open and attractive to them, and what are the organizational implications of different choices on their part? The agents in this case are the persons normally referred to somewhat ethno-centrally as the new elites: the persons in the less industrialized groups with greater contact and more dependence on the goods and organizations of industrialized societies. In their pursuit of participation in wider social systems to obtain new forms of value they can choose among the following basic strategies: i) they may attempt to pass and become incorporated in the pre-established industrial society and cultural group; ii) they may accept a ‘minority’ status, accommodate to and seek to reduce their minority disabilities by encapsulating all cultural differentiae in sectors of non-articulation, while participating in the larger system of the industrialized group in the other sectors of activity; iii) they may choose to emphasize ethnic identity, using it to develop new positions and patterns to organize activities in those sectors formerly not found in their society, or inadequately developed for the new purposes (33).

All these strategies are important in defining the boundary of interconnectedness. Although Barth did not expatiate on the cultural traits that enclosed those boundaries, yet these strategies are potential source of cultural dynamism and unifying factors especially in Nigerian society in which certain cultural dichotomy could eventually be averted.

Finally, living in a diversity of cultures, one must understand one another not necessarily from the boundaries of separation but also as bearers of a common humanity with different cultural identities. In this sense, one realizes not only the ways in which the cultural differences manifest themselves in various circumstances, but also the ways in which cultures are interconnected. Therefore, one also comes to recognize that the very thing that differentiates is also the very thing that could unite.

### **Constructive Identity Difference**

A focus on the reality of differentials must take into account the existing dichotomies that manifest in individuals’ or groups’ social relationships as a result of constructed differences. Thus the existence of social difference is not merely endangered by natural or cultural realities, but majorly by what others think of

another to represent by way of socially constructed attributes based on prejudices and stereotyped traits. Sometimes the constructed differences are accompanied by several beliefs. It is imperative that such beliefs may not be real or in existence but may have been originated out of popular conceptions. These beliefs are the basis through which categorizations are usually formed. They manifest differently depending on the social and cultural settings in which they find their meanings and consequences. Most significant in the process of constructive difference is the conception of ethnic relationship that makes a group to pursue a common interest. Ethnicity has remained a paradigm and much cited example of the constructivist view of difference. This idea was pictured by Croucher (1997), who states that:

Ethnicity should not be viewed as ancient, unchanging, or inherent in a group's blood, soul, or misty past; nor be reduced to a rational means ends calculation of those intent on manipulating it for political or economic ends: 'Rather ethnicity itself is to be understood as a cultural construction accomplished over historical time. Ethnic groups in modern settings are constantly recreating themselves, and ethnicity is continuously being reinvented in response to changing realities' both within the group and the host society (15).

In this view, ethnicity is said to be a social construct rather than a constant, which corresponds to Anderson's (1983) idea on invented and imagined community. According to Conzen (1992): "the concept of invention allows for the appearance, metamorphosis, disappearance, and reappearance of ethnicities (2)." This conception implies that ethnicity changes in a historical circumstance with different attributes or traits that expand the cultural relationships when they are still relevant to the group. Croucher (2004) further notes that:

What is useful about constructivist approach is not merely that it turns needed attention to the emergence and maintenance of the ethnic group itself, but also that it combines valuable insights from the primordialist and instrumentalist views without replicating the analytical weaknesses of either. Because the emphasis is on construction, this approach borrows a great deal from the instrumentalists' focus on specific contexts and circumstances – whether they are economic or political, immediate, or structural. In other words, the construction of ethnic identities and ethnic group relations takes place under specific circumstances and can only be understood through a careful examination of those circumstances – for example, who has access to political, economic, and cultural resources, who does not, who lives where, who works where and with whom? [...] Finally what must be clearly understood about the constructivist approach is that an emphasis on social definition, invention, or imagination does not signify superficiality or inconsequentiality of the constructed identities (128-129).

Consequently, the existence of those social phenomena remain quite relevance in determining the meaning and construction of identities and differences, especially where the character of social realities remain insecure. In fact, the constructed categories of identity are the major source of differentiation by which

individuals and groups experience conflicts. They capture different social processes by the existence of valued norms and traits that promote complex relational hierarchies. Constructive approach is therefore very essential especially in identifying the various characteristics or traits that have influences on people's interaction within the social and cultural milieus.

### **Conclusion**

This work has aimed towards establishing and affirming the characteristics of social identities and difference in the society. From the study, identity differences and how they influence structural formations are viewed from various facets of social relations. These facets, which mostly aid domination and subordination of the disadvantaged by the privileged groups, are most often than not neglected, thereby causing wide range of disparities in social relationships.

In order to understand the underlying causalities of struggle for survival, particularly as they affect different social groupings, considerations were given to different aspects of identity difference. Thus the emphasis on multi-dimensional social structural approach in this work was to relate the existing pattern of differences that manifest in individuals and groups in terms of their positioning, distribution of attributes and mode of integration into socio-cultural, economic and political relations. In that way, ranking individuals and groups in term of positioning and relational attributes create the complex variations in identity struggles, which constitute the differences and causal interaction among the social components that exist in the social system. For instance, in the last presidential election in Nigeria, each ethnic group preferred voting a candidate from her region. Such common interest more often than not assumes a ground for potential conflicts and neglects.

Finally, analyzing the structural identity differences require both the vertical and horizontal derivatives in the context of natural, cultural and constructive perspectives in the distribution of social attributes. On the vertical dimension, it directs to the hierarchical composition of the social structure, which assumes the major source of differences. On the other hand, the horizontal phenomenon is mainly based on relational attributes consequence of cultural dynamics. In this sense, the changes in the cultural aspects of social relations that reflect in interaction processes are major determining factors in constructing the physical criteria of identity difference. The manifestation of these changes and their relational attributes contribute significantly to the pattern of social interactions as well as in widening the complexities of the contextual influences on identity differences that impair social relationships. The nature of interaction could however be gradual or rapid depending on the mode of responses to the social changes. The rapid changes evolve both the bifurcation of the social system as well as developmental goals.

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## **THE VALUE OF VIOLENCE IN CONTEMPORARY NIGERIAN SETTING: AN EXISTENTIALIST APPROACH**

**Cindy Anene Ezeugwu**

### **Introduction**

Drama translates life into art and one of the ingredients of life which drama has continued to reflect in a very intense level is violence. The rapport that exists between drama and violence is due largely to the fact that violence is one of the high water marks of conflict, which in itself is one of the essence of drama. Since the works of Aeschylus, violence in drama and theatre has been a distinctive feature of many of the major dramatic movements. Thus, violence in modern African plays is often seen as a disease or a misnomer. For example, in his study of the play, *Nwokedi* by Esiaba, Irobi, Toni Duruaku, a Nigerian playwright and critic observes that:

*Nwokedi* goes beyond cynicism, beyond ritual, beyond cause and effect. It has exploited the grey edges of artistic freedom to rekindle the atavism in man and paints it as glorious... Its protagonist is a warped personality with a mission that cannot possibly solve anything. If *Nwokedi* commits murder under the cloak of revenge or is protected by a suspect, return to traditional values and primeval rites, it does not absolve him of the guilt, nor is the heinousness of his crime diminished (91).

Many other critics and scholars who view the employment of violence as a stylistic device in playwriting as disconcerting would agree with Duruaku that violence in many dramatic writings offends some peoples' sensibilities and create a sense of anomie. Yet in contemporary times, as in the past, in spite of the capacity of violence in playwriting to harm both the young and the old as some critics of violence argue, increasing number of people are fascinated and in fact, demonstrate uncontrollable interest in watching contents, performances or reading plays filled with terror and assault, while many others relish in resolving issues through the application of violence.

This study therefore, is an attempt to investigate the value of violence through the mirror of existentialism, an area which to this researcher, have not been critically studied in detail, but has just been merely scratched on the surface by some critics in the likes of Tony Duruaku, . The essence is to demonstrate that violence in African drama is not totally a disease but can act as an immunization against different shades of diseases. The researcher is of the view that modern African plays and performances do not glorify violence for the sake of violence, but are constructed as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel avers to "earnestness of high purpose, to cancel and transcend" (Hegel, 393). Those things that hinder the freedom of Africans and force them to live precariously in a continent endowed with abundant wealth. It is equally the aim of this study to argue that violence can be used as tool to achieve positive goals in the Nigerian setting as instances abound where people have rebelled against

certain societal injustices and oppression using violence as form of resistances. Hegel further expresses the opinion that:

The law again, which is opposed to the law of the heart is divided from the heart and exists on its own account. Mankind which is bound to obey it, does not live in blissful unity of the law of the heart, but either lives in dismal separation and suffering, or at least in deprivation of the enjoyment itself in obeying the law (393).

What Hegel implies in the above statement is that any condition that chains man down and makes it impossible for him to actualize himself is an act of violence ordinance of the world, and that any means employed to resist it is justified, so long as the goal according to him is to “do away with the suffering arising from it as well as to bring about the welfare of mankind” (393). Many modern African playwrights in the likes of Wole Soyinka, Femi, Osofisan, Emeka Nwabueze, Esiaba Irobi among others manifest violence in their plays in order to play back to the people, instances of their real life experiences, the life of being bound and mental breakdown. This they do by giving us an insight into the nature of violence and its intellectual value as an essential element of life, through the revelation of the interpersonal dynamics that necessitate it. This is because in reality, violence has double note which work in opposite direction with respect to fostering or reducing the burden of the society.

### **Theoretical Consideration**

Violence has political, socio-economic, psychological and philosophical dimensions and despite the fact that the clash of social ontology and the inner life which generate conflicts and violence in Africa differ from one region to another, David Cooper and Laing R.M. posit that “ambiguous fact are evident when we view a person from a distinct conceptual framework” (18). In light of the above submission, this study leans on the theory of existentialism to advance the research.

The crux of existentialism according to Alasdair Macintyre is that “human beings are incomplete; they are open towards the future, and yet unmade future. The emptiness of this future has to be filled by the choices of the agent” (27). He further argues that the “bourgeoisie falsify human existence by pretending that it is solid and determinate, a matter of filling our pre-existing roles, a matter of existence filling out an already determined essence” (27). But the existentialists believe the contrary, “that existence precedes essence” (40). Laing and Cooper cite Jean Paul Sartre as saying that, “man is characterized above all else by the surpassing of a situation because he is able to do or undo what has been done to him ...” (1971:51). They further express the view that “it is in surpassing the given towards the field of possibilities and in realizing one possibility amongst all the possibilities, that the individual objectifies himself and contributes to the making of history” (52). This indicates that to say what a man is, is to say what possibilities he can surpass. And this gives credence to the notion that there is always a future to unfold. John Roth and Fredrick Sontag submits that “when we think of our future for example, our thought naturally reaches beyond what we presently are..., our future projects leave us

forever short of fulfillment” (203). This feeling of unfulfilment according to Hegel, makes man “never to be at rest but to carry along the stream of progress ever onwards” (75).

Frequently, the image of ourselves and reality subsist independently even in contradiction, but man’s hatred of constraints often propels him to employ violence as a means of depassment, an existential defence of the self. Hegel argues that “It is by risking life that freedom is obtained.... The individual, who has not staked his life, may no doubt be recognized as a person”(233). And John Fraser perceives this kind of violence as “the daring that is involved in the naked confrontation of adversaries” (122).

Karl Marx and Freidrck Engels posit that “man is a product of social life and that his consciousness is determined not only by the physiological processes unfolding in his organism, his brain in particular, but also by social relations and by the material conditions of human life” (74). The Marxists see the private ownership of means of production and of exchange as the root cause of social imbalance and class struggle. Thus, Marx and Engels systematically trace social progress within the contexts of the law of unity and struggle of opposites, law of transformation of quantity into quality and the law of negation, by explicating the internal dynamics that necessitate series of transitions in human civilization and argue that the modern bourgeois society which springs from the debris of feudalism is highly oppressive, and in turn, contains sufficient internal crises that call for its change. They further posit that;

Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world when it has been called up by his spells” (41).

This is because as they further submit:

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers crowded into the factor, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the individual army, they placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois state; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, and above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to the bougeoise, the more hateful and embittering it isto the proletariats (41).

In this circumstance, they call on the exploited masses to pick up arms and collide with the bourgeoisie in a revolution, in order to change their destiny, bearing in mind that man is the maker of his own history. They seek for the transformation of the world from capitalism to socialism. Thus this necessity of socialism replacing capitalism inspires the proletariat-labour with optimism and a striving for the revolutionary transformation of the world. Quoting Hannah Arendt, John Roth and

Fredrick Sontage write, “the stage is set for revolution when man has began to doubt that poverty is inherent in his condition, to doubt that the distinction between the few who through circumstances or strength, or fraud had succeeded in liberating themselves from the shackles of poverty, and the laboring poverty-stricken multitude is inevitable and eternal” (1988:365).

This study employs the method of casual analysis in order to push in an explanatory link between the material as well as psychological conditions and the violence inherent in the behaviour of individuals in the field of life and by extension in drama which mirrors life. Roy Bhaskar, according to Mats Ekstrom, expresses the view that “Individuals are not passive conveyors of roles and structures. They possess casual powers, capacities for bringing about change in reality, through consciousness and intentional activities” (114). Mervin Hartwig expresses similar view when he states that “individuals have certain basic psychological and physical needs, and at all times, have interest in ensuring that all these needs are met by whatever social means that are at hand” (2001:3). He further maintains that:

Agents also possess the species – capacities of mind, self, intentionality, rationality, etc., whereby they articulate these needs and interests and act consciously in accordance with them. So where they find themselves situated in social relations rooted in economic exploitations and political domination, by virtue of which they are denied the freedom and life chances of others better placed, or the consumption which the output of their own labour merits, they will view these social relations as unjust and oppressive, and will seek to resist, reform or even overturn them (3).

Casual analysis will enable us to evaluate and comprehend motives and intentions which actually posses productive powers that enable people to behave the way they do.

### **An Overview of Violence**

The researcher is of the view that violence is an intriguing aspect of human existence, which helps to clarify and illuminate our values whenever the need arises. Glenn J Gray expresses the view that, “One of the baffling aspects of our species is its continuing attraction to violence. Though we admit it reluctantly, and many people genuinely dislike participating in violent scenes, few of us indeed are immune to its inherent fascination”(1). What makes violence intriguing is that “some of the more brilliant and gifted men in our societies not only advocate it, but they also participate in it” (18). This is a negation of Thomas Hobbes’ notion that violence is the consequence of primitivism. According to Hobbes, “in the state of nature, that is, “during the time men lives without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition called war, and such a way of every man against every man” (106). It is the feeling of this researcher that violence exists more in our present times than in the primordial times that Hobbes talked about. It shall be demonstrated elsewhere in this work that violence even possesses democratizing function in modern civilization. This brings us to the question of what essentially constitute violence.

Violence refers essentially to any social communicative praxis intended deliberately or in deliberately destroys, to harm the body or to wound or injure the mind or both. Although individuals can, and often do harm themselves, most act of violence are social because human existence is crucially social. Timo Virtanem sees violence as “the violation of the peace of the mind and rights” (53). Virtanem’s view of violence is from the perspective of the state apparatus that often employ force as a means of social control. This is typical of police brutality often witnessed in our society and in many other countries. The word violence is broad and multi-dimensional. According to Hans Touch, “violence is a brew of many ingredients, all of which in some sense define it” (173).

In Africa and Nigeria in particular, violence is an inescapable reality that pervades the works of many contemporary playwrights like Ola Rotimi, Emeka Nwabueze, Esiaba Irobi, Eni Jones Umukor among others. Today, we hear of domestic violence, religious violence, ethnic violence, political violence, racial violence, youth violence, television violence, stage violence, intellectual violence, gender violence, cyber violence, cultural violence, the list is endless. However, in spite of its seemingly endless categorization, violence is grouped into two namely; physical and non-physical violence.

Physical violence is the most notable and visible type of violence and it refers to the exercise in diverse forms, of physical force to inflict injury on people’s lives, or cause damage to life and property. One palpable fact is that our external way of living is characterized by wars of various kinds and intensities, riots in the university campuses and in the societies, armed robbery, terrorism, political assassinations, rape, acid bath, child and wife battering, street and market fighting, non-aesthetic surgery, hurting games of various types, among others. Talking about political violence, Rudolph J. Rummel observes that, “Constantly someone is trying to replace their ruler by violence, revolt against some government policy, or civil war to achieve independence. In July 2000, there were about forty nations in which these political confrontations were occurring”(1).

In many countries of the world, violence generates insecurity and appears to make everyone gasp for survival almost on daily basis. The second type of violence is the non-physical type, which includes the use of gestures and language to hurt. The use of words to hurt is referred to as verbal violence. In discussing the ambivalent role of words, Sigmund Freud opines that:

Words and magic were, in the beginning one and the same, and even today, words retain much of their magical powers. By words one of us can give to another the greatest happiness or bring about utter despair; by words, the orator sweeps his audience with him and determines its judgments and decisions (19).

In recognition of the fatal power of language, Debra Littlejohn Shinder argues that “words can be weapons, and they can kill just as surely as guns and knives can mortally wound the body” (18). Words which constitute verbal violence include words that do not match the sensory mode of people being addressed, sarcastic

remarks, words that can cause distress, scatological expressions, words that can demoralize and those that can cause people to lose face, value or their respect. In a society dominated by caste system and racism, for example, in Igbo-land in Nigeria and in America, words like *osu* and *nigger* are used to belittle and humiliate perceived victims. Onwuchekwa Jemie express the view that such words “are used deliberately to shock, and to register alienation and iconoclasm” (24). However, words in all languages are known to be shifty in meaning. Onwuchekwa argues that even “out rightly obscene and vulgar words carry with them a whole other complex of meanings” (24). To him, “Each is capable of carrying sometimes simultaneously, the conventional meaning usually negative, an opposite meaning which is positive, a neutral meaning and a variety of meanings with varying degrees of negative, positive and neutral, plus a range of emotions and attitude”(22).

To illustrate with a specific example, Onwuchekwa states that “the word *nigger* itself considered a true obscenity by many, is used in its conventional meaning (negative or neutral) by both Black and white men; but in addition, it is used by Blacks to convey the most absolute of positive meaning – as a term of affection between relatives and friends, of tenderness between lovers” (23). Claude Brown express similar feeling when he states that “the word *nigger* is the most soulful word in the world, a word with “many shades of meaning [and] a unique sentiment... exemplified in the frequent and perhaps even excessive usage of the term to denote either fondness or hostility” (134). Aware of the complex meaning of words, Debra Shinder avers that:

Verbal violence is something that goes far beyond the boundaries of ‘fair fighting’. It’s defined not so much by the particular words spoken as by the intent of the speaker. In the legal world, there are at least two elements that have to be proven in order to convict a person of any offence. One is the act itself, but along with that, you have to prove a culpable mental state, and that’s what I mean by intent (2).

### **The Value of Violence**

Due greatly to what Fraser refers to as “intellectual pusillanimity” (110), many people view violence from a dysfunctional light. To these people, violence is ignoble, negative and makes man to appear irrational. In his reflection on violence, Gray posits that, “The underlying and unexamined assumption of so many of our scientists is that man is a rational animal, that is, animal first of all with the attribute of reason added to him from without, as it were. In being violent, he loses this attribute and becomes a beast, that is, irrational”(194).

The fatal impacts of wars on human, material civilization, and nature itself which constrain Gray to make the above statement equally propels Georg Lukacs to observe rather pessimistically that, “the end of our civilization is arriving with both a bang and a whimper” (9). Lukacs further states that “what people read the Apocalypse nowadays, perhaps reasonable so. For what we have to face is not an Apocalypse loosened down over us by an angry God, but an apocalypse created by men themselves” (154). Genuine, as Gray and Lukacs, among many others’ fear may

be, the question is, does man's participation in violence actually make him irrational? The researcher is of the view that in reality, violence plays double role which work in opposite directions to foster or reduce the burden of society. Gray and Lukacs have articulated how violence helps to foster the burden of society.

Violence many times perform democratizing function and democracy stands for justice, truth and fair-play. As long as these democratic ideals are observed, there is no qualm, but in many nations of the world, the evasion of responsibilities by those in power and their surrogates is constantly depriving the people of their dignity, rights and peace of mind. In the words of Wole Soyinka, the "man dies in all who keeps silent in the face of tyranny and injustice" (22). Abbey Peterson who argues from the perspective of anti-racial movements, express the opinion that:

These types of social actions carried out by the anti-racial movement have a distinctive democratizing function in that they institute a process by which channels of participation are broadened, their flexibility is extended, and decision – making processes are disclosed. Altruistic action on the part of social movements such as anti-racist movement fosters the increasing autonomy of civil society and its ability to exert pressure on the political institution (373).

Peterson's argument above is a self-evident truth. Violence on the part of the deprived can be a means of sensitizing the government about the existential problems of the people. For instance, the crises in the Niger-Delta area of Nigeria are precipitated by the insensitivity of the oil firms and the Nigerian government to the abject poverty, neglect and anguish from the soul of the people whose land generates seventy percent of the nation's wealth. When after many years of neglect, the people of Niger-Delta region picked up arms and starts fighting some of the oil companies like Shell Petroleum Development Company, Exom-Mobil, Totalfina Elf among others and to damage their oil installations, violence became a means of "forcing people to truth" (Fraser, 42). The Niger Delta people merely employ violence to achieve immediacy of response from the oil companies and the Nigerian government. Violence as employed here propelled these oil companies to increase participation in community development projects, and the establishment of the Niger-Delta Development Commission by the Nigerian government to cushion the effect of poverty and environmental degradation in the Niger-Delta region. This feat is an eloquent testimony to the democratizing function of violence. The government action broadened the participation of the Niger-Delta people at least in the enjoyment of the wealth which their land creates.

Similarly, Howard Becker is cited by Peterson as saying that "youth violence is precipitated by the chasm they perceive between the ideals that they are instilled within their childhood and the actual practices and morals that they are confronted with in everyday life" (108). Peterson goes to assert that "youth violence against the state is a "clear display of their lack of faith in the ability of the adult generation (in their terms the 'establishment') to deal with the social problems they consider pressing" (128). An instance is Esiaba Irobi's plays, *Hangmen Also Die* and *Nwokedi*

which indicate that youth violence thrives on a sense of inadequacy. They bear eloquent testimony to the “primacy of feelings and their reality”. Peterson is of the view that:

Every generation has a face that is different from other generations. In some way, their faces mirror the world they are turned towards. These faces, however, are not turned passively towards society, these young faces are even mobilizing collectively to actively change the society they are living in (2002:107).

In the same vein, he further observe that “young people speaking the language of the possible and refusing to comply with the codes of normalcy, are calling on society at large to define itself and reveal its limits” (2002:129).

Moreover, civil rights activists often employ violence to check pervasiveness of power. People can, and in fact act violently when bad government push them far to “a point beyond which certain options cannot continue to remain open and a choice must be made” (Fraser,140). In this circumstance, the situation becomes to the people, a matter of ‘to be or not to be’. When General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida annulled the June 12, 1993 presidential election in Nigeria, the civil rights groups mobilized the masses into a collection of social cataclysm and explosion and this forced the military junta, in his own terms, to ‘step aside’. The nascent democratic dispensations that Nigerians now enjoy owe much to the social conflagration that followed the cancelation of the said election. In all these, violence does not only help in the transition to democracy, it equally helped to reduce sensory overloading occasioned by the long stay of the military in Nigerian politics.

### **Conclusion**

The researcher is of the opinion that not every act of violence can be considered as criminal, abusive, or oppressive. Arising from this, violence can be viewed as just or unjust and a fitting example of just violence is corporal punishment meted out on students by their teachers, this kind of punishment can be termed as violence but not an abusive or oppressive type of violence. Cutting up of flesh, circumcision, amputation of a limb or corrective surgery on a patient by the doctor may be defined as an act of violence on the patient but it is neither deliberate nor abusive unless there is an established allegation of professional misconduct. These aforementioned examples of violence done in respective establishments are a few example of just violence and they can be aptly termed as corrective forms of violence. Thus violence in these instances may be used to correct, destroy, restore or punish justly.

Ngugi Wa Thiong’O, in comparing the Mau Mau violence and that of the British colonial government in his work, *Home Coming* (2005), explains that “violence to end an intolerable, unjust social order is not savagery, it purifies man. But violence to protect and preserve an unjust oppressive social order is criminal” (6). The position of this work is that an explication of one aspect of a thing does not amount to its full profile. The researcher attempts a submission that in reality,

violence plays double role which work in opposite directions to foster or reduce the burden of the society.

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## **AFRICAN HISTORY, DEMOCRACY AND ELECTIONERING**

**Peter E. Ozioko & Victor O. Akalonu**

### **Introduction**

The attainment of political independence by African countries was followed by two striking political developments. One was the emergence and establishment of one-party system of government in virtually all the independent states on the continent. The history of democracy and election in Africa was said to have begun in the early 1990s when a wave of protest emerged in Africa reflecting the global favour for democratic, accountable leadership and representative political systems. In the wake of this groundswell of protests among African populations, the discrediting of socialist-Marxist systems, and the fall of the Berlin Wall as a contributing factor, many electoral reforms were implemented. Until then, only a few African states had experience of acceptable elections and a democratic system (Botswana and Mauritius). In the early 1990s, however, many autocratic regimes in Africa bowed to the combined pressure for reform of both their citizens and the international community (eg. Donor countries demanding good governance) and introduced periodic elections for parliament or the President. This often went hand in hand with the formation of new (opposition) parties. In the 1990s, more or less competitive elections were held in dozens of African countries. Often they were preceded by a 'National Conference' of the various stakeholders (incumbent regimes, civil society and opposition groups, or parties) (Walter et al, 1988).

The problems of electioneering campaign in Africa cannot be fully understood without situating it within the political history of the continent. The colonial African State offers a useful point of entry because it was under it that some form of electoral politics was introduced to Africa. This was particularly the case in British colonies with the introduction of the elective principles in 1922. Although electoral politics during this period was to a very large extent non-violent, the democratic substance of the elective principle was too limited with income and residential qualification and could therefore be a potential basis for violence. Possibly as a result of its narrow political base, political discourses about democracy and good governance were essentially elite-driven, while the people occupied a very marginal space, if any (Ake, 2000).

### **Historical Context of Elections in Africa**

An outstanding feature of the international order established in the aftermath of the World War II now undergoing such profound change, was its reflection of certain underlined suppositions about the nature of states and the origins of the power they wield. Every member of the United Nations accepted the proposition that the world is divided into sovereign states which have jurisdiction over a specific territory, and that these states have the right and duties to govern. This was the community of nations which African countries joined, a few as founder-members in 1945, many

more new comers admitted after they had attained independence from colonial rules mostly in the 1960s (Post, 1970).

In the first generation after independence, many African leaders had actually been voted into power in elections supervised by the departing colonialists, and thereafter retained it until their death (like President Nkrumah of Ghana and many others). A few of the first generation of heads of state, elected to power in colonial times, eventually resigned and handed power to chosen successors like Presidents Senghor of Senegal, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Ahidjo of Cameroon. But from the end of the colonial period until the late 1980s, only in Mauritius was one party actually voted out of office and replaced by another in constitutional fashion. Perhaps, the oldest example of an African territory having the rights to vote in national elections on the European model were the four communes of Senegal, French Colonial settlements whose inhabitants had voting rights from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century. This was an example of colonial institution being introduced into African politics, an effect of colonial rule in general. In the French empire II, ordinances issued in August and September 1945, established electoral colleges which included provisions for Africans to elect representatives to the Constituent Assembly to plan for a new constitutional future for France and its colonies. This was to lead directly to the rights of French-speaking Africans to vote for candidates to the French National Assembly, and to the holding of regular elections and of multiparty politics throughout French-speaking Africa (Post).

In this sense, it could be said that the tradition of regular elections in which the adult population has the right to vote dates in most of sub-Saharan Africa from the late 1940s or early 1950s. These developments occurred later in Belgian Congo and in Portuguese colonies.

### **Electioneering Cost and Violence in Africa**

The cost for electioneering campaign is now on the increase as well as outrageous. In fact, (Nduneche, 2015), states that according to data gathered from different agencies and reports from advertisement regulatory bodies, five days before the March 28<sup>th</sup> elections, advertising costs political parties, friends and well wishers of those seeking office in Nigeria the sum of N4.9 billion naira. It is therefore, not a surprise that at a dinner to raise funds for the re-election of Dr. Goodluck Jonathan, the twenty-one PDP-controlled states donated more than ₦1 billion. Private firms were also part of the donors. Unnamed oil and gas sector players were said to have donated ₦5 billion to the campaign; those in Real Estate and Building donated ₦4 billion; Transport and Aviation, ₦1 billion; Food and Agriculture, ₦500 million; Power, ₦500; Construction, ₦310 million; Road Construction, ₦250 million; National Authoritative Association, ₦450 million; and Shelter Development Limited, ₦250 million (Olalekan, 2014). These instances reveal the huge amount of financial resources plunged into electioneering campaign in Nigeria.

So mindboggling are the funds plunged into electioneering campaigns as attested by the 2015 and 2019 general elections in Nigeria, knowing fully well that section 91 of the Amended Electoral Act (2010), stipulates that the maximum election

expenses to be incurred by a candidate in Presidential elections should not exceed ₦1 billion; similar stipulations are set for governorship elections at ₦20 million, while elections to the Senate and the House of Representatives are not to exceed ₦40 million and ₦20 million respectively; and also that no individual donations should exceed ₦1 million. Those limits have never been seen to be kept, and of course the law stipulating stiff penalties for contraveners has never been implemented.

Another shenanigan witnessed during the electioneering campaign is that the government, both at the federal and state levels, in order to create the obviously cosmetic atmosphere of performing incumbent pumps huge funds into the system as a mere subterfuge to execute a sleeping or moribund projects. For example, the flagging off of the construction of the second Niger bridge estimated at ₦130 billion, which President Jonathan promised during his first tenure in 2011, took place in March 2014 less than one year left in his administration (“We have spent ₦10 billion”, 2015).

The political activities of politicians are to a significant extent, devoid of morality and good values. Consequent upon the operation of political elites, that is, party politicians, there is a big question on the politics of ethics and morality. Former Niger State governor, Babangida Aliyu stated that, “There is no morality in politics”. He stated that politics is all about telling lies, and if one cannot tell lies, one has no place in the game. He continues: “If you are talking about morality and honesty, go and become an Imam or a pastor” (Ogiji, 2015). The nature of electioneering campaign in the 2015 presidential election in Nigeria was a pointer to the unconventional and unacceptable campaign strategies employed by the two major political parties – PDP and APC. The political campaigns of these parties in the 2015 presidential elections were believed and are still being believed to be anti-democratic, unconstitutional, anti-electoral act and against electoral code of conduct. The manner in which character assassination, defamatory speeches and campaign of calumny characterized the electoral process was so alarming and unprecedented. Over-zealousness and desperation among political elites to acquire power by all means created an atmosphere of political competition of zero-sum game, (Ogiji,).

Physical dimensions of electoral violence in Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe include political assassinations, riots, assaults, arson, looting, bombing and hijacking of electoral materials at gun point. In Nigeria, for instance, the issue of political assassination has been a major issue since 1999. Some of those that have been assassinated include top party chieftains, candidates aspiring to elective offices of high stake and those already in elected/appointed political offices. Notable figures here include Funsho Williams, a gubernatorial aspirant under the PDP in Lagos State (July, 2006), and Dr Ayo Damarola, also a PDP gubernatorial candidate in Ekiti State (August, 2006). There were also reported and verified cases of bomb explosions in the homes of Senator Patrick Osakwe in Delta State which took place on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 2006; so also those of Nduli Elumelu and Theodora Giwa-Amu, both aspirants into the House of Representatives, also in Delta State. In Kenya and Zimbabwe, these physical dimensions of violence also manifested there. Most notable ones include battering, assassinations, arsons, destruction, looting and damage of

properties, torture, unlawful arrest and detention, rape and disruption of public meetings and campaign rallies. Assessed against the background of the foregoing, the foundation of the democratization process in much of Africa, suffers serious defects, or, as argued elsewhere, “It is still far off the mark” (Omotola, 2008).

Electioneering campaign is a process provided by the law which enables a candidate to ascertain an elective position and to sensitize the populace on his party’s manifesto. If such a candidate has a clout, his pedigree comes to play as a selling point. However in recent times, electioneering campaigns in Africa, which is supposed to be a platform for the exchange of ideas and a means to harness and develop the natural and human resources of Africa, has now turned to jamboree fare where ill-gotten words are displayed by politicians in order to win elections and with the intention of recouping their words back via corrupt means. The masses become the receiving end or bear the brunt of their impunity (Uzonwanne).

### **Patronage Democracy**

Tradition of electioneering campaigns in Africa too often inclines towards the bandwagon syndrome. Of course, this is because the electorates are bedeviled by poverty and limited access to quality education. The electioneering seasons in Africa are normally times for publicity – blitz designed to sway the electoral masses. This electioneering publicity is rampantly found in media and particularly, in the social networks that enjoy a boom during electioneering seasons. Patronage democracy in Africa has assumed alarming dimensions in the recent years, especially, with the adoption of democratic system of government by nations in Africa in the 1990s. I have briefly examined few countries in Africa where patronage democracy is on the increase.

### **Kenya**

Kenya serves as a typical example of African country where political patronage and cash handouts is rampant. This phenomenon is hinged on the corrupt nature of the country. Distribution of large amounts of money to voters, often in a public manner, is a clear signal to voters that the politician has the resources required to distribute benefits toward constituents (Conroy-Krutz, 2008). The signal is particularly strong in Kenya.

Willingness to distribute resources is critical in an environment such as Kenya, where corruption is assumed to be widespread. Almost 50 percent of Kenyans believe that most or all of their cabinet ministers and assistant ministers are engaged in corruption and about 60 percent believe that most or all members of parliament are corrupt (EACC, 2012). A large number of Kenyans are asked for bribes when seeking services from the state (EACC, 2012). In an editorial in Kenya’s Standard Newspaper, (Kiberenge, 2012) further sheds light on the position in which many candidates find themselves: “Politicians are in a catch-22 situation: bogged down but at the same time too afraid to decline or publicly condemn the trend of cash handouts for fear of being branded broke and therefore unelectable”. Kramon (2013), postulates that the need to distribute cash and other private benefits to voters during campaigns

may increase incentives for corruption. The wide spread use of cash handouts during campaigns may contribute to democracy's mixed performance in Africa, though they are clearly not threat to government accountability and responsiveness. Cash handouts are extremely costly to political campaign, constituting the overwhelming majority of campaign expenditures in Kenya and elsewhere.

### **Ghana**

Cash and other types of handouts, which are often referred to as "chop money", are common to campaigns in Ghana. Among Lindberg's (2003) sample of 72 parliamentary candidates from the 2000 election, he finds that 57 percent spend 25 percent or more of their entire campaign budget on providing "personalized patronage" to voters. Lindberg (2003) describes the campaign behavior of parliamentary candidates as follows, "Campaigning is often about walking around various neighborhoods, talking to people about what they do and what their life is, while one of the boys (runners and bodyguards) continues to feed the MP with small notes for handouts from a small envelop" (Lindberg, 2003, pp.129). These funds are drawn primarily from the MP's salary, family moneys, or other donations.

### **Cameroon**

The informational arguments also resonate with Hansen's (2010) detailed description of the 1996 municipal election campaign in the town of Ngaoundéré in northern Cameroon. As in Kenya and elsewhere in Africa, politics in Cameroon has been described as neo-patrimonial (Bayart, 1993). The elections were the first multiparty municipal elections held in the country since its transition to multiparty politics in 1990. Thirty-five (35) parties competed in these municipal elections, parties whose names, slogans and political programmes were close to identical (Hansen, 2010). All candidates focused on the issue of local public goods provision, "All politicians claimed to want improved health facilities, education and orderly market places. They all wanted drinking water and electricity throughout Ngaoundéré (Hansen, 2010). Gift-giving and especially cash handouts were central to political campaigning during elections in Cameroon.

### **Nigeria**

In the Ekiti Governorship election last year (2018), both the ruling and opposition parties were accused of offering voters cash for their voter cards. During the primaries to pick presidential candidates, some candidates, including Atiku Abubakar, were accused of offering colossal amount of foreign currency to delegates for their support. The chairman of the Independent National Electoral Commission, Mohmood Yakubu, said a number of measures had been widespread in the General elections in Nigeria (Samson, 2019).

The vote-buying practice, which is completely antithetical to the ethics and norms of democracy, has become a common feature of party primaries and general elections conducted in recent years in Nigeria. For example, during the All Progressive Congress (APC) Presidential Primary in Lagos State before the 2015

elections, it was reported that over 8000 delegates who participated allegedly made US\$5000 each from the candidates. Delegates were supposed to have received US\$2000 each from the Atiku Abubakar group and also US\$3000 each from the Buhari group. Given that, more than 8000 delegates were reported to have spent more than US\$16 million and US\$24 million respectively on vote-buying at the primary stage,( The Whistler, 2016).

In the Edo and Ondo governorship elections in 2016, observers reported massive vote-buying by the two main political parties – APC and PDP. The parties bought votes with sums of ₦3000 and ₦4000 respectively.

### **Factors Influencing Cost of Electioneering Campaigns in Africa** **Rented Crowd**

A consequent of the above point is the emergence of rented crowds for parties activities. For a candidate, the larger the crowds at their rallies, the more seriously their candidatures are perceived by the electorates. Attractive amounts are budgeted for the crowd to be rented, ranging from ₦3000 to ₦8000 per head in Nigeria. Political parties and candidates try to outdo each other with the sizes of the crowds at their rallies. The higher the amounts the candidates can afford to pay as well as the gifts to be given per head, the larger the crowds that will be in attendance at each rally. On the contrary, candidates who are unwilling to rent crowds or give gifts at rallies attract very little followers. This intends to increase the cost of electioneering campaigns in Africa.

### **Winner-Takes-It-All Syndrome**

Because candidates and political parties invest unimaginable amounts of money in the process, elections can only be a do-or-die affair. Contestants and supporters alike become desperate and resort to illegal means to manipulate or subvert the electoral process. The first-past-the post system gives winners all the advantages, as against such other systems which enable proportional representation.

### **Political Culture**

Corruption and the embezzlement of public funds by the political class in African countries were the usual excuses by the military for the military intervention in African politics which truncated democratic governance in Africa. This categorization of politicians as very corrupt was re-enforced overtime by the reckless lifestyles of elected and appointed public officers. Since the return to democracies since 1990s, the financial profiles of politicians became very high. The popular saying that African politicians are very corrupt is evident on their non-fulfillment of campaign promises. Africans have come to believe that politicians seek to be elected only to steal their money and not to serve the people. By extension, election periods are viewed by electorates as periods to get as much money as possible from the politicians.

### **Corruption and Impunity**

A factor closely related to lack of enforcement capacity is the general laxity of the application of the rule of law in African countries. With the culture of corruption and lawlessness which pervades the continent's polity, cost of politics can only soar beyond the reach of citizens. It is noteworthy that various studies, including the index on African governance for 2015 which was done by the M. O. Ibrahim Foundation, scored Nigeria low (50.8/100) with regards to the enforcement of the rule of law. In the study which was conducted between 2000 and 2014, Nigeria was rated very low in the rule of law. During this period, corruption, impunity and lawlessness rose to a phenomenal proportion, (See Cost of Politics in Nigeria by Olorunmola, 2018).

### **Challenges of Democratic Practice in Africa**

One of the most noticeable challenges hindering democratization and democratic consolidation in Africa is the unwillingness of political actors to imbibe the culture of acceptance of electoral outcomes in good faith. Ruling parties and incumbent leaders in many countries continue to demonstrate despotic tendencies by their unwillingness to leave office at the end of their terms. Several countries have removed the limits for presidents. As pointed out earlier, Uganda dropped presidential term limit in 2005 to allow President Museveni to rule as long as he wants. Chad also removed presidential term limit in 2004. This has allowed Chadian President to remain in power with little or no chance of leaving office through electoral polls. In 2010, Djibouti amended its constitution, removing presidential term limits. In Niger in 2011, the army staged a coup against President Mamadou Tandja because he tried to remove presidential term limit to allow him contest for a third term and remain in power. In 2015, in the Republic of Congo, a referendum was used to remove presidential term limit as well as age limits for presidents. What removal of term limits implies is that leaders of these countries can stay in power as long as they want. There seem to be a gradual return to the era of power personalization and authoritarianism. These practices do not form integral parts of democracy and elections appear to be used for the wrong purpose (Maendeleo Policy Forum, 2016).

Lack of tolerance for opposition parties is a serious challenge that African democracies face. Pre-election and post-election periods in Uganda's February 2016 were marred by incessant arrests and intimidation of opposition candidates. More worrisome was the breaking up of opposition political gatherings and denial of access to state media and stadia. The shutting down of social media platforms to restrict opposition's access to the outside world was also reported; Chad is another case where intolerance of opposition parties is rampant. Poor democratic culture has also continued to weaken political institutions such as the constitutions, judiciary, political parties and Electoral Management Boards (EMBs). As a result, electoral crisis in countries such as Burundi, have become regular occurrence in the continent. Weak electoral management boards as well as inefficient security sector are blamed for electoral frauds and violence. For example, in 2015 in the Democratic Republic of Congo, calls by the Independent Electoral Body to delay the polls because of logistic

problems were largely ignored. In ideal democratic settings, the integrity and independence of the electoral body would have been respected and its advice heeded to postpone the country's election. Thus, weak political institutions hinder the maturity of democracy on the African continent.

It is becoming too clear that military coups on the continent constitute a bane to Africa's move towards democracy. With the wave of democracy in the 1990s, many had hoped that the era of military dictatorship was gone. But recent occurrences suggest this is not yet the case. Recently, coups occurred in Burkina Faso (September 2015); Mali (March 2012); and Guinea-Bissau (April 2012); Guinea-Conakry (December 2008) and Guinea-Bissau (December 2008). The military coup that occurred in the Central African Republic in 2013 overthrew the democratic government of President Francois Bazizé. The coup destabilized the country and led to internecine violence which took a religious colouration. Muslims were pitted against the Christians with catastrophic consequences. Over a million people were reportedly displaced and over five thousand people were killed. Finally, political instability and funding of elections have been identified as challenges to democracy in Africa (Maendeleo Policy Forum, 2016).

### **Conclusion**

This paper has attempted discussing the challenges facing Africa in its attempt to build and practice genuine democracy in the continent. The paper contends that electoral violence and vote buying, if not stopped, are likely to hamper African efforts to practice genuine democracy and electioneering. These factors seem to take advantage of African's internal weakness and tend to aggravate them. But does the current African leadership have the capacity and will to overcome the internal and external challenges in the process of building and practicing a genuine democracy and electioneering in Africa? It is doubtful. Most of the current African leaders take their orders from western capitalists and have surrendered their policies to the IMF, the World Bank and that of the World Trade Organization.

The practice of genuine democracy and electioneering in Africa requires a new breed of leadership with the political will to follow through their commitments. This means promoting a new type of leadership in Africa imbued with the genuine democratic ideals and Pan-Africanistic orientation, genuinely dedicated to the unity, independence and sovereignty of the African continent and to promoting the welfare of their citizens.

### **Recommendations**

African leaders, sincere citizens and even more cautious observers take the view that the continent's problem is essentially poor governance based on non commitment and application of democratic principles and rules,(Emmanuel,1987).

Therefore, this paper contends that the single most important problem facing the continent at the present time is the nature and quality of political leadership occasioned by weak practice of democracy. The winning of political independence was such a rapid and dramatic development that seemed to have plunged the

continent into political quagmire because of the manner by which the Africa's foremost nationalist leaders and even the present leaders rule the continent. What African leaders need, first and foremost, is the political will to make the tough decisions and the courage and determination to implement them. So, establishing a genuine and concrete democracy and electioneering in Africa requires a different kind of leadership with decolonized minds, who are willing to stand up to foreign domination, who would listen to their own citizens and promote policies aimed at recovering Africa's sovereignty over its resources and policies. In other words, the success of such undertaking requires a leadership imbued with the values and ideals of Pan-Africanism and genuinely committed to the unity, independence and sovereignty of Africa, (David, 1996).

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**ADİMIRE EKWENTỊ N’ETITI NDỊ NNE NA NNA NA MMETA  
NKEỌMA ỤMỤAKA HA N’AGỤMAKWỤKWỌ**

**Chinenye A. Ezema, Uchenna F. Udeh & Ugochukwu C. Noke**

**Ntọala Nchọcha**

N’oge ugbu a, nka na ụzụ sitere n’ozị na nzikọrịta ozi emeela ka mmepe na ihe ọhụrụ baa ụba n’ụwa. Ozi na nzikọrịta ozi kenkanazụ nke sitere n’ ekwentị, ịtaneti na ọwa ozi ndị ọzọ dịgasị n’iche n’iche na-enye aka na mbawanye na agamihu obodo. E mebere nke a ịji kwalite mmepe na otuto mmadụ kariya ịkwada ya akwada. Kemgbe nkanazụ ekwentị batara na Nijirija n’afọ 2001, e nweela ọtụtụ ezigbo mgbanwe n’ihe niile: agumakwukwo, ahụike, ọrụugbo na ọtụtụ ndị ọzọ. Mbata ekwentị na Nijirija metụtara ndị mmadụ n’ọtụtụ ebe dị iche iche. O metụtara nwa akwukwo, ndị nne na nna, ndị ahia, ndị ọrụ aka, ndị dibia bekee, ndị nchọcha, tinyere ndị ọzọ. Ekwentị na-enye aka n’izisa na ịnata ozi n’akụkụ ụwa ọbụla gbaa gburugburu. Ekwentị emeela ka mmadụ ghara ịnote ibe ya aka. Ọ na-akwalitekwa mmekọrịta dị n’etiti mmadụ na ibe ya. Mgbe ọbụla mmadụ choro ka ya na ibe ya kpakorita n’agbanyeghi akukụ ụwa ebe onye ahụ nọ, ekwentị na-eme ka mkpakorita dij ezigbo mfe.

Abia n’ezinaulo, ekwentị na-eme ka ndị nne na nna na umu ha nwee ike ikpakorita okachasi oge ha anoghi onwe ha nso. Ma ka osiladi, ndi nne na nna enwerela utọ na mmepe a na-enweta n’ekwentị na-echefu ọtutu ọrụ diri ha n’ezinaulo. Mbata *Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram, Twitter, Email* na ịtaneti meziri ka mmadụ na-eji ekwentị ya aru ọrụ mgbe ọbula. Ọ buru na ọ bu naani ikpo mmadụ n’ekwentị ka e ji ya eme, nsogbu agaghị adi. Mana ebe ọ bu na e nwere ike ịji ya mee imirikiti ihe kariji ikpo mmadụ, ọ na-ebutere ndi mmadụ nsogbu. E kwesiri ka a na-agbaso ụzọ dij mma ịji kuziri ndi mmadụ ezi usoro anabatara gbasara ekwentị na njikwa ya (Alaba, 2011). Odidi ekwentị akpatala ka ndi nne na nna hapu ọrụ ha tosiri iru n’ezinaulo ka ndi nne na nna. Naijiria dika obodo na-emepe emepe ji onu nabata ekwentị. Nke a butere mkpasasi anya n’ebe nne na nna nọ n’ezinaulo. Ọtutu ndi nne na nna nwere ekwentị kariji otu. Ufodu nwere abuo, ato maobu anọ nke ha ji eme ọtutu ihe nke nwere ike ibu maka azumahia maobu ọrụ ha. Ọtutu mmadụ na-esizi n’owa ozi enwetazi ohere azumahia maobu ọrụ maobu osisa nye ajuju ọbula, n’ihi ya ọtutu mmadụ na-anọ n’owa ozi mgbe ọbula (Jumoke, S., Oloruntoba, S. A. & Okafor, B., 2015). Mgbe nne na nna ji ekwentị ha eme otu ihe maobu ọzọ, ha anaghi etinye anya n’ihe umuaka ha na-eme. Ọ bu nke a kpatara *The Economic Times* (2019) jiri kwuo na nchọcha egosila na mgbe ndi nne na nna ji ekwentị ha eme ihe, na ha na umuaka ha anaghi ekwukorita. Ọ gakwara n’ihu kwuo na umuaka ha na-abu ndi iro ha oge ọbula ha choro ka ha (nne na nna) gee ha nti. N’iji kwado echiche a di n’elu, ndi nne na nna ufodu na-ejikari ekwentị ha eme ngupo mgbe ha achoghi ka umuaka ha biakwute ha.

Ekwentị na-eme ka onye notere mmadụ aka di ya nso ma mezia ka onye nọ mmadụ nso tee ya aka. Na nchọcha Katherine (2018) mere, ọ kowara na oke ile anya

n'ekwentị kariā mmekọrịta onye gi na ya nọ nso na-ebute nkewa n'ebe ndị hụrụ onwe ha n'anya ma na-emebikwa njikọ ọnụ dī n'etiti ndị nne na nna na ụmụaka ha. Iji ekwentị na-achọ ịma ihe gbasara azumahia, ụlọ ọrụ maọbụ ihe ndị ọzọ na-eme ka ezinaụlọ na-anọte onwe ha aka. Nke a bụ na, iheoma eweputara nke banyere n'aka ndị na-amaghị ejikwa ya mana ebutekwa akpomasi nye nka na ụzụ na ọtụtụ uru o nwere n'agumakwukwọ (Ifijeh, Michael-Onuoha, Ilogbo na Osinulu 2015). Emetaghị nkeoma n'ụlọakwukwọ bụ nke a na-atụ ndị nne na nna aka na ha so akpata ya. Oke mgbaghari ndị nne na nna na-agbaghari anaghizi enye ha ohere ịrụ ọrụ ha n'ezinaụlọ dī o kwesiri. Nwa obere oge ha nwere bụ nke ha na-eji anọ n'ekwentị iji me ihe gbasara naanị ha, chezoọ na ụmụaka ha choro nlenye anya ha. Ụmụaka choro ozuzu oge niile n'aka nne na nna. Ndị nne na nna kwsiri ka ha na-agbaziri ụmụaka ha ogologo ndụ ha niile, ma ụtutu, ma ehie ma abali.

### **Nsogbu Nchọcha**

Ọtutu afo gara aga, ọtutu mmadu jizi ekwentị eme ihe digasi iche iche kariā ka o dibi na mbu. N'ebe ndi nne na nna no, ka ha sizi e ji ekwentị n'ezinaulo na-eweta ha aka n'ebe umuaka ha no. Oke iji ekwentị eme otu ihe maobu ozọ emeela na ndi nne na nna anaghị enwe ohere n'ebe umuaka ha no okachasi n'ebe agumakwukwọ na mmata nkeoma ha n'uloakwukwọ. Nleghara anya ndi nne na nna n'ebe agumakwukwọ umu ha no na-emetuta mmata nkeoma umuakwukwọ n'ebe di ukwu. Nke a na-adi ire n'ebe mmata nkeoma umuaka n'agumakwukwọ ha. N'ihie nke a, nchọcha a choro ichoputa adimire ekwentị n'etiti nne na nna na mmata nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwọ.

### **Mbunuche Nchọcha**

Isi sekpu nti na nchọcha a bu imata adimire ekwentị n'etiti ndi nne na nna na mmata nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwọ. Mbunuche nchọcha a lebara anya kpomkwem na:

1. inyocha ka emereme ndi nne na nna na ekwentị ha si di ire na mmata nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwọ.
2. ichoputa oge ndi nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentị si di ire na mmata nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwọ.
3. ichoputa ma oge ndi nne na nna no n'ekwentị ma ha a na-enwe ohere maka umuaka ha.
4. ichoputa ka umuaka si ahuta onwe ha n'onodu a.

### **Ajuju Nchọcha**

1. Kedugasi ka emereme ndi nne na nna n'ekwentị ha si adi ire na mmata nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwọ?
2. Olee etu oge ndi nne na nna no n'ekwentị si adi ire na mmata nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwọ?
3. Kedu ka ndi nne na nna si enwe ohere umuaka ha oge ha no n'ekwentị si adi ire na mmata nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwọ?
4. Kedu ka umuaka si ahuta onwe ha n'onodu a?

### **Oke Nchocha**

E nwere otutu ebe ekwentị na-emetuta ndu mmadu. Nke a gunyere ahuike, nchekwa, azumahia na ndi ozo. Mana nchocha a jedere n' adimire ekwentị n'etiti ndi nne na nna na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n' agumakwukwo n'ogo praimari nke ise na ndi nne na nna. E mekwaziri nchocha na ulokwukwo di n'obodo mepere emepe na Nsuka.

### **Usoro Nchocha**

#### **Udi Nchocha**

Udi nchocha a bu ndimemecha. Ndimemecha bu udi nchocha na-eleba anya na mmekorita di n'etiti mgbamonwe. Nworgu (2006) kowara ndimemecha ka udi nchocha yitere nchocha keeksperiment n'ihi na o na-achọ imata mmekorita e nwere na mkpatara - mputara mana ha dikwazi iche n'ihi na abia na ndimemecha onye nchocha e nweghi ike ijikwata mgbamonwe ndi na-amasi ya ma nke a ga-eme na o gaghi ejinwu aka mee ha.

#### **Ebe Nchocha**

Ebe nchocha bu na Nsukka. Abiakwazi na Nsukka, o bu n'obodo mepere emepe ka e mere nchocha. Ihe kpatra nke a bu na o bu ebe a ga-enwe ndi nne na nna guru akwukwo ma na-eji ekwentị eme otutu ihe. Ndi nchocha gara n'ulokwukwo di n'obodo mepere emepe di ise n'onuogu. Ulokwukwo ndi ahụ bu: University Staff School, University of Nigeria, Nsukka; Grace Ville Nursery and Primary School, Onuiyi Nsukka; Immaculate Conception, MCC Road, Nsukka; El Tereba Primary School, Nsukka; na Santa Maria Primary School, Nsukka. Ihe kpatara e ji jiri obodo mepere emepe nke Nsuka wee mee nchocha a bu na o bu a ga-enweta ndi guru akwukwo.

#### **Ndi E Jiri Me Nchocha**

Ndi e ji mee nchocha bu umuakwukwo praimari no na klaasi nke ise n'ihi na ha bu ndi nwere ike igu na iza ajuju so nchocha a. Ha di otu nari na iri abuo na ise n'onuogu nke ndi meputara ya bu umuakwukwo iri abuo na ise maka ulokwukwo obula. Ndi ozo e jikwa mee nchocha a bu ndi nne na nna ufodu di iri ise n'onuogu. Usoro nnweta umuakwukwo e ji eme nchocha a bu usoro nhorọ tumbom tumbom. Ndi nchocha ji usoro a wee nweta ndi ha ji wee mee nchocha a. Nke a ga-enye aka ka e nwee ezigbo ndi nnochite anya.

#### **Ngwa Nchocha**

Ngwa nchocha e ji nweta aziza bu njuaza. Njuaza ndi ahụ bu nke ndi nchocha ji aka ya meputa site n'ajuju nchocha. E nwere njuaza ndi nne na nna na umuakwukwo. Njuaza umuakwukwo di iri ato na asaa n'onuogu ebe njuaza ndi nne na nna di iteghete n'onuogu. Ajuju njuaza bu ee maobu mba.

### **Nnweta Data**

Ndị ome nchọcha ji aka ha jee n'uloakwukwo ha jiri mee nchọcha kee ha njuaza. Ha kowara ma gukwara ha njuaza ahụ n'ih na otutu n'ime ha amaghi agu ihe e dere n'asusu Igbo. Ha noro ha zacha ajuju di na njuaza ahụ ma natakwaa ha ozugbo ha zachara ajuju ndi ahụ.

### **Nhazi Data**

Data e nwetara bu nke a e nyochara, tulee ma gosikwa na tebulu digasi iche iche nke sitere n'ajuju ha zara na njuaza. E ji pasenteji yochaa ajuju sitere na njuaza ndi umuakwukwo zara na njuaza ndi nne na nna zara.

### **Nchoputa**

#### **Ajuju Nchocha 1**

Kedugasi ka emereme ndi nne na nna n'ekwentị ha si adi ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo?

**Tebulu 1:** Pasenteji emereme ndi nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentị

<b>N/I</b>	<b>Ajuju</b>	<b>Ee</b>	<b>Mba</b>
a	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị akpo ndi mmadu	100%	-
b	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị ezi ozi (SMS)	100%	-
ch	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị eme ihe gbasara ego	85%	15%
d	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị ege egwu	83%	17%
e	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị ekiri anya (viidoo na <i>Youtube</i> )	81%	19%
f	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị agu akwukwo	89%	11%
g	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị agu akwukwo nsọ	90%	10%
gb	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị egwuri egwu (geemu)	88%	12%
gh	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị enyocha <i>Facebook</i>	96%	04%
gw	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị enyocha <i>Whatsapp</i>	97%	03%
H	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị enyocha <i>Instagram</i>	80%	20%
I	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị enyocha <i>Twitter</i>	76%	24%
i	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị enyocha ozi na itaneti	86%	14%
J	Nne na nna m ji ekwentị enyocha ma na-ezi ozi n' <i>Email</i>	84%	16%

Tebulu 1 gosiri osisa pasenteji ka emereme ndi nne na nna n'ekwentị si adi ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo. Site na tebulu di n'elu, ndi zara kwenyere n'ajuju a-j site n'inwe akara pasenteji 100%, 100%, 85%, 83%, 81%, 89%, 90%, 88%, 96%, 97%, 80%, 76%, 86% na 84% n'otu n'otu na emereme ndi nne na nna na-adi ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo.

#### **Ajuju Nchocha 2**

Olee etu oge ndi nne na nna no n'ekwentị si adi ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo?

**Tebulu 2:** Pasenteji oge ndi nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentị

<b>N/I</b>	<b>Ajuju</b>	<b>Ee</b>	<b>Mba</b>
A	Nkeji iri	10%	90%
B	Nkeji iri abụọ	16%	84%
ch	Nkeji iri atọ	53%	47%
D	Nkeji iri anọ	54%	46%
E	Nkeji iri ise	67%	33%
F	Otu awa	75%	25%
G	Awa abụọ	79%	21%
gb	Awa atọ	85%	15%
gh	Awa anọ	87%	13%
gw	Awa ise	85%	15%
H	Abalị niile	83%	17%

Tebulu 2 gosiri ọsịsa pasenteji ka oge ndi nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentị si adi ire na mmeta nkeoma ụmụaka ha n'agumakwukwo. Site na tebulu di n'elu, ndi zara ajuju ch-h kwenyere site n'inwe akara pasenteji 53%, 54%, 67%, 75%, 79%, 85%, 87%, 85% na 83% n'otu n'otu na oge ndi nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentị na-adi ire na mmeta nkeoma ụmụaka ha ha n'agumakwukwo. Ha ekwenyeghi n'ajuju a na b nke nwere pasenteji 10% na 16% n'otu n'otu.

### **Ajuju Nchọcha 3**

Kedu ka ndi nne na nna si enwe ohere ụmụaka ha oge ha no n'ekwentị si adi ire na mmeta nkeoma ụmụaka ha n'agumakwukwo?

**Tebulu 3:** Pasenteji ohere ndi nne na nna

<b>S/N</b>	<b>Ajuju</b>	<b>Ee</b>	<b>Mba</b>
A	Nne na nna m na-eji ekwentị haa n'aka mgbe obula.	85%	15%
B	Nne na nna m na-apị ekwentị ha n'ututu obula ha tetara n'ura.	90%	10%
ch	Nne na nna m na-eji ekwentị ha aga ulo mposi.	95%	05%
D	Nne na nna m na-apị ekwentị ha oge ha na-eri nri.	86%	14%
E	Nne na nna m na-apị ekwentị mgbe m na-arụ oru ulo e nyere m n'ulo akwukwo.	90%	10%
F	Nne na nna m anaghi atupuru m onu oge ha na-apị ekwentị ha.	92%	08%
G	Nne na nna m na-abara mba maa m juo ha ajuju obula oge ha na-apị ekwentị ha.	94%	06%

Tebulu 3 gosiri ọsịsa pasenteji ka ndi nne na nna si enwe ohere ụmụaka ha oge ha no n'ekwentị si adi ire na mmeta nkeoma ụmụaka ha n'agumakwukwo. Site na tebulu di n'elu, ndi zara ajuju a-g kwenyere site n'inwe akara pasenteji 85%, 90%, 95%, 86%, 90%, 92% na 94%, 85% na 83% n'otu n'otu ka ndi nne na nna si enwe ohere ụmụaka ha oge ha no n'ekwentị na-adi ire na mmeta nkeoma ụmụaka ha n'agumakwukwo.

### **Ajuju Nchọcha 4**

Kedụ ka ụmụaka si ahụta onwe ha n'ọnọdụ a?

**Tebulu 4:** Pasenteji ọnọdụ ụmụaka

S/N	Ajuju	Ee	Mba
A	Obi na-adị m mma oge nne na nna m na-apị ekwentị ha.	99%	01%
B	Nne na nna m na-enye m oñu oge ha nọ n'ekwentị.	98%	02%
ch	Ọ na-ewute m ma nne na nna m gbachi m nkịtị ma m juo ha ajuju oge ha na-apị ekwentị ha.	99%	01%
D	Nne na nna m anaghị atupuru m onu ma m kpanyere ha nkata oge ha na-apị ekwentị.	100%	0%
E	Nne na nna m na-abara m oke mba mgbe obula ha na-apị ekwentị ma m ndebe ha nso.	92%	08%

Tebulu 4 gosiri osisa pasenteji ka ụmụaka si ahụta onwe ha n'ọnọdụ a. Site na tebulu dī n'elu, ndi zara ajuju a-e kwenyere site n'inwe akara pasenteji 99%, 98%, 99%, 100% na 92% n'otu n'otu ka ụmụaka si ahụta onwe ha n'ọnọdụ.

**Njuzaza maka ndi nne na nna ka ekwentị si emetuta mmeta nkeoma ụmụaka ha n'agumakwukwo.**

**Tebulu 5:** Pasenteji ndi nne na nna

N/I	Ajuju	Ee	Mba
A	Iwe na-ewe m mgbe m ahughị ekwentị m.	92%	08%
B	Ahu na-agbakasi m ma oku ekwentị m nyuo.	99%	01%
ch	Anaghị m anote aka n'ekwentị m.	95%	05%
D	Ana m eji ekwentị m arahu ura.	100%	0%
E	Enweghi m ike inote aka n'ebe ekwentị no.	100%	0%
F	Ọ na-ewe m iwe ma nwa m na-agwa m okwu oge m na-eme ihe n'ekwentị.	99%	01%
G	Ihe obula ụmụaka m na-eme mgbe m no n'ekwentị agbasaghị m.	99%	01%
gb	Emereme ekwentị anaghị ekwe m enyere umu m aka n'oru ulo e nyere ha.	99%	01%
gh	Oge m na-anọ n'ekwentị kariri oge m na-eji eme ihe ndi ozọ.	89%	11%

Tebulu 5 gosiri osisa pasenteji njuzaza ndi nne na nna zara. Site na tebulu dī n'elu, ndi zara ajuju a-gb kwenyere site n'inwe akara pasenteji 92%, 99%, 95%, 100%, 100%, 99%, 99%, 99% na 89% n'otu n'otu maka ndi nne na nna ka ekwentị ha si emetuta nkeoma ụmụaka ha ha n'agumakwukwo.

**Nkata**

Site na nchoputa nchocha a, a huru na emereme ndi nne na nna n'ekwentị na-adị ire na mmeta nkeoma ụmụaka ha n'agumakwukwo. Otutu ndi nne na nna bu ndi choputara otutu ihe e ji ekwentị eme maobu emeputa. Ndi nne na nna e nweghi ike inonwu nkiti n'enweghi otu ihe maobu abuo ha ji ekwentị ha eme. Nke a were buru eziokwu n'ihe nchocha Hsi-Peng na Wang 2008; Jiang 2014; Xu na ndi ozọ 2012 tinyere Young 2004 kowara na otutu mmadu na-anọ ogologo oge n'itaneti nke na o maara ahụ ino n'itaneti maka otutu ihe di ka igba geemu. Nke gbataru kwuru na

nchọputa nchọcha a n'ihl na a hntara otutu emereme e nwere ma jirikwara ekwentl emeputa ha. Na nkowa nke ya, Kimball (2019) chọputara na jji ekwentl ezipu ozi (SMS), email na emereme ndl ozọ so na-araba ndl mmadu na ekwentl.

Dl ka nchọputa a siri chọputa, oge ndl nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentl na-adl ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo. Imirikiti ndl e ji mee nchọcha bu ndl nne na nna ha na- agu maobu guru akwukwo n'ihl na ndl nne na nna na umuaka ndl jiri mee nchọcha na-agu akwukwo n'uloakwukwo ndl ogo ha dl elu. Echiche a kwadoro ihe Atadokht (2016) kwuru na ndl ntorobia (nne na nna) na-akacha e ji ngwa nkanauzu (ekwentl) eme otutu ihe dl iche iche. Otutu ndl nne na nna umuaka ndl zara ajuju bu ndl mara otutu ihe eji ekwentl emputa, ya bu, n'otu oge maobu abuo e nweriri ihe dl ha mkpa ha na-eme n'ekwentl.

Nchọputa a gosiri na ka ndl nne na nna si enwe ohere maka umuaka ha oge ha no n'ekwentl na-adl ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo. Ufodu dika Lundquist, Lefebvre na Garramone (2014) si na-akowa na otutu agumakwukwo mmadu nwere ike ikwu n'ekwentl okachasi nke nkanuzu bu ihe dl oke mkpa na ndu mmadu jji kwalite ogo adimndu ha, inyomi ndu a na-ebi na gburugburu na iganihu n'akaoru ha. Echiche umu amadi ndl a dabara na ka ndl nne na nna si enwe ohere maka umuaka ha oge ha no n'ekwentl. Mgbe nne na nna na-eji ekwentl oge na ebe obula, e nweghi ka ha ghara idl na-eme otu ihe, abuo maobu ato n'ekwentl ha. E gosila site na nchọcha a ka umuaka si ahuta onwe ha n'onodu a oge nne na nna ha no n'ekwentl. Ndl zara ajuju gosiputara n'ezoghi ka o si dl ha n'obi onodu ha oge nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentl. Otutu ihe omume na oru ulo e nyere umuaka bu nke ha na-ebu n'obi na ha lota na nne na nna ha ga-enyere ha aka mee, mana o bughl ihe chere ka o na-abu oge ha were ihe ndl lota n'ulo ha dl iche iche. Obi na-agbaru umuaka oge nne na nna ha leghara ha anya n'ihe omume na oru ulo ndl ahụ ma tinye uche na uchu ha niile n'ebe ekwentl no. Nke a na-adl ire n'ebe mmeta nkeoma umuaka n'agumakwukwo. O bu ya kpatara Bright na ndl ozọ (2015) jiri kwuo ma kwusie ike na nchọcha gosiri mputara na enwere mmekorita n'etiti ino n'ekwentl ogologo oge na mmeputa (mmeta).

Nchọcha gosikwara ka ekwentl ndl nne na nna si emetuta umuaka ha. Ndl nne na nna e jiri mee nchọcha kwetara na ha na-anọ n'ekwentl otutu oge. Ha gosikwara obi ojoo na mwute obi mgbe obula e nwere ihe mere na ha na ekwentl ha anoghi oge niile. Ndl nne na nna dika Jafarzadeh-Kenarsari na Pourghane (2017) si na-arutu aka na ihe kpatara ha ji anọ n'ekwentl ha oge niile bu na ha na-enweta ihe na-akpa ha obioma na ya. N'agbenyeghi obiuto ndl nne na nna na-enweta oge ha no n'ekwentl, otutu oghom na odachi sikwazi na ya aputa. Kimball (2019) mere ka amata na o na-abu nsogbu oge emereme n'ekwentl maara mmadu ahụ ma na-ewepu ihe ndl mkpa o kwesiri ime. O gwara n'ihu kowaa na n'ihl otutu ihe e ji ekwentl emegasi, o burula nsogbu nye ufodu n'ime ha nke na ha choziri enyemaka na mgbaputa. Nke a bu eziokwu na-achoghi mgbagha n'ihl na ima ahụ ndl nne na nna n'ekwentl ha buzie ogbatauhie nye ezinaulo okacha ebe umuaka ha na mmeta nkeoma n'agumakwukwo.

## **Mmechi**

Nchoputa nchocha a gosiri adimire ndi nne na nna n'ekwentị ha n'ebe mmeta nkeoma n'agumakwukwo umuaka ha. Oke iji ekwentị emeputa otu ihe maobu abuo dika o si gbasana ndi nne na nna emeela ka o mara ha ahụ nke na ha enweghi inote aka n'ejighi ekwentị ha eme otu ihe maobu abuo. Ha sizie etu hapu idi na-enyere umuaka aka mgbe obula ha na-agu akwukwo, aru oru ulo maobu eme ihe omume di iche iche e nyere ha n'ulokwukwo. Imiriki ndi nne na nna na-eche na otutu ihe na-agbanari ha oge ha anoghi n'ekwentị bu nke ha kwesiri ima maka ha ozugbo ozugbo o mere.

Site na nchocha, ndi nchocha mere mkpebi ndi a: na emereme ndi nne na nna n'ekwentị na-adi ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo. O bu n'ih i otutu emereme a na-enwe n'ekwentị butere ndi nne na nna ino oge niile n'ekwentị ha. Oge ndi nne na nna na-anọ n'ekwentị na-adi ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo. Oge ha tosiri ileba anya n'emereme umuaka ha si n'ulokwukwo welata, ha e jiri ya noro n'ekwentị. Ka ndi nne na nna enwe ohere maka umuaka ha oge ha no n'ekwentị na-adi ire na mmeta nkeoma umuaka ha n'agumakwukwo.

### **Ntunye Aro**

Ndi nchocha tunyere aro ka ndi nne na nna belata oge ha na-eji ekwentị emegasi ihe di iche iche dika ilele ozi, igba geemu, iga na *whatsapp*, *facebook*, *instagram* na itaneti ka ha wee nwee efe ma lenyere umuaka anya n'agumakwukwo ha. A na-adukwa ndi nne na nna odu ka ha ghara jizi ekwentị na-aga mposi, wepu ya na tebulu nri ma dote ya aka ebe ha na-edina aruhu ura. A tukwara aro ka ndi nne na nna na-eme egwuregwu mgbasi ahụ ike bu nke ga-enyere ha aka ma mekwa ka di ogologo ndu ma nwekwa ezi ahuike. Ndi nchocha mere ka amata na o bu ajo atumatu ka ha na a turu umu ha bu ndi ga-ahuta n'inọ na ekwentị mgbe obula bu ihe kwesiri ekwesi, ha sikwa etu na-eme oge ha tolitere.

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## **MASS MEDIA AND GOVERNANCE IN AFRICA: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN EXPERIENCE**

**Gregory Emeka Chinweuba**

### **Introduction**

Governance consists in policy-making, implementation, public expenditure and management. The quality of these loft functions indeed requires the opinion of the citizenry who are at the receiving end, and accountability of the leaders who hold offices on behalf of the citizenry. The co-ordination of this political relationship in every nation is however the onus of the mass media. Hence, the mass media is the global dais and link between the government and the governed; saddled with the responsibility of providing the citizenry with substantial information that will inform their right decisions and shape the quality of governance. Thus, the mass media is charged with the responsibility of communicating government daily activities to the masses, and bringing feedback to the government for policy formulation, through opinion pages and public affairs programmes (Dunu 179). In this sense, the mass media is not just a critical link between the government and the governed, but a “whistle blower” and the catalyst behind the masses’ consciousness of accountability and its demand from the government and state actors.

Despite these huge mass media potentials, the large number of mass media organizations and massive media programmes in Nigeria and Africa in general, coupled with the constitutional provisions that strengthen the mass media, good governance remains elusive. This logically means that mass media in Nigeria and Africa at large, is not living up to its socio-political responsibilities. Thus, either the media is misinforming the masses hence the public redundancy in demanding quality governance, or the industry is bent on justifying everyday governance thereby creating a docile society. This study therefore sets to investigate the position of mass media in the governance of African nations, relying on Nigerian experience.

### **Conceptual Analysis**

Unexplained concepts are largely misnomers that obstruct understanding and knowledge (Chinweuba 39). But analysis unravels the meanings lurking in a concept and creates better insight for the audience. Hence, there is need to analyze mass media and governance which are outstanding concepts in this discourse. Mass media is a channel through which information is passed to numerous, scattered and heterogeneous audiences in different locations (Abone 293). It is as well the modern means of communication that simultaneously and sometimes instantaneously reach a large scattered heterogeneous and anonymous audience, across distance and time with the aid of technical communication devices (Santas and Ogoishi 75). The mass media therefore comprises of technical communication industries that use the television, radio, newspaper, magazine, internet, etc, channels to transfer information, ideas and knowledge to larger audiences. Against this backdrop, the mass media comprises of

print and electronic means; through which publication and communication of vital information is made available to the vast members of the society (Chinweuba 74). These print and electronic organizations indeed make up the press of any given society (Olisa 63; Okoro 13). However, the mass media functions through journalistic processes that involve gathering, selecting, processing and transmission of useful information, ideas and knowledge to the public.

Governance on the other hand, comprises of series of leadership activities carried out by legitimate authorities in human society, which affect the existence of the masses (Madu 10). Governance is thus the act of ruling; process of making decisions or policies, and embarking on implementation (or non implementation) that generally affects an area. It is the exercise of political power in managing a nation's affairs (Alumona and Mohammed 43). And exercise of this power boils down to control and influence over a people, their resources and its distribution within a territory or society (Mackenzie 9). As such, governance is as well the process of being in-charge of a society, consisting in directing the activities of the citizenry, exercising political authority, influence, and administering the needs of the people.

Indeed, the increasing priority accorded the concept of governance in modern epoch has led to its constant redefinition. This priority is based on the increasing democratic practices in various nations, as well as the fact that governance has been discovered to be the base of societal development. In line with the meaning of democracy prevalent in many nations of the world therefore, some scholars view governance as "the exercise of authority by the people" (Dunu 181). This makes governance the activities of the citizens; for it is part of true democracy that the leaders are representatives of the people, and responsible to the people who probe them with the aid of mass media investigations. However, the reality of this understanding remains elusive, as the reverse is always the case in African democracies, where despite constitutional back up the mass media and the masses are controlled by those in charge of governance.

### **Basis of Mass Media Responsibilities in Governance**

Mass media responsibilities in governance predicate on natural right. Natural right derives from natural law, and is the general rule found by reason, by which humans have the right to know and contribute in shaping governance which affects their existence. It is based on this natural right that the laws of various nations empower people and governments to establish mass media organizations. From this background springs the United Nations declaration as well as African Charter on human rights. That of the African charter as adopted in 1986 and ratified in 1990 states that every individual have the right to receive information, express and disseminate his opinions within the law (Aghamelu 156). All these declarations became manifest in the 1960 Nigerian constitution which provides freedom of expression; freedom to hold opinions, receive and impart ideas and information without interference, to own, establish, and operate any medium for the dissemination of information and opinion within the confines of the law. The 1963 Republican

constitution, 1989 constitution, 1995 constitution and 1999 constitution all hold this same view.

As such, these bases mandate mass media organizations to ensure that the entire society is accurately and adequately informed about day to day developments in governance, which affect the interests of every section of the society (Dunu and Uzochukwu 321). Mass media responsibilities therefore predicate on human natural right to know, to gather information and to disseminate it. It is this natural right that however underlies the general rule and regulations; ethics and principles guiding mass media activities and journalistic profession in Nigeria and Africa at large. Upholding the ethics of the right to know (which is the basis of mass media existence) therefore, forms the fulcrum of the role of mass media in governance and the justified standard for its assessment.

### **Responsibilities of Mass Media in Governance**

As a necessary channel of information, mass media is the oxygen of governance. This is as it provides useful news content, and facilitates citizenry opinion that bears in governance. Okoro explains this function well when he posits that mass media as the fourth estate of the realm is a platform, which moves ideas and information that propels the consciousness of the masses towards ensuring good governance (12). The mass media information visible in the news, programmes, discussions, debates and commentaries therefore stand as the catalyst and pivot as well as the builder and reinforcing factor of governance in human societies. This is as the media teaches the public the daily content of governance, political processes, civil duties and rights. In this way, the people are better informed about government policies, implementations and expectations.

The mass media is also an agenda setting platform for good governance. For it is the dais for vigorous public discussions on governance, exchange of information and opinion that enhance citizens' knowledge of rights, duties, choices, decisions on matters of public importance and active participation in governance (Godwin 366). The mass media therefore creates awareness of critical issues, and induces public opinion that is central in government policy formulation and implementation. Umechukwu shares this view buttressing that quality governance stems from the agenda setting of the mass media which anchors on public debate on critical political issues (35). The agenda setting role therefore fosters participatory democracy and guides the masses in accepting or rejecting policies initiated by the government (Santas and Ogoshi 79). As such, a responsible media encourages the public and legitimate interest groups to participate in media public affairs debate which shapes decision making in governance (Umaru and Abdullahi 34). Along this line, the mass media molds public opinion as its platform clarifies divergent public views on vital political issues. Consequently, what people would have ignored under uninformed condition, is attended to through frequent media discussion that incorporates the masses (Umechukwu 152).

As the "watchdog" of governance, the mass media is the only institution expected to cast regular checks and balances on the activities of government (Dunu

185). In this sense, the mass media have the responsibility of monitoring government activities, and compelling authorities to fulfill their electoral promises to the people. Within this function, the media is expected to uncover corruption; abuse of power, abuse of public office and inept policies (Lwahas 27). This role promotes government openness/transparency, accountability, responsiveness, inclusiveness, effectiveness, efficiency and adherence to the rule of law. The media stimulation of political transparency enhances the masses' understanding of the operations of government; participation in political decisions, demand for government accountability and openness. The 'watchdog' role however extends to exposing hidden critical issues and fraud in governance, and stirring people's consciousness towards their rights. It as well involves media investigation into how vested interests have become policy matters, how obvious fact have hidden under horrific national interests, how violence have been condoned as law and order, how cold blooded murders have been perpetrated, how government implements other contents of the constitution, and what government have or have not done to improve human life in the society (Dukor 288, Ayakoroma 688). Despite these lofty roles characterizing mass media, poor governance prevails in most African countries, showing that mass media in the continent is largely inadequate and operate with a different standard.

#### **Mass Media and Governance in Africa: The Nigerian Experience**

Mass media in Nigeria is an agent of government and political elites, on whom it depends to operate (Eze 215). This is why the industry refrains from criticizing the government and those connected to it. And citizens' access to dissent or opposite opinion in critical issues in governance is restricted, repressed or denied. As such, the masses are hindered from knowing the proper and correct perspective to critical issues in governance (Ekwo 11). Deliberately, most Nigerian media operators distort and upset the pictures and dissent voices, or the whole electronic mechanism to undermine critics of government. But in contrary, the same media is active in long reflection and justification of the ideology, policies, little achievements and political considerations of the government of the day.

There is also the issue of protocol journalism in which some government officials are deliberately shielded from vital questions and investigations in return for remuneration, kindness or consideration (Dunu 195). In line with this, media investigation of campaign promises, abuse of office, breach of constitution, abuse of power, etc is largely neglected, and these socio-political ills are fast becoming norms. In fact, the Nigerian mass media is largely bias, and extremely commercializes news and commentaries on governance. This makes it vulnerable to blackmail journalism, where most of the media investigations and reports are sponsored by powerful elites. As such, the Nigerian mass media is mainly active and objective when the news bothers on minor or inconsequential issues in governance, on issues engineered by powerful politicians and government actors, on corrupt politicians with little or no connection with the incumbent government, on corrupt low rank "god fatherless" public servants, and when the concerned mass media is connected to some powerful elites, political parties or opposition politicians who stand to defend and protect it.

Consequently, history have records of Nigerian journalistic activities that held past politicians, government officials or its actors accountable, and stir public opinion against inordinate political and economic desires of some government officials. This is evident in the series of senate gate scandals uncovered by the Nigerian mass media such as; certificate forgery and court perjury conviction of erstwhile speaker of House of Representatives Alhaji Salisu Buhari. Similar media activism also led to the frustration of President Obasanjo's third term bid. At both moments, media feature articles, broadcasts and public debates educated Nigerians on the dire consequences of harbouring criminals and accepting third term tenure for the presidency, and urged the entire population to reject it. Apart from these incidents and similar ones, mass media in Nigeria and Africa in general hardly investigate governance and government officials. Thus, the present certificate saga of president Muhammadu Buhari, alleged death of President Muhammadu Buhari, his alleged impersonation, issue of establishing Fulani Radio with tax payers money, the alleged marginalization of the Igbos in Nigerian policy formulation, the incessant killing of innocent people by Fulani herdsman, among others, have received little or no attention from the Nigerian mass media.

Besides, the mass media is often coerced to receive edited, censored and often misleading reports on governance through government paid media correspondents (Dare 6). At occasions when government approval over reports is not coming, media personnel even over censor reports for fear of reprisals from government (Dunu 192). This leads to factual inexactitude; a situation where information is incomplete with some missing facts because it is deliberately distorted. As such, Nigerian mass media is replete with sponsored, stage managed or censored news and broadcasts, meant at times to tarnish the images of dissidents and oppositions and to deceive the public on the reality on ground.

To please the government, Nigerian mass media is active in conferring endless status on state actors and government officials, projecting them as incomparable achievers (Ekwo 11). On this note, the media consistently magnifies and praises their little achievements in order to build support for them in the citizenry. Consequently, greater journalistic writings, commentaries, editorials, articles, reviews, columns, broadcast, discussions, etc fail to probe shrouded issues and negligence in governance which portend dire consequences to the masses. Such probe would have helped in dealing decisively with problems of corruption, ethnicity, unaccountability, abuse of power and public office. By this unprofessional trend, the Nigeria mass media demeans itself and is viewed as sycophant and "lapdog" of the elites and government of the day.

On other occasions, the mass media is merely satisfied with the phenomenological account of governance and not its analytic and implicative aspects. To please the government of the day still, the same media often refrain from thorough publicity of alternative policy proposed by the opposition parties, civil societies, interest groups or dissidents. As such, the public is blurred from knowing the real facts surrounding state policy formulations and governance. This has negatively affected Nigerian democracy; leading the larger population to wrong choices,

poverty, and portrays the Nigerian mass media as deficient in rigorousness, profundity, objectivity, criticality and truth associated with journalism.

### **Rationale behind Inadequate Role of Mass Media in Governance**

Media organizations in Nigeria are owned by state and federal governments, politicians and elites connected with the political system. As such, ownership influence has been a major factor affecting media position on critical issues in governance. This influence is strengthened by the recruitment process, dismissal and remuneration of the staff of media organizations which depends on these proprietors. As such, the relationship of mass media staff and their proprietors is best described as that of “he who pays the piper dictates the tune”. Thus, the organizational confidence and responsiveness of mass media staff in Nigeria is influenced by the media proprietors, who established the industry for their interests (Danjuma 165). This is why media reports, documentaries and commentaries on governance in Nigerian and Africa at large, are highly dependent on ownership structure and interest in the political system (Edogbo 33).

Because the mass media is the only source of news for wider heterogeneous audience, governments of various nations in Africa view it with bias. Since most of them gained power through the services of the media, government functionaries are aware of mass media potential in rousing people’s consciousness and changing the trend of governance. Since they want to stay in power, these officials threaten the mass media with repressive laws, policies and declarations that force premium on shallow and sensational reports and make ‘scapegoat’ from dissident media practitioners. As such, Nigerian media personnel, according to Sommerland in Ugborajah are “walking on razor’s edge” (133). Consequently, the industry performs with regulated freedom, ensured through repressive decrees and laws such as; official secrets Act of 1962, Newspaper amendment Act of 1964, Newspaper prohibition circulation act of 1967, defamation Act No. 11 of 1976 and public officers (protection against false publication) decree No. 4 of 1984 (Aghamelu 156-157). And occasions where the mass media performs outside censorship have been met with severe punishments ranging from fine, revocation of licenses, to prison sentences for personnel involved (Idemili 48). Occasions when media loyalty to the government is doubted is also met with severe punishments. Such was the lot of Africa Independent Television (AIT) and Raypower radio station that were threatened since 2015 and whose licenses were revoked on June 6, 2019 by President Muhammadu Buhari’s government. As such, underperformance of mass media in Nigeria is propelled by fear; of losing the license of operation and means of livelihood. Agba however draws attention to the fact that this fear has been there since independence as the first republic media organizations were also under the siege of government laws and decrees (196).

In many countries of Africa exists ethnic and political rivalry. For instance, cultural and political divide pervade Nigerian politics and governance. However, the polarization of the mass media along these divides affects media objectivity to issues in governance. Thus, some of the critical public issues are tampered either to suit the

divide of the polarized mass media, or to avoid reprisal attack from the affected ethnic or political group. Similarly, the same fear of reprisal attack hinders mass media organisations that are neutral from these divides. In all, mass media in Nigeria is pressured from every angle; the public, political parties, interest groups, government and state actors. This pressure has largely resulted to occasions where the media is coerced to take side, and reports critical issues in governance in a way that promotes the interest of the stronger force. Thus, fictitious stories, stage managed information and negligence of objective analysis on critical issues in governance are fast becoming norms in contemporary Nigerian media practice.

A further investigation into the unprofessionalism of mass media in Nigeria reveals other driving forces. These are the forces of poverty and greed which breed every kind of social dysfunction in an individual; such as the feeling of financial insecurity and irrational pursuit of wealth (Fukuyama, 2012:5). There is poor remuneration for many journalists, and some of them with trailing history of poverty show the tendency to live above this deplorable condition. Some others could not however control their greed (Chinweuba 42). Corruption is therefore a monster that has eaten the fabrics of mass media in Nigeria, and threatens investigative and objective journalism. As such, Santas and Ogoshi allege that Nigerian media practitioners on critical assignments have been corrupt on several occasions by receiving bribes, and engaging in host of other unethical behaviours in the discharge of their duties of reporting news events (82). The result has been deliberate killing of news stories, writing fictitious stories and making favourable commentaries just to promote the image of the concerned political figure or government functionary.

Against the ethics of the profession therefore, a great number of media practitioners and their media organizations have political and pecuniary interests. These are also propelled by most Nigerian cultures where one's social status, worth and recognition are measured by the amount of wealth one has accumulated and how politically one is connected (Chinweuba 42). As such, the accomplishment of high social status in Nigeria mainly goes with amassment of tremendous wealth and craves for political appointments. These underscore the present journalism of self-aggrandizement, replete with machinations to compromise critical issues in governance in order to achieve egoistic aims. Consequently, most Nigerian press run a docile journalism, while some have become part of the exploitative system, and lack moral will that ensures objectivity.

However, it is evident that mass media in Nigeria is not well equipped with modern communication equipment. As such, poor antiquated and mainly analogue electronic devices and gadgets are still being used to investigate and disseminate information in this technology driven world. This is coupled with poor infrastructure, transportation facilities and remunerations which have greatly hindered their quick response to issues and events in governance. In fact, the government and some proprietors of these media have overlooked technological transformations that characterize mass media in the modern world. This unfortunate condition has negatively affected the quality of mass media investigation of issues and dissemination news reports in governance.

### **Consequences of the fallen standard of the Mass Media and Journalism in Nigeria**

The present fallen standard of the mass media and journalism does not augur well for the media and the Nigerian society. For it has denied the masses their constitutional and fundamental right to know, and drives journalistic activities away from public service. This is as the people are not adequately informed about government policies and alternatives to such policies proposed by opposition parties, interest groups and civil society organizations, which is necessary for right choices in sustainable development. Rather, the media practitioners dissipate energy in writing reports and news in their preconceived images, thereby destroying their integrity and profession, and leaving behind a vulgarized journalism (Dukor 286). This is more pathetic as most of them are not concerned about the truth of the matter but rumours and unfounded speculations (Aghamelu 160). As such, mass media unprofessionalism fosters the falling standard of governance and national development, which has presently become a sham and mockery to the citizenry. It has also given rise to the public assessment of mass media as an industry with no integrity, a mere propaganda channel for government of the day and tool of the exploitative system. At the international level, the present poor activities of the mass media have underscored global opinion that journalism as practiced in Nigeria is unscientific, biased and “hogwash of exaggerations and speculations where facts are distorted to suit the ends of government and those who own the media” (Ibid). With its worth lost, some citizens even doubt whether the same media was among the main influence in the awakening of political consciousness that led to Nigeria’s independence. Consequently, some media personnel have received negative criticisms, abuses, ‘name calling’ and threats from the dissatisfied public. And the public is not relenting in branding media outputs irresponsible, great deal of misinformation and unsavoury junk journalism (Umechukwu 151). Worst still, some media houses have received physical attacks from the angry masses as was the case of Federal Television Station in Abeokuta, Ogun state in 1983, which was set ablaze because of people’s dissatisfaction over media justification of poor governance.

Regrettably, the unprofessionalism of Nigerian mass media is also evident in its successful creation of docile, conforming and redundant society characterized by upholding and justifying any form of governance. This has left the greater population demoralized, disenchanting and frustrated; leading to widespread hate speech and tension in the country. On the other hand, it enhances adherence to transnational media organizations like CNN, Al Jazeera, VOA, BBC, New York Times, Washington Post, etc., and the consequence is the deepening imperialism of the African mind through the programmes of these foreign media that promote western thought and culture.

### **The other side of the Argument**

Contrary to the views so far, there is a functionalist perspective to mass media poor performance in governance, which unveils its social, political and economic

value. This perspective hinges on the reality that such poor performance has created relative peace and tranquility in Nigeria. The functionalists therefore assert that the activities of the media have created a docile Nigerian society that is nonchalant to poor governance, and ever ready to accommodate all forms of anomaly and corrupt leadership. As such, corrupt and inept governance have received little or no resistance from the citizenry. Consequently, violent bloody civil disobedience and conflicts present in some countries of the world is absent in Nigeria.

The functionalists apologetically stress that the media poor reportage of events have not only precluded the violence that might erupt from inept governance, but has also preserved and consolidated the hard earned democracy. And since May 29, 1999, there has been a peaceful transition of power from one (clueless and corrupt) democratic government to the other. These apologists claim that Nigerian mass media is however growing and will in time improve on its role in governance. The functionalists, at this juncture, hope that when Nigerian democracy becomes of age, the total freedom of the press will also be guaranteed, and this will enhance its social responsibility.

Moreover, the functionalists affirm that the unprofessionalism of the mass media fosters irresponsible governments that inadequately provide the masses with dividends of democracy. But this situation, for them, underscores the present massive struggle among the citizenry for survival. This struggle is evident in the masses' engagement in economic struggle replete with display of resounding entrepreneurial initiative, skill, ambition, competition, enterprise and hard work that drive economic reliance and improve the quality of human life (Chinweuba and Ezeugwu 19). Thus, many even migrated and found 'greener pastures' that now add to the socio-economic development of the country. As such, the functionalist school of thought reveals that some of these migrants in their host countries are exposed to modern economic systems and industrial technology very different from what they have been used to. This exposure, according to Ajaegbu is indeed a very useful result of migration, which enhances the economic growth of their places of origin (34). Consequently, some of these migrants return with new ideas; initiates and generates production of goods and services in the country, enhance employment, and pay taxes and levies to the government. In similar vein, the functionalists also aver that most of these migrants send money home, which is invested for them in other ways that promotes Nigerian socio-economic development. Thus, the hard situation in Nigeria and Africa in general fosters migration that enhances socio-economic development based on capital accumulation and technological emulation achieved by the migrants.

More so, the 'home based' citizens have largely forgotten about what government will do for them and concentrated on what they can do for themselves. This has encouraged entrepreneurship and self reliance among the citizenry, and reduces dependency on government. Evidently therefore, the functionalist claim that people now feed their families, build houses and buy properties without help from government. Despite these, the disadvantages of mass media poor performance and its corresponding poor governance outweigh its advantages. For greater number of the population hardly find the financial means to migrate or engage in any entrepreneurial

endeavour. And many who fled the country wander with no meaningful means of livelihood for years. Greater part of Nigerian population also lacks the means of daily meal and basic amenities. As such, many are dying on daily basis out of poverty. More so, the hard situation has encouraged all forms anti-social behaviours that create unconducive environment for legitimate enterprise and investment.

### **Axiological solution to Poor Media Performance in Nigeria**

To discharge its functions creditably, Nigerian media needs to be truly independent and must be availed a free environment. This will largely enable the industry to approach journalism with public interest. For aspects of governance can only be facilitated by a strong, pluralistic and independent media within a society (Dunu 184). To foster the quality of free press in Nigeria and Africa at large, repressive decrees and laws affecting objective and free journalism has to be abolished. Too, the bodies regulating mass media practices; Nigeria press council (NPC), Nigerian Union of journalist (NUJ), Nigeria Guild of Editors (NGE), and National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) which serves as the 'watchdog' of the press need a paradigm shift from mere 'witch-hunting' and vendetta czars to quality control architects. This will redirect the mentality of most journalists which revolves on material gain in exchange for important reports in governance. Consequently, the Bodies in-charge of press regulation must shake of political influences, bribery and remain resolute in sanctioning inaccurate journalism, corruption and unethical practices perpetrated by media practitioners. The ability of the regulatory bodies to sanction media practitioners will indeed serve as a deterrent to 'bad eggs' in journalisms and boost professionalism. Along this line, all legal frictions inhibiting the prosecution of erring members should be addressed and professionalism in journalism should be reinforced or rewarded.

To foster the quality of mass media in Nigeria, strict adherence to professional practice should be encouraged through constant orientation and re-orientation of media practitioners in workshops, seminars and conferences. This will as well ensure enhanced and balanced journalism evident in consistent observational tendency and ability to get clues and make required deductions and meanings from existent facts and assumptions.

Insecurity has also plagued the effort of the mass media to discharge its responsibilities in governance. Thus, different government, stakeholders, individuals, and anti-social groups; Niger Delta militants and *Boko Haram* terrorists, consistently issue threatening warnings to mass media thereby hindering the free practice of journalism. Such threats have on many occasions manifested leading to the death of many journalists. Santos and Ogoshi for instance, reports that on April 26, 2012, a suicide bomber hit This Day Newspaper office in Abuja, and on April 27, 2012 a bomb blast again hit that of This Day, The Moment, and The Sun Newspapers in Kaduna killing many journalists (82). If the insecurity of journalists is not quickly addressed by the government, the confidence needed to report issues in governance will continue to elude the press.

In similar vein, media owners should be mandated to secure life and health insurance for journalists attached to their organizations. Knowing that there is something to depend on in the case of injury or death will definitely boost confidence of journalists in their jobs. However, Nigerian government should eschew the habit of persecuting journalists whose loyalties are in doubt. For this have for long wasted society's talent and resources. Such journalists should rather be encouraged to indulge in more balanced and fair journalism. Truly, there is great need to discourage mercenary character in African media, for governance without a balanced, objective and credible media will be replete with unchecked sham and scam.

### **Conclusion**

There is a critical link between the functioning of the mass media and governance. This link is evident in the fact that the media functions as the watchdog, agenda setter and interpreter of governance, public issues, events and discourses. It investigates, objectively collects and disseminates information, engages in comprehensive coverage and reportage of events and issues, and mobilizes the masses towards shaping the quality of governance in human society (Okoro 13). Unfortunately, these lofty functions are inadequately present in Nigeria and Africa in general due to government interventions in the activities of the mass media. Hence, most nations in Africa are down with poor governance and unsustainable development. For, independent and objective media enhances quality governance that results to sustainable development.

The performance of the mass media in Nigeria and Africa at large could therefore be described as that with little success. Its greater failure is however traceable to plethora of encumbrances which impedes the free operation of journalistic activities. Outstanding among these impediments is the zero level of independence, which is uncondusive for professional and effective mass media practice. This is exacerbated by individual inclinations of journalists towards the government in power and ownership control which adversely affect the professionalism of the press. To foster quality governance therefore, the mass media must be credible and resolute in following the ethics of journalism; being accountable to the public in the way it informs and educates them on issues of governance. Despite its shortcomings in news reports of critical issues in governance, the Nigerian mass media however report developmental programmes that indirectly stir people's political consciousness which bring minor changes in governance.

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## **RE-EXPERIENCING AFRICAN WOMAN: FEMININE CRAVING AND AVANT-GARDISM IN AIDOO'S *CHANGES: A LOVE STORY***

**Oluchi Chris Okeugo**

### **Introduction**

Aidoo's "*Changes*" examines how Ama Ata Aidoo's novel addresses women's perspectives in the discussion about African modernity. Aidoo reveals how the female characters in her novel struggle to reconcile with sexuality when modernity interferes in the female perception of the body, beauty, and sexual desire. Female characters experience and re-experience modernity on their bodies through an examination of how capitalism, consumerism, and individualism reshape and regulate female bodies. Through her characters, Aidoo analyzes the role of the traditional institution of polygamy in an environment where women acquire professional success and education through European-modeled institutions. This paper discusses the ways in which Aidoo's protagonist uses her sexual freedom and desire to interrogate postcolonial institutions about the actual changes modernity brings to women living in African urban centers.

The Ghanaian writer Ama Ata Aidoo makes a political use of literature as a site of memory in order to "right a wrong, make visible the invisible, or give knowledge where ignorance has reigned" (Khanna 13). By using her stories to rethink history, this writer offers herself and her community a means of recognizing and interrogating the female desire and modernity. Most importantly, female characters in these stories do not act in accordance with expected norms, but rather challenge societal rules and open up a space for change. In this sense, the literature of this writer is not only an expression of their personal vision and aspirations but also offers hope for other women. Deciding on the theme for this paper was quite a challenge for me. On one side, I am convinced that the important issue of the colonization of the female body deserves to be investigated, but on the other hand, Black women's bodies have been associated with sex and sexuality for so many years that approaching this subject might seem a impediment. However, the further I delved into these stories, the more I comprehended the importance of investigating female desire. This story, in many ways, helps readers come to terms with what is often hidden and not discussed, and what is considered inadequate.

For Aidoo, African males should be part of the feminist struggle to empower women in the continent. In her creative writing, Aidoo often presents emerging female characters who are searching for new roles within African nations. Similarly, in *So Long a Letter*, Senegalese author Mariama Bâ's narrator argues that "women must be encouraged to take a keener interest in the destiny of the country" (64). Carole Boyce Davies was one of the first literary critics to use the term "African feminism." Like Ama Ata Aidoo, Davies argues that a genuine African feminism should first recognize the necessity of a common struggle along with African men in order to construct Africa. She states that this movement should not be "antagonistic to men

but it challenges them to be aware of certain silent aspects of women's subjugation" (9). Through her literary works, Ama Ata Aidoo, reinterprets reality and deconstructs history. As her stories unveil female bodies and explore notions of female modernity, they also undo sexual colonization by revealing sexuality as part of the female self, thus reconstructing their subjectivity. Through their literary works, these authors rewrite female bodies not in a utopian way, but in a way that acknowledges that pain and suffering are part of the process of dealing with such a difficult issue while her female characters unveil and explore their sexuality.

### **The Influence of Colonial Education on Esi's Identity**

Aidoo's protagonist struggles to cope with the sense of displacement resulting from her colonial education. Esi Sekyi is a statistician who works for the government which gives her the right to live in a nice house as part of her job's contract. She is married to Oko and they have one daughter. Oko is the principal of a high school and, although he has a good job, his wife is the one who has a higher income.

In *Changes*, Esi coins the term "marital rape" to refer to her husband's abuse. When Oko forces a sexual relationship on her, Esi describes it with a term nonexistent in her native language to conceptualize male abuse. She struggles to communicate with Oko who complains about her career, her lack of time for her family, and, mainly, her refusal to bear more children. Her husband does not accept having only one child, but he does not find arguments to convince Esi to have another baby. Esi does not see any necessity of giving explanations regarding her decision to have only one child, but the situation leaves Oko with a feeling of frustration and lack of masculinity. During one of their discussions about having other children and the future of their relationship, Oko grabs Esi, pulls her body to their bed, and forces a sexual relationship on her:

Oko flung the bed cloth away from him, sat up, pulled her down, and moved on her. Esi started to protest. But he went on doing what he had determined to do all morning. He squeezed her breast repeatedly; thrust his tongue into her mouth, forced her unwilling legs apart, entered her, plunging in and out of her, thrashing to the left, to the right, pounding and just pounding away. Then it was all over. (9)

After the episode that came to be known by both Oko and Esi as "that morning," Esi realizes that what happened between them was really a marital rape. In her office after the rape, Esi feels dirty, frustrated, and impotent, and she makes up her mind that marital rape is a good cause for a divorce. By trying to name what happened to her that morning, Esi puts herself in a sociologist's position and tries to analyze her society, mainly male behavior. She attempts to imagine herself giving a conference for African men and women and questions how an audience would respond to her about the concept of marital rape. Certainly, they would not understand; there would be no word in her language to explain it.

“And, dear lady colleague, how would you describe “marital rape” in Akan?”

“And, dear lady colleague, how would you describe “marital rape” in Akan?”

“Igbo? ... Yoruba?”

“Wolof?... or Temne?”

“Kikuyu? Or Ki-Swahili?”

“Chi-Shona?”

“Zulu? or Xhosa?” (11)

Esi concludes that the term marital rape cannot be translated into any African language, since in her culture, and that of many other Africans, sex is something that a husband has the right to claim from his wife any time. An experience that cannot be expressed in any African language should not be considered of any relevance for that context. JulianaiNfah-Abbenyi claims that though there is not a pacific term in any Akan language for marital rape, by referring to the episode as “that morning,” both Esi and Oko agree that something unusual happened between them. Oko’s violence against Esi is real, and though without naming it in her native language, “her experience is inferred, is named in codes that are available in a microcosm that is culturally specific, culturally translatable to both Esi and Oko” (292).

For Esi the term is not translatable, meaning that the experience is not part of her culture and she feels guilty for importing a foreign language concept—importing Western culture—into Africa. Thus education has provided Esi with a language and another culture, but she cannot understand whether or not she would use those tools to claim women’s rights. If the term does not exist in any African language, does it mean that women should accept abusive sexual relationships?

### **Who Is a Contemporary African Woman?**

Aidoo simply responded to this crucial question in her text *Changes: A Love Story*, through the creation of a masculine domineering female protagonist in the person of Esi. Our encounter of this female protagonist in the text points out that, when Esi does not accept the husband’s abusive relationship and rethinks her identity, Oko starts seeing her as a betrayer of her culture. He asks himself: “But, what is an African woman?” (8). In his mind, being an African woman has to do with nurturing the family and attempting to please the husband by all means. He cannot understand how Esi can despise him, a faithful, devoted, monogamous husband. In a context where most men are involved with polygamous relationships and have many concubines, Oko seemed to be a prize. For Oko, colonial education contributed to transforming women’s roles in a way that challenges his masculinity, as he affirms, “I am not behaving like a man” (8). Thus, Oko attempts to define Esi’s identity by encapsulating her in the category of “African woman.” In urban Ghana, the category Oko has in mind gets troubled, as he cannot recognize its characteristics in his wife. Esi is an African woman living in a village, but she is an educated woman, a professional, and an independent woman who lives in Accra. While Esi seems to accept the contradiction that maintains her identity, Oko remains connected to the

fantasy of a stable, united, and indissoluble identity. He becomes paranoid imagining other African men in their community laughing behind his back. "My friends are laughing at me, he said. They think I'm not behaving like a man" (8).

As Esi begins to redefine her femininity by telling Oko that she will not comply with his rules, her husband's masculinity gets even shakier. He acts to reinforce his masculinity through aggression and violence. As he asks whether or not Esi is really an African woman, he is also trying to make sure that he is an African man. Oko is a desperate man who wants to maintain his status through the control of his educated wife whom he sees "as an adjunct to his ego, a crutch to bolster his image in the eyes of his co-workers and himself" (Odamtten 163). The only way he finds to let her know that he is still a man is through the rape. The rape becomes a symbolic instrument of power to Oko, as well as of humiliation to Esi. Her husband uses his phallus as a weapon not only to reinforce his masculinity, but also to restore the African femininity Esi seems to have lost in a world where the patriarchal rules assert "what a woman wants is to be desired by her husband and defined exclusively in relation to that desire" (Olaussen 6).

By being considered an empty vessel, an object of her husband's sexual desire, Esi's own sexual desires cannot be taken into consideration. Esi is expected to follow the patriarchal rules and be fulfilled simply by arousing male desire. In this sense, the absence of female desire is expected during sexual intercourse, as Catherine MacKinnon suggests: "If what is sexual about a woman is what the male point of view requires for excitement, for arousal and satisfaction, have male requirements so usurped its terms as to have become them?" (118). However, when Esi gets the divorce, alleging that she was raped, she claims her role as a participant in sexual intercourse and her right to fulfill her own desires, thus resisting objectification. In her husband's logic, being a woman means satisfying his needs. As Luce Irigaray states, patriarchy expects women to feel pleasure through their roles of satisfying men, hence women who want to have sexual pleasure do not know how to perform female roles in a patriarchal society:

How can this object of transaction claim a right to pleasure without removing her/itself from established commerce? With respect to other merchandise in the marketplace, how could this commodity maintain a relationship other than one of aggressive jealousy? How could material substance enjoy her/itself without provoking the consumer's anxiety over the disappearance of his nurturing ground? How could that exchange – which can in no way be defined in terms "proper" to woman's desire – appear as anything but a pure mirage, mere foolishness, all too readily obscured by a more sensible discourse and by a system of more tangible values? (32).

Consequently, it is observed that if a woman is considered property and an object, she has no possibility to demand anything, thus sexual pleasure and desire are considered unimportant. When Esi claims her right to refuse her husband's desire, she destabilizes him, erasing his identity or forcing him to rethink his positionality. In order to deconstruct her identity and reestablish her desire, Esi must confront society and reevaluate herself. Her friends tell her that feeling so desirable to the point that a

man feels out of control and commits an act like that could incite jealousy in other women, as is the case with her best friend Opokuya. Opokuya confesses that she is jealous of Esi because Oko seems to be a perfect loving husband, thus the concept of marital rape loses meaning in a context where women struggle to be desirable or consumable.

The situation becomes further complicated when Esi's social context is considered, i.e. the Accra urban setting. By deciding to get a divorce, Esi's accusation of "marital rape" appears to be a result of her Westernized education. The years of European education gave Esi a new language, another form to conceptualize and understand the world. She imagines how her ideas would be received by a large audience of intellectuals. She is entrapped, and she cannot find a way to denounce male abuse without claiming women's rights. Does fighting for women's rights mean being a feminist? Is a feminist somebody who will hurt or destroy African culture? Is she a betrayer of her nation and a Westernized African? In her culture, is denouncing women's suffering a sin? Aidoo's *Changes* asks many questions and create room to expose women's experiences and interrogate the lives of those who are not able to disentangle the personal and the political. Esi's private issue turns into broader questions of whether denouncing male abuse means importing a foreign feminist ideology, and if women are therefore denying their "African" identity.

### **Ugly-Pretty Polygamy**

Polygamy has been dreadful for Fusena and ugly-pretty for Esi; by the end of the novel, both women understand the practice is not advantageous for women. The narrative cruelly vilifies Esi as it implicitly reiterates that for the feminist Esi sex and freedom become so important that she cannot perceive what happens around her even while she becomes lost and displaced in a cultural setting that does not appear to be her own. She misunderstands polygamy and its rules and attempts to take advantage of the system, but in doing so she contributes to another woman's victimization and her own unhappiness.

Esi thinks that she can take advantage of polygamy because of her economic status and education, but in the end, she understands that she is part and parcel of a society that changes while men still have greater privileges. Esi realizes polygamy is a patriarchal structure that reinforces male privilege and women cannot benefit from it. Aidoo's novel complicates feminism and women's rights, providing many possibilities for the examination of women's issues in urban Accra that are also relevant in many other cities across Ghana and the continent. The narrative renders an ambiguous perspective regarding men's choices in this context. At times, through Esi's life, the novel advocates women's freedom to desire and make choices regarding marriage and sexuality but, in the end, Esi remains unhappy and victimized. At other times, through Fusena's and Opokuya's lives, the narrative polarizes women's experiences. Fusena and Esi represent different fragments of an urban postcolonial society, and they represent opposite and even antagonistic perspectives. In this disturbing context, Fusena becomes the portrayal of inertia, frustration, and

tradition, while Esi emerges as an individualist and capitalist, a product of the underdeveloped capitalist society of African urban centers.

### **Conclusion**

Feminine craving as well as avant-gardism, has obviously become a contemporary theme in feminist literature. It is not an overstatement to point out its abysmal position in African society. Many African writers have examined the impact of colonialism on colonized peoples, but in Aidoo's *Changes*, the protagonist depicts the colonial encounter on her skin. The protagonist Esi is a neo-colonial woman who has suffered a violent process of acculturation, and the narrative vividly depicts how colonialism has affected her mind and influenced her desires. By exposing her body and sexuality, Esi attempts to fulfill her racial desire for "Womanism". Aidoo's protagonist Esi exposes her desire as a way of revealing and interrogating the condition of women in their nations. Aidoo utilizes female desire to question colonialism and nationalist rhetoric and to shed light on the inconsistencies of modernity in Africa. In this narrative, it is noteworthy that sexual desire is not always a form of liberation; it often contributes to women's pain and suffering, and sometimes even leads to women's further subjugation. However, it is through revealing their pain that the female protagonists in this work struggle to decolonize their sexuality while at the same time trying to make sense of their socioeconomic and political positions within their societies. Interestingly, Esi is not celebrating their sexual freedom, but rather, by uncovering their bodies, they are challenging their colonial education and their lack of knowledge of their African traditions. As they reveal their sexuality, they not only expose their female condition within the neocolonial context, but also defy patriarchy in ways that threaten the prevailing social order and inscribe a vision of future nations that would include female voices.

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## **EVALUATING THE STRUCTURE OF THEATRE ADMINISTRATION: A FOCUS ON THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL ARTS THEATRE**

**Austin C. Okeke & Roland O. Odo**

### **Introduction**

Culture as the totality of life and identity of a particular set of people is harnessed and safeguarded by arts institutions. A country as diverse as Nigeria with over 300 recognized ethnic groups with different cultural patterns is usually symbolized by the plurality of its culture. Nigeria seems to have sophisticated collections of tangible and intangible cultural heritages, comprising of artifacts, paintings, sculptures, songs, music, dance, folk traditions, performing arts, rites and rituals. The importance of preserving, sustaining and safeguarding these cultural heritages has been attributed, by few arts scholars, as being for entertainment, aesthetics, education, historical relevance, income-generation, and research purposes. These cultural values are housed and sustained by cultural industries. In Nigeria, the cultural industries are also charged with the responsibilities to nurture creativity, encourage innovation, sustain and promote our cultural heritages. This paper will take a cursory look at the Nigerian National Theatre and how it is being managed by the same government.

### **Background**

The Nigerian National Theatre is located at Iganmu Lagos. The seeming reason for the selection of Lagos as its location is because Lagos is where fame and national recognition resides. The actual arrangements for its establishment started in 1973 when the Federal Government appointed a 29-member Theatre Consultative Committee to advise on the concept and organizational structure of a theatre. The committee proposed the establishment of a National Theatre, which should embody the country's cultural treasures and also be the home of a National Troupe. The design for the monument was taken from the Palace of Culture and Sports in Varma, Bulgaria. The contract for its construction was signed on April 24, 1973

### **Poor Attention from the Government**

The functions of the cultural institutions cannot be overemphasized; however, a major handicap facing the cultural sector has been identified by few arts scholars as being government's lack of interest in the cultural sector and the issue of poor management. In recent years, these cultural institutions have failed to replicate their sole reason for their formation, some of them are merely functional and others in a very deteriorating condition. In a *Guardian Newspaper*, "How Culture, Tourism can boost the Economy" Muyiwa Awodiya, stresses that:

There is urgent need for a meaningful and sustainable financing of the cultural development by the government...the arts, culture and tourism

sector has been denied government attention and financial empowerment. If properly funded, the creative and cultural industries would enhance and strengthen the growth of the economy...government must come up with sound strategies for funding and marketing (12).

Muyiwa further stresses that in securing our future, “Nigeria should harness her cultural resources and revitalize them” (12). Nigerian cultural sector seems to be grossly underfunded by the government. In this regard, the paper will evaluate Nigerian budget focusing on the National Theatre and how the edifice is being managed by the government.

The National Theatre embodies the performing treasures of the nation’s inheritance or cultural values for a glorious cause. It is a division of the Federal Ministry of Information and Culture, under the umbrella of the National Council of Arts, and Culture. It is generally overseen and financed by the Federal government. In this regard, the researcher will embark on a brief budget analysis of 2017 and 2018, focusing on the allocations billed for National Theatre and how it has been utilized. In 2017, the total budget allocated to the Ministry of Information and Culture is 49,464,302,080. 8,380,248,826 is the total capital budget, while 41,084,053,254 is the recurrent budget. Total overhead budget is 4,489,991,629 and the total personnel budget is 36,594,061,625. Under the National Council for Arts and Culture, the National Theatre budget was allocated as follows

Code	Mda	Total Personnel	Total Overhead	Total Recurrent	Total Capital	Total Allocation
0123031007	National Theatre	360,553,266	163,042,771	523,595,037	212,696,963	736,292,000

### **2017 budget allocation for the National Theatre**

In 2018, the total budget allocated to the Ministry of Information and Culture is 57,135,247,001. 14,475,947,821 is the total capital budget, while 42,659,299,180 is the recurrent budget. Total overhead budget is 3,765,319,437 and the total personnel budget is 38,893,979,743. In this regard, the National Theatre budget was allocated as follows:

Code	Mda	Total Personnel	Total Overhead	Total Recurrent	Total Capital	Total Allocation
0123031007	National Theatre	352,056,681	115,042,770	467,099,451	203,835,477	670,934,928

### **2018 budget allocation for the National Theatre**

Even though, the total allocation in 2018 is less than that of the 2017 budget allocation, the issue is that the money allocated or the money written on paper has not been adequately utilized in overseeing the activities of the National Theatre.

Indeed, the current situation facing the National Theatre shows that the Minister only thinks and talks about the industry with little on matching action. In response to a personal interview, Mr. Abe Biodun, the Assistant Technical Director of the National Theatre, observes that: “The theatre is in a sorry state, the place is majorly used for conventions”. Sharing the same view, Hassan Momoh writing in *Guardian Newspaper* on the subject of “Creative Industry in 2017: How Government’s Action, Agencies Impeded Sectors’ Growth” observes that, “For most part of 2017, the government through the Ministry of Information and Culture pursued wrong priorities. There were instances of bureaucratic bungling that inevitably led to a waste of resources and time...” (9).

The idea is that with Tar Ukoh’s appointment in April 2017; things have gone from bad to worse at the National Theatre. The gigantic edifice has been grossly under-utilized, with no cultural activity undertaken since his appointment. Although Dr. (Mrs.) Stella Oyedepo, former artistic director of Kwara State Arts Council, was appointed General Manager of the complex in April, 2018, yet not much has been recorded of her achievements. With these contradicting issues arising in the management and maintenance of the National Theatre, what then is the hope of the National Theatre in cultural development?

### **The Nigerian National Theatre**

The Nigerian National Theatre embodies the performing treasures of the nation’s inheritance or cultural values for a glorious cause. It is an artistic edifice, built by the Federal Government under the military leadership of President Olusegun Obasanjo in 1976. For the National Theatre to be erected some 330,000 square metres of earth was moved. Today, most of the surrounding environment of the theatre has been reclaimed by swampy water. This reason could be attributed to lack of maintenance as the area is located on the lagoon part of Lagos which needs constant sand filling and landscaping.



*This is the current state of the National Theatre environment*

The perception here is that, the National Theatre is a gigantic industry in which cultural workers of all kinds are engaged in the creative process of cultural awareness, promotion, dissemination, and preservation. For the theatre to be at its

scintillating best there should be need for maintenance and efficient administration whose structure should look more or less like a real business. In a book *“The National Theatre as the nerve centre of Nigeria’s Cultural Diplomacy and External Publicity*, Timothy Asobele opines that, “There must be a Managing Director or call him General Administrator or General Manager who oversees the day to day running of the establishment. The General Administrator must be dynamic, energetic, selfless, workaholic, task master, because the job is a killer. (29-30). Similarly Nwanaju enlightens that, “The Arts manager must today be a person of taste, sensitivity and erudition whose inclinations and education enable him to search out, recognize and develop the genius of artistic originality in whatever guise it may appear. He must be a facilitator of fantasies, a mover and a shaker”. (24).

Theatre as an art form that includes drama, dance, music, is chosen for this study, because of its inclusion of some elements of other arts. Theatre administration becomes not only important but greasing points to make arts institutions achieve their desired objectivities. The theatre administrator is saddled with the responsibility of organizing, conducting and regulating the administrative affairs of the proceedings of the National Theatre or any other theatre company in order to aid the promotion of our cultural values. In this regard, structural pattern of the National Theatre Lagos will be studied, in order to decipher the depth involved in the administration of the edifice and how this structure can be utilized for the promotion of culture.

#### **Structural Pattern of the National Theatre**

The National Theatre is a multipurpose gigantic edifice. It is bordered by IBRU and WATECO companies at the Iganmu end and has the lagoon as its water front on the Ijora Causeway side of it.



*Front view of The National Theatre showing Entrances ‘B’ and ‘D’*

The National Theatre has a Main hall, a Conference/Banquet hall, Exhibition halls, two Cinema halls and a VIP lounge. There is also a roof garden. The Main hall consists of a stage and an auditorium with a seating capacity of 5,000 persons. It consists of a collapsible stage and an auditorium. When in proscenium, the hall has a capacity for 3,500 seats. It is a multipurpose hall specially designed for play

productions, cinema shows, conferences, indoor games and musical performances. The cinema screen in the hall is fixed at the ceiling and can be lowered by remote control. The stage has three rows of curtains, a backdrop and a double cyclorama for creating silhouette effects; and easily amenable to any directional concepts. The Conference/Banquet hall is specially designed and equipped for conferences and banquets of international standard. It has a capacity for 1,200 seats. It is equipped with 777 language simultaneous interpretations so that participants can select any of the languages by means of selection unit and earphones. It is also built to adjust to stage productions, banquets, and other ceremonies and meetings.



*The conference hall*

The exhibition hall is capable of accommodating large corporate exhibitions and is equipped with lighting and sound facilities for various events and activities. The exhibition hall can be reached directly through entrances A and B. The hall is big enough to take large exhibitions.



*The exhibition hall*

The National Theatre has two Cinema halls, each with a seating capacity of 700 people. Each of the Cinema halls has standard proscenium stage facilities, and standard 16mm and 35mm film projectors with high quality sound equipment. The screen in the cinema halls are regular fixed types unlike the ones in the main hall fixed at the ceiling and can be lowered by remote control.

The National Theatre is designed to carry out all sorts of activities. In the words of Asobele, "The National Theatre is a multi-purpose cultural edifice in which the dramatic arts unites all the other arts to make for an organic whole known as the national art theatre" (31). With the nature of this theatre and its multi tasking activities, there is a pressing need for efficient administration. In this regard, some Nigerian arts scholars have been critical in analyzing the N190 million ultra-modern edifices. Some talked about the influence of the government policy as a political nuisance, while others talked about ineffective and incompetent managers. Although the building has continued to house Nigeria's National Troupe, it seems to have suffered a serious reversal of fortunes in recent years. Most of the facilities have broken down. For many months at one time, the sprawling complex was in darkness due to lack of electricity supply. The structure was also reported to have been sinking and the roof broken at a time.

### **The Theatre Administrator and Efficient Management of the National Theatre**

The theatre administrator is regarded as the manager of a theatre industry or a theatre troupe, he or she combines both artistic and administrative responsibilities, ranging from seeing to policy execution and formation, to being answerable to the board of directors. In recent times, it seems arts administrators have been less influential in the proceeding of the National Theatre. In an Oral interview with Richard Umezina, a lecturer at the University of Nigeria and one time Assistant Technical Director of the National Theatre, he says: "The administrators lack focus and objectives considering that some of them are not arts and theatre scholars..., the National Theatre is presently not functional; the government prefers giving it out to other bodies not related to the arts. These bodies include churches, political parties, and other activities". One essential factor in the drive for efficient management is to understand the roles of management in arts intuitions like; the National Theatre. The General Manager must be a competent fellow who understands, according to Dayo Kogun that "every assignment has its challenge..." (*Nigerian Tribune* 5). According to Asobele, "He should be knowledgeable in theatre, either as a critic or a teacher of dramatic literature." (54) This is important because of the fact that international companies from other lands and cultures will be invited occasionally to perform in the National Theatre. The arts administrator needs to be a person with administrative stability and expertise. However, the foremost problem of the National Theatre which should be handled is for the government to make the Theatre an independent parastatal. The issue of making the National Theatre an independent parastatal is very important and therefore, until it becomes one, it cannot get rid of bureaucratic procedures in administering the building and the facilities therein. And so long as the government determines and executes policies, the National Theatre will be restricted

to some activities and cannot coordinate professional groups committed to the development of arts and culture. In this regard, the structure of the present management needs to be changed, in order to attract huge grants from the private sector, and create a proper avenue for policy implementation which would help in the promotion of talents and sustainability of the nation's cultural heritages. The administrative structure of the National Theatre is unstable and overlapping. And, until the administrative functions are sorted out between the National Council for Arts and Culture (NCAC) and Federal Ministry of Culture or the National Theatre made an independent administrative body, the National Theatre will not be able to play its role of cultural promotion and development. The duplicate of functions between these two bodies occurs because of lack of agreement on what should be done and who should do it. The paper suggests that with the current state of the theatre and its seeming administrative structure, there is an urgent need for efficient management which can only come through making the National Theatre independent of all bureaucratic orders.

Another serious issue affecting the development of the National Theatre is Language. There is not a native Nigerian language regarded as a lingua franca. Somehow English language is regarded as the official language, and to be honest with ourselves, the showcasing of our cultural values cannot be done using another person's language. Indigenous theatre groups based in eastern, western and northern parts of Nigeria cannot comfortably perform in their indigenous languages when on the national stage, and this is affecting cultural development and also the nation's cultural edifice. Theatre business in Nigeria is just centered within our different regions; the performances showcasing our cultural heritages need to be understood by other regions, theatre scholars need to find a way, because it is one of the obvious reasons our National Theatre is not fulfilling its full potentials. However, the theatre manager should be a great planner in adjusting to these current situations of things in the country. Olu Akomolafe further says that: "The problem of administrative coordination within and among theatres demands great attention" (523). The current situation requires theatre managers to familiarize themselves with decision-making, making their goals and objectives clear enough, outlining policies and preparing budgets to manage their plans. With regard to the National Theatre, these could be effectively done when the institution is established as an independent body enjoying a great deal of autonomy.

### **Conclusion**

The foregoing has been a careful examination of the structure of arts and cultural administration in Nigeria. It is evident that management needs are very important in Nigerian theatre especially the National Theatre. The condition of Nigerian theatre needs to be organised in relation to existing situations. It is clear that the National Theatre and other arts institutions in Nigeria are under financial constraints. The Federal Government sees the National Theatre's operating cost as more than the income realized, but anyone who is familiar with the performing arts will agree to the fact that if things are put in place and the national theatre is

revitalized to its full potentials, the stories will certainly be different, and even at that, the federal government should focus on showing the theatre as a place for the promotion of our cultural heritages not entirely for income generation.

The current situation of things in Nigeria, ranging from government's underfunding, insecurity, poor state of the economy and annual scaling down of budgets have made the job of a theatre administrator more difficult and tasking. In spite of all these however, a remarkable improvement is expected as all hands should be on deck. One is of the opinion that policies governing the administrative selection by the government should be made clearer to artists and to the general public. Secondly, there is need for competency and administrative relationship between the head of the administrative body and other staff of the industry. There is need for a composite artist, probably, a thespian who has a connection to almost all sphere of arts to take precedence over others in the administrative affairs of the national theatre. It should be one who would see the National Theatre, according to Ahmed Yerima's title, as "The Legacy of a Festival." (*Journal of African Theatre* 11) Thirdly, there should be transparency in policy-making and decisions by the government; the government should make clearer to the people the modalities and facts taken before policy execution. There should be a team set up for the checks and balances of this institution, in order to ensure that government policies are implemented to the letter.

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## **RHETORICAL RELEVANCE OF DORA AKUNYILI'S REBRANDING NIGERIA SPEECH IN GOVERNANCE**

**Theresa Ego Nwankwo**

### **Introduction**

The first impression when rhetoric is mentioned is inadvertently language use to persuade, convince, or influence people to buy an ideology, support a cause, or even brainwash an audience in accepting what is morally unacceptable or questionable. Rhetoric has been defined as 'the art of discourse', or the 'art of persuasive discourse' (Cockcroft and Cockcroft, 2005:3). It involves the use of powerful persuasive tools to sway people, stimulate them into actions and also help redefine their perception of things. Rhetoric has also been described as a "loaded gun", a powerful instrument used to "move men into action". In modern socio-political discourse and communicative space, words are assigned indexical and symbolic powers that the audience is consistently placed on a salivating platform where words either ginger them to act, to rebel, to label an enemy, to participate in a collective statement, or to galvanise a needy political public to join in a mode of conduct. In time past, great leaders and political thinkers have ingeniously employed rhetoric to achieve result in governance and the governed surrendered wholesale to their will.

Rhetoric is not just about persuading, convincing or influencing people towards a particular course of action; it also entails facilitating the accomplishment of certain goals. In every organization, society or government, goals are formulated to give directions and for these goals to be achieved, various discourses to bring about results are employed in different sections. Rhetoric cannot be separated from human relations, likewise governance. It is therefore the duty of the rhetorician or the person at the apex of affairs to nicely weave words together towards achieving the desired goal.

### **Rhetoric and Governance**

According to Aristotle the father of rhetoric, rhetoric can be classified into three: forensic, epideictic and deliberative. Most times, deliberative rhetoric comes to play in governance. Every discourse in governance is well tailored to suit the demands of the occasion. Woofit (1996) in Opeibi (2009:38) also identifies three types of rhetoric in ancient Greek civilization. Judicial rhetoric which refers to the use of language to argue legal cases, deliberative rhetoric, using language to persuade an audience to take certain course of action or adopt a set of beliefs, and demonstrative rhetoric, the persuasive use of language in more formal public ceremonies. According to him, in governance, deliberative and demonstrative types of rhetoric are employed because they appeal to all forms of discourses in government such as swearing-in, inaugural speeches, political campaigns, project launching etc. Deliberative and demonstrative rhetoric are laced with powerful rhetorical devices that are very

effective and cannot be overlooked. The aim of every government is to gain maximum support from the governed, enjoy a blissful reign, and paint a beautiful picture of their government. Good governance entails carrying the governed along through dialogue, which gives room to popular participation of the masses, in other words, maximum compliance from the governed. Rhetoric therefore can be used to achieve this end in governance if only, according to Plato's assertion "it is not used for negative purposes". Winterowd (1965) in Opebi (2009:38) has this to say:

The field of rhetoric is that body of knowledge and that intellectual discipline which concerns the effective expression of thought. Originally, it was the "art" of oratory. Today, it is the art of effective communication in general. It is the particular responsibility of the educated man to be honestly articulate and rhetoric is the study of honest, effective communication.

The implication of his assertion is that those in government must be enlightened so as to lead the governed aright. There must be effective communication devoid of any negativity in the course of their discursive practices. The relevance of rhetoric in governance cannot be down played. People are moved by what they hear or read, taking into cognizance the "stance" of the persuader or "ethos" according to Aristotle, which gives the people confidence in the person. Apart from personal gains, those in government could also include lies in their speeches so as to influence popular opinion or belief that the government has conceived in the past. Therefore, lies upon lies, laced with strong persuasive elements can be used to stimulate the "ethos" of the governed.

The discourse of governance, deliberately proposes deliberative rhetoric that applies deliberate choice of rhetorical elements to achieve its goals. Thus, when the leaders speak, group of words such as 'we are one', 'we are together', 'yes we can', 'and together we can make it', evoke a consensus in the governed, as well as a sense of participation. All these can only be achieved via the powerful use of language. Governance defines who has power, makes decisions, how other players make their voice heard and how account is rendered. The literature of governance proposes three major dimensions: authority, decision-making and accountability, just as Aristotle proposes three structural principles of rhetoric: persuasion by 'moral character' (ethos), persuasion by putting the hearer into certain emotional frame of mind (pathos), and persuasion by the speech itself (logos). Therefore, decision makers must be accountable to the stakeholders in the decision making processes even if they are the rhetoricians who persuade or woo the stakeholder to support their decisions in matters of governance.

### **Some Recurring Rhetorical Tools in Speeches of Governance**

Rhetorical devices or elements are very significant in governance. They carry out persuasive functions which according to Halliday (1985) are variations of words. A few rhetorical tools are discussed for the purpose of this discourse.

**Parallelism:** According to Opebi (2009:122) "Parallelism is a device in which there is the repetition of formal syntactic patterns in consecutive order in a particular text or

body of texts.” It also means two or more parts of a sentence recurring in a parallel order. In governance, parallelism is used to lay emphasis on messages so as to achieve the desired uptake from the governed.

**Repetition:** Repetition could be initial, terminal, random, instant or a refrain, (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 2005). Repetition as a common rhetorical element in the real sense of the word is used to strengthen argument as a word or phrase is repeated.

**Rhetorical Question:** A rhetorical question is used to elicit effect. It is used to raise thought provoking issues, and sometimes used to create suspense or ease tension. As a potent rhetorical device or element, it is tactically employed to suspend reactors emotions in a tense speech situation. Geis (1987) in Opeibi (2009) posits that “the most interesting cases of rhetorical questions are those in which the question is not answered directly, but rather implied.”

**Allusion:** In Nigeria, for example, those in governance make use of allusion based on their religion or historical figures and events, knowing that the governed are easily and usually swayed by these allusions especially in relation to religion.

**Figures of Speech:** Figures of speech are commonly used by rhetoricians in persuading the masses. The commonest ones employed are personification, hyperbole, metaphor, simile, assonance, alliteration, paradox or contrast, pun and metonymy.

#### **Examples of Rhetoricaltools in Akunyili’s Rebranding Nigeria Speech**

1. Emotive language  
Let it challenge and spur us leaders and followers to good works.  
I call upon our dear Governors, Ministers, local government chairmen and heads of agencies to stand with me.
2. Rhetorical question  
Why shouldn’t Nigeria rebrand now?
3. Parallel structures  
The challenge is great, the goal is clear, the time is now.
4. Sound patterns  
Alliteration: We are conceiving the campaign as a public private people’s partnership  
Assonance: I know that others before me have travelled the same way.
5. Contrast  
Though Nigeria is a country with problems, it is also one with countless opportunities.
6. Repetition  
We must not be afraid to try again, we must not be afraid to embrace change.
7. Pun  
...salvaging and serving our fatherland and not to salvage it
8. Hyperbole  
One of the greatest assets that we have apart from our names is our citizenship

### **Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of this paper is speech acts theory, which provides the interpretation of utterance among interlocutors. This theory started with the works of J. L. Austin in one of his works that was published posthumously in 1975, *How to Do Things with Words*. The terminology he introduced especially the notions of “locutionary act”, “illocutionary act” and “perlocutionary act” occupied an important role in what was then to become “The study of speech Acts”. Earlier treatments of speech acts are found in the works of Thomas Reid, Charles Sanders, Cole and Morgan (1975), Bach and Harnish (1979) and Sadock and Zwicky (1985). The locutionary act is the performances of the utterance, that is the actual utterance and its real meaning comprising phonetic, phatic and rhetic acts corresponding to the verbal, syntactic and semantic aspects of meaningful utterance. Locutionary acts are performatives which can be in form of declaratives, directives, commissives, verdictives, expressive, and representatives. The illocutionary act or force according to Fromkin et al (2009) “is the speaker’s intent in making an utterance... which in other cases must be determined from context”. The concept of illocutionary act is central to the concept of speech act. Before a speaker makes an utterance, there must be an intention and what the speaker wants the utterance to accomplish which can be in form of a warning – “watch out! The ground is slippery”, to apologize – “am sorry”, a request, “could you shut the door please”, to reassure, “I will do my best” etc. The perlocutionary act according to Finegan(2008) “is the up-take of an utterance,” in other words, the effect of the speaker’s utterance on the receiver. It could also mean what follows an utterance. Saeed (2003) calls it the “take-up” of an illocutionary act.

It is worthy of note that for a speech to achieve its illocutionary force however, certain conditions must be met. These conditions are called the ‘felicity conditions.’ For example, a performative such as ‘I pronounce you husband and wife’, will only be regarded or succeed in a marrying a couple if the speaker is an authorized marriage conductor and only if it is uttered in a particular place in the context of marriage. Anything short of that condition is infelicitous. Performatives such as warning, request, declarations etc are regarded only if the felicity conditions under which they are performed are satisfactory. For example, felicity conditions for declarations must follow the conventionality of procedure, have the appropriate participants and circumstances, and completely executed without errors or interruptions, as in a marriage registry or court proceedings.

### **Data Presentation and Analysis**

A sample of the data is presented in its original form. It is segmented into discourse units and analysed semantically using the concepts of locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts.

**Text 1**

Today as nation, we begin a new journey. We open a new chapter in our attempts as a people to take conscious steps at redefining our nation and character and rededicating ourselves to the ideals of our founding father.

<b>Locutionary Acts</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
The first text contains two locutions that can be classified into: (a) declaration (b) verdictive	Elicit effects such as - acknowledgement and approval from the audience	To prepare the minds of the audience towards embracing and supporting the re-branding project.

**Text 2**

I know that others before me have traveled the same way and found the journey very tasking. I know that we have tried in the past to correct the faulty perception about our country and to heal the ills that have contributed to the assault on the reputation of the ordinary Nigerian. But we cannot be afraid try to again, even when we fail. We must not be afraid to embrace change and work for change.

<b>Locutionary Act</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
There are two locutions here which fall under verdictives and directives types of speech acts	Acknowledgement of past projects and a subtle revelation of past failures. 'But' is used to entreat the audience.	To affect the audience responses to the new project through appraisal of past initiatives and implore them to keep giving their support.

**Text 3**

Thirdly, from my experience in government, I was convinced that something can be done to make Nigerians believe in ourselves and in our country. I therefore arrived at a conclusion that more Systemic way of addressing these pressing issues is through a people oriented national Re-branding campaign, backed by better information management and dissemination.

<b>Locutionary Acts</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
Two locutions are derived from this text which is embedded in the assertive type of speech acts.	Intended to give the audience a sense of belongingness and hope.	To make them believe in the speaker's ability, give them hope and see themselves as the determinants of the success of the project and part of the government as a whole.

**Text 4**

Nigeria cannot wait until it solves all her problems before it can stand to give serious thoughts to Re-branding its battered image. This is mainly because our development is tied to our image. This negative perception has had destructive effects on our people and stymied our growth and national progress. Angola after 21 years of

civil war and in the midst of its ruin and poverty re-branded Angola I believe! So, why shouldn't Nigeria Re-brand now?

<b>Locutionary Acts</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
The six locutions got here are - verdictives - expressives and - assertive	To justify the essence of the re-branding move.	To affect the attitude of the audience and further strengthen their resolve to support the initiative.

**Text 5**

This Re-branding is as critical as any other infrastructural development (if not more important), because it addresses a fundamental issue of how Nigeria is perceived as a people. Even with all the challenges we have, we do not have any other country we can call our own. We are not by all these arguments justifying whatever may be our failures. We are mindful of them. However, reforming our behaviour and institutions is one of the surest ways of overcoming these enormous challenges.

<b>Locutionary Acts</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
five interesting locutions with three types of speech acts are employed - declaration - assertive - verdictive	To further justify the real essence of the Re-branding campaign by making more emphasis. To elicit a positive response from the audience as they give their total support, hence the audience have no other choice.	To affect their attitude in advocating for a change and towing the same line with the speaker.

**Text 6**

...This project will be homegrown. It is conceived to be a people centered branding with an internalized approach. The epicenter of this campaign is the Nigerian people, and at the same time re-orient them towards celebrating the things that make us a great country. This Re-branding of Nigeria's image will re-ignite a patriotic spirit in us.

<b>Locutionary Acts</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
Four locutions are got in text 8 using declaratives and expressive type of speech act.	To elicit appreciation, excitement, and enthusiasm.	To re-awaken/ revive their patriotism and support the Re-branding process.

**Text 7**

We must all rededicate ourselves to salvaging and serving our fatherland and to not savage it. I call upon all Nigerians and the over 17 million Nigerians in the Diaspora to join this re-branding campaign in action and not in mere words. Every Nigerians outside this country should always remember that he or she is an ambassador. We specially want to appeal to our vibrant media to help project the new

and good things about our people and country to the world and report the negatives responsibly.

<b>Locutionary Acts</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
Four locutions are got here with the following speech acts: - directives (entreaty, invitation and request) - assertive	To appeal and request all Nigerians to have a change of attitude in projecting the country's image.	To affect the audience's mood and change their negative attitudes about their nation.

### **Text 8**

As we unveil a new logo and slogan today, Nigerians hold in their hands, a new tool to light the way forward. I do not lay claim to saying we have found the solution to our problems in a logo and a slogan, or even in the re-branding campaign but like other nations before us, we hold in our hands and hearts today a torch to light the way ahead.

<b>Locutionary Act</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
Two locutions that reveal the climax of the speech are derived here laced with speech acts such as: assertion, and speculations(Representatives)	To reaffirm the assertion that a new journey that will overhaul the Nigerian and Nigeria as a nation has begun.	To strengthen the people's belief and support for the initiative.

### **Text 9**

Let this slogan and logo as symbolic as they are, birth in us a new desire and commitment to the ideals of a decent society and people. Let it challenge and spur us leaders and followers to good works, greater accountability, responsible and responsive government, and a less corrupt people.

<b>Locutionary Act</b>	<b>Illocutionary Acts</b>	<b>Perlocutionary Acts</b>
The use of Directives types of speech acts is employed using two locutions.	To challenge and entreat the audience to answer the clarion call for a change	Motivated and charged to support the initiative

### **Conclusion**

This paper is woven to explore the thematic concerns of its subject matter-Rhetorical Relevance of Dora Akunyili Rebranding Nigeria Speech in Governance. It is observed that there is a deliberative choice of performatives such as assertive, declaratives, representatives, verdictives, and expressive in the "Re-branding Nigeria Speech" to elicit varying degrees of responses from the audience. Rhetorical tools such as allusions, figures of speech, repetition, rhetorical questions, emotive language and contrast are also fused for more perlocutionary effects. The use of 'pathos' to work on the 'ethos' of the people as enunciated by Aristotle, is predominantly effective in rhetoric. By and large, rhetoric makes language more effective, interpersonal, and goal driven as long as it is devoid of lies and deceit. Therefore,

interlocutors should appreciate rhetoric as a positive means of achieving an end in governance.

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## **FUNCTIONALITY AND ACTOR TRAINING IN NIGERIA**

**Ndubuisi Nnanna & Obiorah Ekwueme**

### **Introduction**

The Evolution Of Theatre In Nigeria is traceable to the native operatic performers and the dramatic presentations of the Bethel African Church and St. Judes Church Ebute-Metta, Lagos, down to the Ogunde, Ogunmola, Duro Ladipo, Bobby Benson theatres, all of which flourished during the post- independence and early years of independence in Nigeria. The productions followed the popular tradition of theatre. The term ‘popular’ is applied in describing an art that is commonly approved and widely liked by the common people in an ever growing urban culture.

Over the years, Ogunde became the acknowledged leader and father of contemporary Nigerian theatre, a role which he played without fanfare and out of the limelight. Besides running his own theatre he helped others from crisis and ruin. After Ogunmola’s long absence from the theatre due to illness, it was Ogunde who financed his return to the theatre circuit and sponsored his shows all around the country, urging the public to embrace Ogunmola again. What is less known is that he financially helped Duro Ladipo, when his group went on a tour of Europe, all in a bid to keep theatre practice alive in Nigeria. Ogunde had a highly successful and popular theatre in Nigeria. He defined, and through his contact with foreign cultures, redefined the Nigerian theatre form. He played a major role in making the theatre in Nigeria – relative, dynamic, and flexible as it is today.

Unfortunately, despite the robust achievements of the pioneers of the histrionic arts in Nigeria, theatre patronage in the country has diminished in recent time and the reason could be attributed to the audience not being connected with the actor anymore, in addition to whatever other genuine reason could be identified for this dearth of patronage. The time is ripe to take a second look at the entire processes that produce the practitioners of the theatre arts in Nigeria. Ogunbiyi, (1981), in *Drama and Theatre in Nigeria: A Critical Source Book*, p.48 insists ‘... the cultural policies in our schools of drama, our university theatres, and Arts Councils must change drastically. These institutions will need to be radically restructured in order for them to help create a truly relevant culture’. This is a clarion call for a much needed reexamination of the theatre arts curricular in Nigerian universities to reposition them for better relevance within the post-colonial cultural reality of the country.

### **Actor Training in Nigerian Universities**

Apart from the various apprenticeship actor training opportunities in various theatre troupes in the country, the acting program of the average university in Nigeria looks like that of a typical university in 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe and America. There are hardly differences across these Nigerian universities in terms of the core contents of the acting courses, spread over the school year. This is, of course, not a surprise as

there are, expectedly, institutional borrowing in matters of curriculum articulation and development across these universities. At the core of these programs is Konstantin Stanislavski's oft misquoted Method technique. The purpose of this essay is not to examine the veracity of the various ideas attributed to that foremost acting teacher and theorist of all time. There are several arguments on that, and one of the most sweeping disagreements is Barton's observations as cited in Stanislavski, (2008), *An Actor Prepares*, p.111. 'The Method is not Stanislavski. People who call themselves Method actors probably did not study the real deal. The Method is a tiny fraction of Stanislavski, as little as one-twentieth. The System itself has at least twenty major ingredients'. This is, no doubt, an outlandish opinion. But it says much about the nature of the average Stanislavski translation that is at the centre of our actor training programs.

The beginning actor in Nigerian universities is introduced to theoretical and practical regimes intended to acquaint him with the rudiments of the strenuous physical and mental qualities required of an actor. The objective at this point is to develop his primary instrument, voice, body and imagination, to become capable of absorbing and retaining techniques for the manipulation of the body and soul in space for effective communication. As this student progresses further in his training, the emphasis would shift to the dynamics of role interpretation, ensemble relationship and artistic discipline and ethics in their various dimensions. Finally, he would be exposed to a mastery of theoretical colourings, stylistic possibilities and career opportunities. Most of the theories put forward at this stage are actually equally extensions of Konstantin Stanislavski. There may range from Evgeni Vakhtangov, who attempted a blending of Stanislavski's inner technique with extreme theatricalism into his "fantastic realism" style to Vsevolod Meyerhold, who extended Stanislavski beyond naturalism to articulate his "constructivism" and "biomechanics". Other possible institutional menu would include Michael Chekhov, also a member of Stanislavski's Moscow Art Theatre, noted for his "magical eccentricity", and the American Lee Strasberg, who laid too much emphasis on emotionalism.

In this way, the would-be actor graduate would conclude his acting program prepared for a career in the Nigerian (African) Theatre. But would he have been adequately prepared for the task ahead? The determination of the adequacy or otherwise of our model actor requires an examination of the nature of the theatre he has to work in: the Nigerian, and by extension, African theatre.

### **The Nature of African Theatre**

It is important to state here, from the onset, that the term "African Theatre", in a strictly categorical sense, is a misnomer. Africa is a continent with diverse, albeit largely similar cultures. It is the curious ignorance of this fact that has led all too many scholars to categorize all sorts of African performances as theatre, therefore, jeopardizing an understanding of the rich traditions of theatre that have been a part of the entire vibrant cultures of African people from prehistoric times. But this is not another argument about what constitutes theatre in Africa and what does not. Several

works on that matter abound, no matter how misleading some of them might be. This paper recognizes the diversity of African theatres but also the fact as Euba, (2002), "Forms of Black Drama". Featured Speech at Alexander Street ALA. Breakfast Meeting Sept" in <http://www.Alexanderstreet.com>, p.3. points out, 'these theatres have a common bind'. It is this recognition that justifies the use of the term "African Theatre".

The African theatre form encapsulates the experiences, progress, development and maximum utilization of social and cultural institutions of a group as it concerns artistic recreation and revaluation of morals/social ethos. This covers a wide range of activities as it relates to the life styles of the people – mode of worship, marriage relationship, farming, hunting, social mobilization, health care, economic potentialities and cosmic/mystic beliefs. These are expressed through community outlets such as dance, music, song, mime, pantomime, costume, space, and many more codes (non-verbal) of communication.

African theatre is a total theatre. Agovi, (1986), "The Vision of Tragedy in Contemporary African Theatre" in *African Theatre Review*, p.3-4. captures this quality in his observation that '... there seems to be a mixture of several art forms. The aesthetic compartmentalization which usually obtains in western aesthetics between literary, poetic, rhetorical, plastic, performing and gymnastic arts contrasts with the effect of synaesthesia which is normal with African cultural forms'. Also Enekwe, (1987), in *Igbo Masks: The Oneness of Ritual and Theatre*, p.56. points this artistic blend out in his study of the Igbo masquerade form, which he describes '... a syntheses of many art forms including costuming, impersonation, dialogue and painting'.

On the other hand, Okpewho as cited in Ogunbiyi, (1981), *Drama and Theatre in Nigeria: A Critical Source Book* p.52. 'The most significant components of African theatre are music and dance (including gymnastics). The narrative element prominent in western theatre is usually deemphasized in favour of music and dance'. And Finnegan, (1976), in *Oral Literature in Africa*, p.517. whose study of the oral literary and performance forms of Africa, still constitutes one of the most controversial researches on African theatre agrees 'Though different elements of drama are stressed in different African cultures, one theme that seems to run through almost all these African performances is the overriding significance of music and dance and the secondary importance of the spoken word...'. The reason for this outstanding significance of music and dance in African theatre is connected to the value placed on these in traditional African societies, where drumming, singing and dancing are used to, as Obiechina, (1975), in *Culture, Tradition and Society in West African Novel*, p.58. says, '... forge a social aesthetic or a mystical link... to unite emotional responses around definite rhythmic waves and melodies'.

The critical relationship between drama, music, and dance in African theatre has been deliberately emphasized here as it is the kernel of our argument about the adequacy or otherwise of our model actor graduate. Nowhere in the regular actor training program in the average Nigerian university is music and dance, as well as drumming emphasized or even recognized as a basic required skills for the actor

being prepared for the African theatre. Therefore, despite the formal skills from the “Stanislavski System” this actor is unable to move his audience with his range of acting. Even Stanislavski, (2008), in *An Actor Prepares*, p.26. points out, ‘No matter how skilful an actor may be in his choice of stage conventions, because of their inherent mechanical quality he cannot move the spectators by them. He must have some supplementary means of arousing them...’. These required “supplementary means” are the missing contents of the regular acting program in most Nigerian universities. But some other acting techniques do have these contents.

### **The Synthetic Technique**

Frick & Vallilo, (1994), p.3-4, *Theatrical Directors: A Biographical Dictionary*, in <http://direct.vtheatre.net/tairov.html> (n.p), maintains;

Alexander Tairov (1885-1950) began his career as an actor at the Kommissarzhevskaya Theatre in St. Petersburg in 1906 under the direction of Vsevolod Meyerhold. Rejecting Meyerhold’s emphasis on the director and designer over the actor, Tairov left after less than a year, joining small companies in the provinces as an actor and director. In 1914, Tairov and his wife Alisa Koonen opened the Kamerny (Chamber) theatre with a production of Kalidasa’s *Shakuntala*. At the Kamerny, Tairov created a unique production style called “Synthetic theatre”. This theatre would combine the elements of music, design and movement into a single statement to serve the actor. Tairov believed the actor must become a highly trained artist, versed in all aspects of performance, and he opened a school in 1920 to develop actors who were as well-trained and disciplined as ballet performers. This new actor would recognize the collective nature of theatre.

Tairov as a theatre director and actor-trainer developed the ‘Synthetic Theatre’ which became a theatre form incorporating other theatre forms like ballet, circus, opera, and dramatic elements. He sees theatre as his own means for transmitting literature, and believes that there is no relationship between art and life. His productions were not completely obedient to their text, which is why to Tairov; the script becomes an excuse for creativity. Tairov trained actors who excelled in the Synthetic Theatre and become primary creators of synthesized performances.

Movement, dance, pantomime, fencing, horse riding – all of these were the arsenal of the actor of the Chamber Theatre, and all of these combined with an incredible cosmic passion. The actor of the Chamber Theatre was not cold and contemplative; his passions were genuine passions, not simply feelings; his emotions were always “retransposed” into a special theatrical reality. Tairov believed that even at the most tragic moment of the show, an audience must have a smile of joy produced by the art in front of their eyes. Tairov relied on pantomime not only as a means of training the harmonious physicality of an actor, but also as a form of expression that justifies the absence of words with a maximum tension of emotions. The Chamber Theatre had a very diverse repertoire that rotated different genres and was known for its exemplary technique that according to Frick & Vallilo, (1994), p.4, further states, “combined the elements of music, design, and movement into a single

statement to serve the actor. Musical accompaniment was created for each play, and movement was choreographed to follow the demands of the aural and visual elements”.

### **The Alienation technique**

Eugene Berthold Friedrich Brecht popularly known as Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), was a German poet and playwright whose unique style renders audiences speechless and sometimes confused. He developed the concept of “Alienation effect”, which he originally described as *Verfremdungseffekt*. He constantly reminds the audience that what they see does not directly reflect the actual world. Hence, Brecht wanted his audience members to be critical of what they were witnessing by distancing their emotion from these, thus making epic theatre paradoxical. The distancing effect is achieved by the abolition of the fourth wall convention. (‘The Beauty and Lacks of Limitation’ 2010, p.5) states, “The audience can no longer have the illusion of being the unseen spectator at an event which is really taking place. The use of direct audience-address is one way of disrupting stage illusion and generating the distancing effect” thereby causing the performer to appear strange and even surprising to the audience.

The *Chamber Concise Dictionary*, p.27. defines the word ‘alienate’, as ‘To make someone become unfriendly or estranged. To make someone feel unwelcome or isolated’. The *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Literary Terms* p.14. Says of ‘alienation effect’;

It is a dramatic effect aimed at encouraging an attitude of critical detachment in the audience, rather than a passive submission to realistic illusion; and achieved by a variety of means, from allowing the audience to smoke and drink to interrupting the play’s action with songs, sudden scene changes and switches of role. Actors are also encouraged to distance themselves from their characters rather than identify with them; ironic commentary by a narrator adds to this ‘estrangement’. By reminding the audience of the performance’s artificial nature...

Alienation technique is one of Brecht's most important principles which he called the *Verfremdungseffekt* translated as "defamiliarization effect", "distancing effect", or "estrangement effect", and often mistranslated as "alienation effect". This involved, Brecht, (n.d.), wrote, ‘stripping the event of its self-evident, familiar, obvious quality and creating a sense of astonishment and curiosity about them’. Alienation effect is a theatrical and cinematic device which prevents the audience from losing itself passively and completely in the character created by the actor, and which consequently leads the audience to be a consciously critical observer. Brecht’s term describes the aesthetics of his ‘epic theatre’.

Acting in epic theatre requires actors to play characters believably without convincing either the audience or themselves that they have "become" the characters. Actors frequently address the audience directly out of character (breaking the fourth wall) and play multiple roles. Brecht thought it was important that the choices the

characters made were explicit, and tried to develop a style of acting wherein it was evident that the characters were choosing one action over another. Brecht employed techniques such as the actor's direct address to the audience, harsh and bright stage lighting, the use of songs to interrupt the action, explanatory placards, and, in rehearsals, the transposition of text to the third person or past tense, and speaking the stage directions out loud. Brecht, as cited in Brockett and Ball, (2004), *The Essential Theatre. 8<sup>th</sup> Edition*, p.354 states:

The actor does not let himself be transformed into the man he presents so that nothing of himself is left. He is not Lear, Harpagon, or the good soldier Schweik — he is 'showing' them to an audience.... Giving up the idea of complete transformation, the actor brings forward his text, not as an improvisation, but as a *quotation*.... In this sort of acting, where the transformation of the actor is complete, three devices can contribute to the alienation of the words and actions of the person presenting them; the adoption of a third person; the adoption of a past tense; the speaking of stage directions and comments.... Through this threefold process the text is alienated in rehearsal and in general will remain so in performance.

In German, *verfremdungseffekt* signifies both alienation and distancing in a theatrical context. Brecht wanted to 'distance' or to 'alienate' his audience from the characters and the action and by dint of that, render them observers who would not become involved in or sympathize by identifying individually with the characters psychologically. Rather, he wanted his audience to understand intellectually the characters' dilemmas and the wrongdoing producing these dilemmas exposed in his dramatic plots. By being distanced emotionally from the characters and the action on stage, the audience could be able to reach such an intellectual level of understanding (or intellectual empathy), in theory, while alienated emotionally from the action and the characters, they would be empowered on an intellectual level both to analyze and perhaps even to try to change the world, which was Brecht's social and political goal as a playwright and the driving force behind his dramaturgy.

Alienation came to refer predominantly to a state of mind, rather than an understanding of how social organizations affected human beings. Xklsv in its organizational website, (2013), p. 1, on discussing the distancing effect states;

The alienation effect is achieved by the way the artist never acts as if there were a fourth wall besides the three surrounding him. The audience could no longer have the illusion of being the unseen spectator at an event which is really taking place. The use of direct audience-address is one way of disrupting stage illusion and generating the distancing effect. In performance, as the performer observes himself or herself, his or her objective is to appear strange and even surprising to the audience. He achieves this by looking strangely at himself and his work.

If Brecht wished the alienating effect to refer to the audience or the actor or to both is still controversial among teachers and scholars of 'Epic Acting' and Brechtian theatre. This acting and writing technique seeks to prevent assumptions

about the humanity of the characters. Theatre of Alienation tries to show that the characters are not people, that they are ideas and manifestations of themes.

### **The Total Acting Technique**

The differences among systems of acting are often described in terms of two extremes –mechanical – external and psychological-internal. The two differ on the question of whether a performer must be emotionally moved to act convincingly. Extreme supporters of the external system argue that emotion may interfere with good acting. They believe the performer should merely try to create the external sign of emotions. However, neither extreme provides the best approach to the art of acting or lead to the truthfulness of stage that is most believable to an audience. Tairov advocates for a “total actor” that is an actor who is versed or knowledgeable in the various aspects of production, while Brecht is concerned about the actor’s involvement in role playing that is the actor’s involvement(emotional) with the character he represents or portrays on stage.

This paper attempts to advocate for a Total Acting Technique (TAT) which is a communion of the synthetic and alienation principles of acting. From Tairov, it will take the physicality and the dynamism of the Synthetic style, emphasizing the requirement for dancing and musical skills for an audience who celebrate all the vicissitudes of life with music and dance and who derive pleasure from colour and rhythm. From Brecht it will take the distancing that is appropriate within the African performance aesthetic, among an audience that has the capacity to pretend that a masquerade is not just a costume worn by a clearly familiar figure, but an actual spirit manifest: a living representation of an ancestor who has come to ensure the perpetuation of order within his cosmic reality. The total actor has to be capable of manipulating his emotion in such a way that his involvement in the character he is required to play is convincing, but controlled enough to allow his audience make objective mental assessments about the imagined act that is presented before them. This is important because in Africa, art is necessarily functional. That is why one would hardly find a piece of fine art in Africa that does not serve a function apart from delightful appeal. Therefore, the average African audience member does not go to see a performance just for the sake of entertainment. In the traditional setting he would go to see it because it represents for him a means to affirm shared cultural values and maintain a link with the spiritual rhythm of his society. In the same way, when he goes to the theatre to see a play in the urban setting, he is seeking an experience that will adequately connect him to the realities of his environment, an experience which will not just give him an opportunity to relax after a long day (this he could easily get from any pub), but one which while providing him with entertainment for his soulful delight, would also connect with that part of him that reminds him that he is a component of his society. He seeks meaningful experience that will help him deal with the vagaries of existence. So he is looking for actors who will dance for him, sing for him, and give him an insight to the kind of truth which he cannot comprehend on his own. A typical African is capable of identifying with a good actor to the point of absolute empathy. He has the sensibility to feel extreme

sorrow for the misfortunes of a character. But that same sensibility would equally make him laugh at grief that is not properly expressed. This is because for him, the suspension of disbelief relies more on personal taste than any established artistic convention.

This situation derives from the nature of the typical relationship between the performer and the audience in the traditional African theatre setting.

African theatre is a participatory theatre that is all encompassing. It is a form of theatre where the actor is a player and the audience members are also participants, but the actor is the major player. The nature of African performance aesthetics necessitates that everybody present is a player in one way or the other. Irrespective of the physical aesthetic distance created by the setting and the performer, the audience connects with the action going on in such a way that the artistic divide between the performer and audience is temporarily blurred. The emotional interaction between the actor and his audience is so intense that at a certain level in the performance a member of the audience might even be the momentary center of attention, thereby breaking the physical and aesthetic distance already established by the performer(s). At that moment there is a role switching between performer and audience that heightens the intensity of the action and its overall appeal.

The audience become active players by contributing through comments expressing aesthetic appeal (jeering, cheering, clapping, chorusing etc) at the external realities of the actor on stage. The setting in a typical African theatre supports the audience involvement with the activities on stage. African theatre is usually set on an Arena stage or a Found space. The proxemics of the action and the audience is so limited that the audience cannot do without getting involved with the activities going on before them.

The African actor is a storyteller and a social commentator. The Total Acting Technique supports the actor who strongly connects himself emotionally with his art in order to convince and please his audience but at the same time, is consciously aware that he is a storyteller and a social commentator who is able to alienate himself from his art to enable his audience make informed appraisals on its contents. Total acting technique advocates an acting style in which the actor combines the synthetic and alienation technique of acting in the process of acting into a unique whole that finds meaning within the overall cultural fabric of the African performance aesthetic. At the core of this aesthetic is spiritual rhythm. Commenting on the significance of rhythm in the African worldview, Irele and Jeyifo, (2010), in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of African Thought*, (18) point out 'Rhythm is paramount in the African Self-Image as defined in her philosophical conception of the world. The relationship between Africans and rhythm is not only constant but it is also essential. It is not a question of having rhythm or not having it, but rather how well one negotiates rhythm in life and its artistic expressions'. It is this all-important rhythm that the Total Actor must connect with. He must negotiate it with dedication and presence of mind. An actor using the Total acting technique is unconsciously conscious because his emotions will remain in a state of flux, interpreting and mediating different shades of

meaning, forming them into holistic products that his audience can connect with, until he is through with his act.

For instance, a masked actor- that is a masquerade- is conscious of the fact that he is a surrogate. The actor embodies the nature of the ancestors or the gods but is fully aware that he is not the gods. The actor takes up the role of a god and becomes a storyteller or a commentator, an interventionist between the gods and mortals on issues bothering a particular community. The actor immerses himself in his art, and at the same time alienates from the same art. His activities and emotions are always in check in order not to be carried away by the enthusiasm and external realities on stage. The agreements between the internal and external realities are always controlled in order not to allow one overshadow the other. The Total Actor must borrow from this ability of the masquerade performer.

### **Conclusion**

The art of the theatre is synthetic. It relies on the functionality of every of its various elements for success. When one of these elements become diseased or dysfunctional, the entire artistic structure is threatened and becomes inefficient. When this happens theatre loses its function and its appeal. The actor is the only indispensable personnel of the theatre and his art is the most immediate. It is the most obvious barometer for measuring the functionality and efficiency of the theatre. It is, therefore, very important to take his training and what goes into it very seriously.

Much have already been said in different for a about the need to reexamine the contents of African education, to make them more reflective of the African identity and more relevant to African overall development. This reexamination is ongoing, and several individual acting teachers in Nigeria recognize the need for indigenous techniques in the content of their programs. But there is the need for formalization. This paper is a contribution towards this need. It is hoped that this will generate further research that will improve the art of the Nigerian actor who must work within the indigenous environment.

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## **SAME-SEX SEXUAL UNION: RELIGIOUS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS ON NIGERIAN SOCIETY**

**Chioma Patricia Onuorah**

### **Introduction**

The family is one of the oldest social institutions on earth. It is primarily made up of father, mother and children. Family plays a very vital role in the development of the human society. It is a generational process, where children are brought into the world, nurtured and trained to be matured adults; get married and start up another family. Marriage is therefore, the union of man and woman to form a family. The root of marriage as a union of man and woman has different religious perspectives. From the Christian perspective, God paired every living thing created. He created male and female in all His creatures for a perfect match. In creation of human being, God made them to be like Himself. He created them 'male' and 'female', blessed them, and said, have many children, so that your descendants will live all over the earth and bring it under their control (Genesis 1:27-28). God created the first man Adam and from Adam's ribs God created a woman called Eve as a helpmate to Adam (Genesis 2:18-24). Obiorah (2010) observes that, "human is not androgynous (genderless) from origin, God create the two genders" (p.52). These two genders are for a complementary match.

From the Quranic account according to Adesokan (n.d, p.110), "God then asked Adam to live in *Al-Jannah* (the Paradise). He had everything to enjoy. But Adam was alone and on observing that God created 'Hawwa' (Eve) as his wife, now Adam was happy and living in *Al-Jannah*." In Quran 2:35, God said to Adam, "O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden and eat of the bountiful things therein as where and when ye will." From these Quranic passage it was observed that God created Hawwa (Eve) as a wife to Adam.

In Igbo traditional belief system, God created every animal male (*oke*) and female (*nwunye*). Human beings were also created both man (*nwoke*) and woman (*nwanyị*) by God. Conception occurs only when there is a joining together of the male and female gamete without which there will be no procreation. Procreation is one of the major reasons why God created the male and female so that the descendants will live and control the universe. Therefore, marriage is necessarily meant for two opposite sex, so that a new generation can emerge.

In human culture, change has a very big effect in the history of marriage and procreation. Forms of erotic attraction and sexual pleasures between members of same-sex have taken up the natural form of sexual relationship between people of opposite sex. This has become an issue of considerable study and debate in most countries of the world including Nigeria. The major issues in the debate include the formation and legal recognition of gay marriage (that is whether the term 'marriage' should be applied in recognition of gay marriage); raising a family and the ordination of homosexuals. It is obvious that same-sex sexual union has existed in human

society since earliest history. What however is new is the institutionalization of same-sex marriage. This emerged as a result of scientific discoveries and philosophies of the last three to four decades, which judged such behaviour as indicative of a type of person with a defined and relatively stable orientation. These made societies to shift away from natural and traditional beliefs into humanism.

Same-sex sexual relationship counters the natural process of procreation and propagation of the human race, which poses great problem in the issues of societal survival. This is because human beings are responsible for normal functioning of the society. This paper therefore, explores the context of marriage, same-sex sexual union which covers homosexuality and lesbianism; examines the current status of same-sex sexual union in Nigeria; states its religious and socio-cultural implications and suggests some strategies to combat the menace. In this paper, same-sex sexual relationship, homosexuality, gay and lesbian are used interchangeably depending on the context.

### **Clarification of Concepts**

#### **Sexuality**

Sexuality has fascinated people in all aspects of life from ancient times till contemporary time. There is individual or personal sexuality. Individuals are different in many ways especially the way of their reasoning. That is why there are different views and perspectives when it comes to a subject matter. This explains why there are various perspectives of human sexuality. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1978) defines sexuality as “fondness or readiness for, or interest in, sexual activity” (p.1020). Saunders (2003, cited in Onuorah, 2019, p.105) defines sexuality as:

The characteristic quality of male and female reproductive elements; the constitution of an individual in relation to sexual attitudes or activity. It is a broad concept that includes aspects of physical, psychological, social, emotional and spiritual make up of an individual. It is not limited to the physical or biological reproductive elements and behaviours, but encompasses the manner in which individuals use their own roles, relationships, values, customs and gender.

Sexuality is the ability that a person has to experience sexual feelings. It connotes the biological drive and activities connected with a person's sexual desire. Sexuality is a natural part of life; that is the way we are made, how we feel about ourselves, what roles we play in the society and how we procreate (Ikpe, 2004, p.2). Sexuality is an important part of who we are as human. As a result, human societies through religious norm and legal systems established sexual values, made sexual norms and sexual taboos. These provide people with knowledge that has a high potential use in their everyday lives. According to Oraegbunam (2007)

In human beings, sexuality is not so much an activity or function in which we participate periodically due to physiological factors but rather the human way of being present to the world and to each other. We always exist,

function and relate as sexual. Thus, sexuality is at the core and centre of a human being's total life-response (p.91).

### **Homosexuality (Gay and Lesbian)**

Griffith and Hatfield (1995, p.323) see homosexuality as, "the sexual orientation in which an individual forms an identity (a definition of self) as a person who is sexually attracted to same-sex people and prefers them as sexual partners." Masters, Johnson and Kolodny (1995) observe that:

Homosexual could be used either as an adjective or as a noun that describes men or women who have a preferential sexual attraction to people of their same sex over a significant period of time.... Most homosexuals engage in overt sexual activity with members of the same-sex and generally do not find themselves particularly attracted sexually to people of the opposite sex (p.375).

Atkinson *et al* (1993, pp.400-1) state that "the term 'homosexuals' can be applied to either a man or a woman, but female homosexuals are usually called "lesbians". Individuals are considered homosexual if they are sexually attracted primarily to members of the same-sex. Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary (2004, p.518) defines gay as "homosexual; especially a homosexual male." Gay is synonymous with homosexual, but often used in reference to men (Lamanna and Reidmann, 1997). Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (2001, p.678) sees lesbian as "a woman who is sexually attracted to other women." Stimpson (1989, p.97 & 56) refers to lesbian as "a woman who finds other women erotically attractive and gratifying; and as a homosexual woman."

### **Marriage and Same-sex Marriage**

Agha (2003, p.97) defines marriage as "a close partnership of two different people of opposite sex who have consented to live and work together as one entity." Marriage is the voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others (Duhaime's Law Dictionary, 2019)

Garner (2004, p.994) defines same-sex marriage as "the ceremonial union of two people of the same-sex. It can also be said to be a marriage or marriage-like relationship between two women or two men." Same-sex marriage can be seen as the marriage between members of the same sex.

### **The Status of Same-sex Sexual Union in Nigeria**

Nigeria, like many African countries, is a conservative society where same-sex sexual union is seen as a taboo. Same-sex sexual union is illegal in Nigeria and considered a very serious offence (Criminal Code, Penal Code and Sharia Penal Code). There are no precise data available in terms of exact population of homosexuals in Nigeria because some of the homosexuals hide their identity not wanting to be victimized.

There are many stories indicating a strong existence of homosexuals in Nigerian society. The story of Mohammed Fauzi who was sentenced to 100 strokes of

cane, two years imprisonment and N5,000 fine for raping a twelve-year old boy (The Post Express, 2001) indicates the presence of homosexuality in Nigeria. Ibrahim Bala, a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) News reporter in Kano said that, “a Nigerian lesbian who married four women in Kano State has gone into hiding from the Islamic Police, with her partners (BBC News, 2007). In the same news, Kano’s Hisbah board, which uses volunteers to enforce Islamic law, told BBC that the women’s marriage was unacceptable. Mr. Rabo also told BBC’s Focus on Africa programme that if a married woman is guilty of lesbianism, the offence would be considered adultery, which the punishment is death by stoning; but if she is a single woman, she would be caned (Rabo, 2007).

On January 18, 2006, the Federal Executive Council approved a bill titled Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Bill, 2006 prohibiting marriage ceremonies between persons of the same sex, with sanction of up to fourteen years imprisonment under President Olusegun Obasanjo’s administration. The bill was sent to the National Assembly for urgent action, but met oppositions from human right activists and similar organizations. According to Fleshman (2007), “the proposed bill calls for five years imprisonment for anyone who undergoes, performs, witnesses, aids or abets a same sex marriage” (p.12). It would also prohibit any display of a same-sex amorous relationship and adoption of children by gays or lesbians (Reuters, 2006, p.2). Same-sex sexual relationship and marriage is punishable by death by stoning in the 12 States that have adopted Sharia law. The States include Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Jigawa, Niger, Sokoto, Yobe and Zamfara (Travel advice by country, 20-03-2009). In these States, anal intercourse (Liwat) is punishable with 100 lashes (for unmarried Muslim men) and one-year imprisonment and death by stoning for the married or divorced Muslim men (Travel advice by country, 20-03-2009). The Sharia Penal code is for Muslim States and not applicable in non-Muslim States. Public hostility to homosexual relations is widespread (Vogt, 2006) and violence against LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) people that include discrimination and stigmatization is frequent. On September 12, 2008, a number of newspapers published the names, addresses and photos of the 12 members of the House of Rainbow Metropolitan Community Church, a LGBT – friendly church in Lagos. As a result, some members were ejected from their homes while some lost their jobs. The church was forced to close down due to police harassment and threats, and some members went into hiding. As at the end of 2008, the authorities had not begun to investigate the incidents (Human Right reports on Nigeria, 2008). This shows that same-sex sexual relationship is not accepted in Nigerian society. A 2013 Pew Global research suggests that 98% of Nigerians were against homosexuality being accepted by in Nigerian society.

In January 2014, Nigeria passed law against same-sex sexual relationship, under President Goodluck Jonathan’s administration. The Same-sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA) of 2014 introduces long jail terms for gay marriage; public displays of same-sex relationships and belonging to gay groups. This indicates that Nigeria has outlawed homosexuality and gay marriage. The signing of the bill was consistent with the attitudes of most people towards same-sex sexual union in the

West African countries. According to the President's spokesman, Reuben Abati, "More than 90 percent of Nigerians are opposed to same-sex marriage. So, the law is in line with our cultural and religious beliefs as a people. This law is made for the people and what government has done is consistent with the preference of its environment" (Al Jazeera News, 13 Jan 2014). It is not only Nigeria that has banned such union. Same-sex relations are explicitly banned in 72 countries, according to the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA) (Chris Ewokor, BBC Africa, Abuja).

#### **Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act, 2014**

An Act to prohibit a marriage contract or civil union entered into between persons of same sex, solemnization of same; and for related matters. Commencement - 7<sup>th</sup> Day of January, 2014. Enacted by the National Assembly of the Federal Republic of Nigeria:

Prohibition of marriage or civil union by persons of same sex

1. (1) A marriage contract or civil union entered into between persons of same sex:

- (a) Is prohibited in Nigeria; and
  - (b) Shall not be recognized as entitled to the benefits of a valid marriage.
- (2) A marriage contract or civil union entered into between persons of same sex by virtue of a certificate issued by a foreign country is void in Nigeria, and any benefit accruing therefrom by virtue of the certificate shall not be enforced by any court of law.

Solemnization of same sex marriage in places of worship

2. (1) A marriage contract or civil union entered into between persons of same sex shall not be solemnized in a church, mosque or any other place of worship in Nigeria.

- (2) No certificate issued to persons of same sex in a marriage or civil union shall be valid in Nigeria.

Recognized Marriage in Nigeria

3 Only a marriage contracted between a man and a woman shall be recognized as valid in Nigeria.

Registration of homosexual clubs and societies

4. (1) The Registration of gay clubs, societies and organisations, their sustenance, processions and meetings is prohibited.

- (2) The public show of same sex amorous relationship directly or indirectly is prohibited.

Offences and Penalties

5. (1) A person who enters into a same sex marriage contract or civil union commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a term of 14 years imprisonment.

- (2) A person who registers operates or participates in gay clubs, societies and organization, or directly or indirectly makes public show of same sex

amorous relationship in Nigeria commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a term of 10 years imprisonment.

- (3) A person or group of persons who administers, witnesses, abets, or aids the solemnization of a same sex marriage or civil union, or supports the registration, operation and sustenance of gay clubs, societies, organizations, processions or meetings in Nigeria commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a term of 10 years imprisonment.

#### Jurisdiction

6. The High Court of a State or of the Federal Capital Territory shall have jurisdiction to entertain matters arising from the breach of the provisions of this Act.

#### Interpretation

7. In this Act: "Marriage" means a legal union entered into between persons of opposite sex in accordance with the Marriage Act, Islamic Law or Customary Law;

"Court" means High Court of a State or of the Federal Capital Territory;

"Same sex marriage" means the coming together of persons of the same sex with the purpose of living together as husband and wife or for other purposes of same sexual relationship;

"Witness" means a person who signs or witnesses the solemnization of the marriage; and "civil union" means any arrangement between persons of the same sex to live together as sex partners, and includes such description as:

- (A) Adult Independent Relationships;
- (B) Caring Partnerships;
- (C) Civil Partnerships;
- (D) Civil Solidarity Pacts;
- (E) Domestic Partnerships;
- (F) Reciprocal Beneficiary Relationships;
- (G) Registered Partnerships;
- (H) Significant Relationships; And
- (I) Stable Unions.

#### Citation

8. This Act may be cited as the Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Act, 2014. ([www.lawnigeria.com](http://www.lawnigeria.com)).

Under the terms of the above law, anyone who enters into a same-sex marriage or civil union can be sentenced to 14 years in prison, while entering into such partnerships by Nigerians in another country deems it void on return. It also warns that anyone who registers, operates or participates in gay clubs, societies and organisations or who directly or indirectly makes a public show of a same-sex relationship will break the law. Punishment is up to 10 years in prison, it adds. "Only a marriage contract between a man and a woman shall be recognised as valid in Nigeria," the law states (Al Jazeera News, 13 Jan 2014).

Currently, attitudes towards same-sex marriage are changing gradually. According to a new report, a 2017 survey by NOI (Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala) Polls

compared attitudes towards lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people in Nigeria against a 2015 poll. It found a 7 percent increase in acceptance of LGBT people, and a 9 percent rise to 39 percent of those surveyed who think that LGBT people should be allowed equal access to public services such as healthcare, education and housing. However, the poll showed a 4 percent increase to 90 percent of Nigerians who support the criminalisation of same-sex relationships (Nwaubani, 2017). In a similar report, a 2017 survey by The Initiative for Equal Rights (TIERS), a Nigerian-based human rights organization, showed that 90% of Nigerians support the continued enforcement of Nigeria's anti-gay laws (Akuson, 2017).

Looking at the above reports, it is clear that there are changes on the percentage of those that supports LGBT people. These changes might be small but it makes difference with the slight increase, which amount to progress on the side of the sexual minorities. That notwithstanding, same-sex sexual activity and union are unlawful and cannot be condoned in Nigeria society.

### **Religious Implications**

Homosexuality is condemned as a prime example of sin of sexual perversion (Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13). In Romans 1 v 26-27 the Bible makes it clear that homosexuality (the gay and lesbian life style) is revolting and sinful. In fact, it is a violation of the plan of God who made man and woman from creation so that they can have union in marriage. The different expressions used in Romans 1 to describe how vile those affections are, clearly condemned homosexuality. These include “they do shameful things with each other” (Romans 1:24), “the women perverted the natural use of their sex by unnatural acts” (Romans 1:26) “the men gave up natural sexual relations with women and burned with passion for each other” (Romans 1:27), “gave them over to corrupted minds” (Romans 1:28), “deserve death” (Romans 1:32). The above Bible quotations make it clear that the scriptures see homosexuality as a violation of the divine order.

In Islam, homosexuals are condemned in the story of Lot's people, according to Quran (15:75; 26:165). Quran 7:80-81 stated thus, “we also sent Lut: he said to his people: “Do ye commit lewdness such as no people in creation ever committed before you? For ye practice your lust on men in preference to women; ye are indeed a people transgressing beyond bounds.” The city named ‘Sodom’ does not appear there, but the sodomites are referred to as “the people of Lut (Lot). The Islamic equivalent of sodomy is *liwat*. It is evident from the above passages that the sin of the sodomites was indeed homosexuality in the Islamic context. Islam views homosexuality as unnatural activity that was initiated under the influence of Satan and therefore evil.

In African traditional religious thought, procreation (that is child bearing) is seen as the most important reason for marriage since it qualifies one for the position of Ancestorhood in thereafter and ensures the continuation of the family lineage. Homosexuality cannot fulfill this important aspect of African life. In this perspective, homosexuality is regarded as taboo, abomination against God, the gods of the land, the ancestors and nature. The African Traditional religious values, Bible and Quran are decisively clear on matters of homosexuality as a revolting sin, a perversion and a

violation of divine order. That is why Oraegbunam (2007) elaborates that, “apart from being unnatural and thus contrary to the natural law, the church regards homosexuality as antithetical to the injunction given to man to procreate. It is sinful as it is a misuse and abuse of sexuality” (P.94).

The Bible, Quran and the traditional African value condemn homosexuality. God’s creation of male and female is for the fulfillment of the mandate according to Genesis 1:28 “be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it. By implication, homosexual relationship cannot fulfill the procreative dimension of the above mandate. The sexual relationship between homosexuals contradicts the natural order, while sexual relationship between man and woman draws the values that nourish a loving relationship. This value is the love bond that unites a husband and wife to engender a new human life and ensures the extension of the pedigree. Fagothey (1963) asserts that:

To be a human means to be a social being, a being that has at the core of his or her being the urge to relate to members of both sexes to form interpersonal relationships. While these relationships can develop into warm affective friendships, the relationship between a man and a woman who love one another and are married is the only one in which genital sexual expression can ever be appropriate according to the right order of nature (p.343).

Looking at the biological components of human sexuality, the male and female sexual organs are solely designed for a unique purpose of reproduction. There is no way same-sex sexual acts could lead to conception no matter how loving and strong such union is. It is quite convincing that homosexuality is an aberration of the natural law. According to Fagothey (1963, p.346), “the natural law posits that each act of genital sex ought to be open to the possibility of creating new life. This is the moral norm that the natural law holds out to each person, and each person must measure his or her sexual activity by this norm or standard.” Same-sex sexual union is incongruent with the teaching of the Bible, Quran and basic African traditional values. Homosexuality and gay marriage are explicitly condemned in all religions in Nigeria. This practice would be an ecclesiastical sacrilege because extending marriage right to same-sex couples is contrary to the will of God. Accepting same-sex sexual union in our society affects the morality of the society because it is a source for declaration of freedom of sex. When the morality of the society is affected, other vices like adultery, pedophilia, necrophilia, bestiality, fornication, rape and prostitution, among others, will gain their grounds.

Furthermore, the consequences of accepting same-sex sexual union affect the appropriate genital sexual activity, the rearing of children and traditional family formation. No part of Biblical teaching condones homosexuality. From the story of creation, if God approved same-sex sexual union, he would have created another man for Adam or a woman for Eve. So same-sex sexual union is a misnomer. Homosexuality would be seen as falling short of the fullness of sexual activity intended by God, and inability to attain this rich and complete intimacy with a member of the opposite sex (Brill, 1979).

### **Socio-Cultural Implications**

Family life is the bedrock of African society. The traditional family is made up of father, mother and children. It is only through marriage that a new family can be built. Traditionally, the primary purpose of marriage is to procreate and propagate the species which can only be achieved through the copulation of a man and woman. Homosexuality implies the destruction of the family institution, which is the basic unit of the society. Homosexuality also destroys the fabric of the society because it opposes the natural means for procreation, which is the vital social function of marriage and also threatens the existence of the society.

Family is the custodian of morals and traditional values recognized by the community. The traditional family needs to be protected because it is a formative moral repository. Same-sex sexual union counters complementary sex, which is a work of divine providence whereby the propagation of the human race is assured. Homosexuals being sperm donors reduce the dignity of human being. Obiorah (2010, p.59) also observes that, “advancement in technology has made man misappropriating the divine gifts.... In Vitro fertilization, embryo research, the possibility of manufacturing clones and human hybrid reveal how far human beings have gone in reducing their dignity to a mere object.” Homosexuality is seen as that which subverts the public order, moral cohesion of the society and undermines the traditional values. Davis (1993) lists the effect of homosexuality on the society, which stated thus:

From a purely biological perspective, it is clear that any human society that did not encourage heterosexual marriage and child bearing over homosexual activities would in the course of time, fail to produce itself... homosexual relations cannot fulfill the procreation dimension of human sexuality and marriage which are part of the divine intentions of mankind (Gen. 1:28), it is true that procreation is not only implication of that verse, yet it is part of it (p.37).

If the society condones same-sex sexual union because of human rights, there is the tendency of legalizing bestial marriage and incest. This will increase moral decadence, encourage lasciviousness and erosion of family values. The practice of homosexuality is also anti-social, anti-family, immoral and finally against the survival of the human race.

### **Mitigations against Same-sex Sexual Union: Appeal to Conscience**

Sexuality as a natural part of human being is covered with religious and cultural laws. The laws that are guiding sexual matters differ from one culture to another and from one religion to another. The change in the society today offers divergent sexual standards like casual sex, abstinence and celibacy. Making knowledgeable choices is important because of the various standards concerning sex. Each individual must determine what sexual standard he or she values. This requires recognition and respect for one's own value. Being faithful to moral teachings are ways of acquiring values. A married couple cannot engage in sexual intercourse on the street openly because they are legally married, that is ethics of marriage.

It is important then to review those basic principles on which Christian morality is founded, not only to know them better but also to appreciate fully the divine wisdom, which underlies them. In expressing sexuality today, people should make decisions according to their own values. Despite the confusion caused by both the internal changes as our personalities develop and by the social changes going on, it is important for individuals to make their own rightful decisions about relating sexually, which will be in line with societal moral values.

### **Effective Protective Measures by Parents and Guardians**

Child training is another important reason for creation of a family. Family is the first agent of socialization. Parenthood brings responsibilities because child rearing and training are major parental duties. Many adults look back with nostalgia on their childhood days. They recall a warm feeling of safety that their parents would look after them. Parents in turn want their children to feel that way. In today's degenerated world, things are no longer the same. Training and rearing of children are formidable tasks. Parents should lay good footprints. The quality of a building depends largely on the sort of materials used in the structure. One ugly threat that has grown in recent years is sexual molestation of children. This is done by people they know and trust. Parents should protect their children through their guidance and care. Most homosexuals learn their act from an older person who imparts it in them either directly or indirectly. Parents should impart the knowledge that some grown-ups do bad things and that a young person does not have to obey when people suggest inappropriate acts.

Parents must create time to relate with their children to enhance the communicative relationship. This will help them to know the needs and the problems affecting their children. In this aspect, parents turn to be companions to their children. When a parent establishes a frank level of communication with his child, it is easier to relate with that child in matters concerning sex. Children need to have a code of conduct in the area of sex before approaching teen years. Sex education therefore will aim at inculcating into the child the ideals of human sexuality, its sacredness and dignity (Oraegbunam, 2007). Parents should be examples of godly qualities: faith, wisdom, discernment, loyalty, respect and loving appreciation for God and His laws because children are influenced more by what they see than what they hear (Proverb 20:7). It is vital for parents to make sure that their children wholeheartedly believe in the importance of living a moral and clean life.

### **The School Counseling and Guidance**

The best school counseling on sexual matters is to include sex education in school curriculum. The main aim of this education is to add to the child's knowledge the wholesome development of his sexuality as sex education deals with the wide areas of masculinity and femininity. Sex education refers to imparting knowledge to students with regards to the human sexual anatomy, reproduction, sexual health responsibilities associated with sex and reproduction, the concept of abstinence, emotional relationships, birth control methods and various kinds of human sexual

behaviour including homosexuality (Dogra, 2010). Sex education should accommodate ideas on what attitudes people should hold, and what moral and cultural frameworks should govern people's behaviour. Sex education in our various primary and secondary schools should come from a godly perspective. Sex education is a code of conduct that would guide the child in sexual matters. Oraegbunam (2007) also suggests that,

Good sex education, should then include letting the boy or the girl at puberty know that the sexual secondary characteristics evident at the time and accompanying sexual urges are normal; and that these urges or libidos are not intrinsically sinful; that masturbation and extra-marital and pre-marital sexual erotic relations are not acceptable morally; that chastity, virginity, celibacy are virtues and that lust, rape, incest are vices, that homosexuality, trans-sexuality, artificial contraception, and pornography are offences against God and the natural laws. The boy or the girl should also know the dangers of venereal disease like AIDS, and should be aware that the contemporary propaganda about population control will be free from missing the mark only by conforming to the principles of natural family planning (p.96).

### **The Religious Bodies Teaching and Counseling**

From the Christian perspective, homosexuality is condemned as immoral and unnatural. In Islamic parlance, it is outlawed and in traditional religion it is abhorred. In Nigeria, there are no religious sects that see homosexuality as good moral behaviour. Homosexuality conflicts with religions moral standard. In order to curb the alarming rate of increasing same-sex sexual union in our contemporary society, the church should administer pastoral counseling on homosexual persons. The church will also organize workshops, which focuses on the sex education of the youths. This would help in maintaining a standard to keep sin from spreading throughout the church. This will help to curb the spread and control homosexuality in our society.

From the Islamic view, homosexuality is regarded as an adultery and abomination against Allah. The Shariah Penal Code Law is used to determine the situation of homosexuals in Nigeria Islamic context. On the basis of the above and Islam being a strict religion, same-sex sexual union cannot be celebrated in any part of the Northern States. Punishment awaits whomever that is caught in the act. Nevertheless, the power of a listening ear is very crucial in understanding and ministering to homosexuals. Religious leaders need to administer the smallest act of caring and kind words, which have the potential power of touching and turning a life of homosexual for better.

### **Strict Implementation of Government Laws**

The Same Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA), 2014, simply defines a valid marriage in Nigeria to be a legal union between persons of the opposite sex in accordance with the Marriage act, Islamic law, or customary law. Government should elaborate and ensure the effective implementation of Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA). Government should investigate all claims of extortion, arbitrary arrests

and detention, torture, and inhuman treatment by police officers and prosecute those responsible for such abuses against LGBT people. Government should control mob attacks and violence against homosexuals, and instead encourage strict administration of penalty according to SSMPA.

### **Conclusion**

Human sexuality is a gift from God. It should be honoured and cherished by all people. The practice of homosexuality has grown and its cause was assumed to be deeply rooted in the sexual explosion of the last century and agitations for gay right. This created a socio-cultural and religious stress, which may pressure some pre-disposed individuals to react with homosexuality. It is established that marriage is a voluntary union of a man and woman to the exclusion of all others. Same-sex sexual union is a crime in Nigeria and cannot be celebrated. The Same-Sex Marriage Prohibition Act (SSMPA) bans gay marriage, same-sex “amorous relationships” and membership of gay rights groups with penalties of up to 14 years in prison. This Act protects the country, the sanctity of marriage and family from decay.

Nigeria as a nation with diverse cultures and ethnic groups is made up of three major tribes namely, Igbo, Hausa and Yoruba. In all cultures in Nigeria society, homosexuality is seen as an alien culture. The rejection of homosexuality is in tandem with the religious and cultural values. In essence, the act of homosexuality is totally condemned in Nigeria society. It hinders real love and affection, promotes freedom of sex and encourages promiscuity. It also works against procreation, which is God’s will for man, thus endangering the possibility of the growth and extension of the pedigree.

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## **RESTORING THE DIGNITY OF MAN: AN APPRAISAL OF GOVERNANCE IN NIGERIAN POLITY**

**Ikechukwu K. Onah**

### **Introduction**

This work submits emphatically that good governance is the means to a happy society not riddled with decay and abysmality. This suggests that effective entrenchment of good governance sandwiched in quality leadership is a prerequisite for attainment of public good which in the whole is geared towards the restoration of the dignity of man. The effect of bad governance has not only resulted in taking humanity back to state of nature but debased humanity. In Nigeria, corruption is widespread at all echelons of administration, destroying the basic structures and fabrics that enables quality living in a society. Good governance is now a delusion and tragedy in a country of multiple resources but engraved in a cube lacerated with endemic maladministration, disease, anarchy and doom. The consequence is degradation and sack of rationality.

The statistics is inconceivable despite the much taunted democratization and institutionalization of rule of law. . Nigeria is presently adjudged the poverty capital of the world. This is a proof that it harbours one of the largest numbers of poverty stricken people in the world. The present report asserts that “With 87 million poor citizens, Nigeria overtakes India as world poverty capital. The report adds that six Nigerians become poor every minute.”<sup>1</sup> The latter is according to report from Brookings Institution; this gross failure of the Nigerian State to attain a certain minimal standard of living due to ill governance devalues the dignity of man in Nigeria. The much publicized Democracy in Nigeria has nose-dived into totalitarianism and has remained inept in bring into being the anticipated effect. Rather than stimulating prosperity, harmony, innovation, creativity, intellectualism, development so as to restore the dignity of man in Nigeria Society, it has opened wider channel for ethnic-jingoism, chauvinism, retrogression, incompetence, decay, squalor, haplessness, anarchy, civil unrest, terrorism, suicide and unending volatilities. As a result of this penchant for undignifying humanity in Nigeria space orchestrated by arm-twisting the end of governance, presently the common words in Nigeria media are Bokoharam, Bokoage, Herdsmen attack, Banditry, Kidnapping, Suicide, Mass Burial, unemployment Labour Unrest, Armed Robbery and separation.

The much desire to vacate the state of nature and enter into society where life is preserved, where life is meaningful, where life is enjoyable and where dignity of man is restored seem an illusion in Nigeria state with the prevalence of abject poverty, high mortality, ignorance, squalor, decay and wide inequality. The focus of this paper shall start with a guiding literature on the subject matter.

### **Conceptual Review**

The concept of dignity encircles living as something positive. The word dignity has its origin from the Latin words 'decus and decorum'. The concept of dignity was not a common issue of contention within the ancient period and even in the Middle Ages. The advent of the Renaissance gingered by republicanism gave vent to much discussion on dignity. The term was given momentum in the Enlightenment period. It was also the era thinkers shifted priority from rationality on God's existence to humanity- man and nature. At this period humanity quickly spread. It was the moment emphasis on the rational nature of the human person got force. The notion of idea of human person and human rights was then emphasized. One of the major thinkers of the Enlightenment period that underlined human dignity, Immanuel Kant in his categorical imperative submits that "act so that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of another, always as an end and never as a means only".<sup>2</sup> While the Enlightenment stands for the contractual basis of rights, Romanticism is noted for its celebration of what it perceived as heroic individuals. Though Romanticism is often seen as antithesis to the Enlightenment, in performance both have reinforced the role of the individual.

Dignity is not about being poor or rich as such. What is essential for one to have dignity is good governance. Thus one's economic status does not remove dignity. In the contemporary era, many groups are already emphasizing animal dignity in order to ensure that animals are dignified. An African Igbo concept of dignity spring from "I exist because they exist" and "Mmadukaife". Dignity is intrinsically in any individual and as such an essential part of existence. Denial of dignity is ontological destruction of the essence of being.

### **Social Justice and Equality**

Social Justice is the giving and receiving of goods and services in a political society so that each person has his or her appropriate share of all the wealth of the society. The controversy over social justice and its distortion have been narrowed to the centrifugal rift between equality and inequality in a political society. Aristotle in his further statement on justice introduced equality and inequality opines that "justice consisted in treating equals equally and unequal unequally but in proportion to their relevant differences"<sup>3</sup>. The argument here predicates that humans are fundamentally equal and should be treated as such in a dignified manner because this dignifyness is essential to their ontological existence. Some reasons are given here why human should be treated equally. These include that humans have the same capacity to feel pain from both physical causes and from various situations represented in perception and thought and also have the ability to feel affection for each other. Cicero echoes similar view: he argues that the fact that human beings possess similar physical features, use language, to express their thoughts and emotions are enough grounds for absolute equality. Cicero is also of the view that that human equality follows from the nature of man, the gift of reason, and the equality of all other attributes. What is stressed here is that individual draws equally from the social wealth of a political society in accordance with public good. Thus, if there is good governance, such as

nepotism, favouritism, ethnicism and poverty which are not in tandem with the tenets of social contract will be seen as taboo. The image of the dignity of man is engraved in social justice. Aligning with this view, Cheema posits that “good governance promotes gender equality, sustains the environment, enables citizens to exercise personal freedoms, and provides tools to reduce poverty, deprivation, fear, and violence”.<sup>4</sup> These include the capability to provide as many people as possible with their basic needs and security. “It also entails the perception of individuals or groups of self-worth and esteem as a respected member of the society; and freedom in the sense that individuals and society at large have an expanded range of choice...”.<sup>5</sup>

### **Leadership and Society**

Man has always sought for harmony and happiness so as to enhance his stay in the society. The toil for dignity of man led man to seek for the civil society where man surrendered his rights to a leader whose onus is to restore the dignity of all persons in the society. This leadership is upon the man that exhumes sincere cordiality, purposefulness, creativity and unassuming. Plato in classical epoch aligns with these qualities of a leader as he puts that only the person of creative knowledge, meek and selfless can restore the dignity of man in the society. Hence according to Plato, “until philosophers are kings and princes of this world, have the spirit and wisdom meet in one and these commoner nature who pursue either the exclusion of the other are compelled to stand aside, cities will never have rest from their evils nor the human race as I believe and then only will this our state have a possibility of life and behold the light of the day”.<sup>6</sup> Corruption enmeshed in maladministration is the bane of good governance in Nigeria. Thus, Obasanjo affirms that “whenever you have corruption, you can never get things. You must take that as basic. Corruption distorts, corrupts, corrodes and it destroys... imposes injustice, it imposes dissatisfaction, it does not ensure equity, it does not ensure justice...”.<sup>7</sup> Good governance which is a product of good leadership creates a society where the moral ‘is egbebeluugobelu’.

### **The End of Governance**

When individuals voluntarily alienate their individual rights for the sake of public good only for the sovereign to rule according to his personal will and allow his cronies to slaughter and maim innocent citizens like chickens, such leadership and actions are at variance with the tenets of social contract which is hinged on restoration of the dignity of man. Nigerian government is fraught with abuse of the sacrifice that gave rise to civil society. The result of such abuse and negligence of the public good are civil unrest, large scale poverty, lawlessness, unhappiness, insecurity of life and property and state of license. We have inalienable rights, however much we may claim such rights and however much our governments may profess to recognize such rights what happens when we seek to exercise them is a big question. In a situation of negligence and abuse of social contract by persons elected to rule the society, quick application of the tenet of the concepts of public good of John Locke becomes obvious. Philosophical theories are not just for mere pleasurable discussions but

theories to be applied in the society for entrenchment of a happy society. Lockean yardstick of end of governance is the driving force for a prosperous civil society, social justice and equality, security of life and quality living.

This paper is of the view that good governance, political stability, robust economic development, checks and balance and quality living and mutual co-existence of diverse interest and people in a body polity will restore the dignity of man in Nigeria polity. This paper is also of significance to note that John Locke's emphasis of individual rights was not to inhibit the smooth operation of government but to enhance and expand individual liberty. This Lockean theory succeeded in freeing the individual from the shackles of monarchism and crippling hands and chains of absolutism".<sup>8</sup>

It will be of interest to know that Nigeria is endowed with enormous natural and human resources. Blessed with vast arable land, mild climate, large mineral reserve, Nigeria has the potential to raise its head higher than any black nation "with a population of about 180 million, it is adorned with intellectual giants in the fields of medicine, engineering, law, philosophy, theology, education and other humanities most of whom are of international standing".<sup>9</sup> Yet Nigeria is paradoxically poor and the life of its inhabitant "brute" and "short". The miserability and abysmallity of living of many Nigerians are as a result of bad governance riddled with deprivations. The availability of democratic institutions and agencies has not translated to dividends of democracy in Nigeria, The availability of law courts has not either entrenched the rule of law or preservation of life and security. It is evidenced that these agencies are established in Nigeria by the Acts of parliament : The Independent Corrupt Practices and other related offences (ICPC) Act, The Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) Act, The Fiscal Responsibility Act, The Public Procurement Act, The Money Laundering Prohibition Act, The Code of conduct bureau and Tribunal The Nigeria Extractive industry Transparency initiative Act yet they have not only been inert but in most cases made life "short and brutish".

### **Conclusion**

Dignity of human person is the norm through which governance and life in the society is to be evaluated. It is an end not a means of attaining quality living. In the opposite the widespread and growing social discrimination in Nigeria is not only a threat to dignity of man but has driven Nigeria to the brink of failed state. Totalitarianism and despotic nature of many politicians in Nigeria have not only giving vent to lawlessness but bastardisation of social justice, democratic institution and have made Nigeria the poverty capital of the world. The yawning gap between the rich and the poor is not as a result of shortage of resources that could entrench quality living across boards but as a result of misuse of power and entrenchment of solipsism. As a result of the derail from the end of governance by proxies of injustice, ethnicity, greed, selfishness, retrogression, corruption, incompetence, terror, extremism and intolerance, restoring human dignity has assumed a hydra-headed monster in Nigeria. The by-product of the latter are evidences of abject poverty, decay, hate and wickedness at every corner of Nigeria. The brutalizing effects of human

degradation in Nigeria sequel to rulers embrace of defect policies and permutations have made many people especially women and children what this paper calls Red-endangered species. It has become a frightening situation going by the trend children are alienated from their parents by human manipulated devastations. Human dignity is patent. Thus, it is an indispensable aspect of every human person.

Restoring the Dignity of man is the foundation of the political society and as an intrinsic part of man's ontological existence; the political state must at all times promote public good. This involves the enlargement of liberty as opined, by John Locke. Restoring the dignity should be pursued by elected rulers in Nigeria by embracing good governance and social justice so as to avert taking Nigerian society back to the state of nature where life is absolutely short, nasty and brutish.

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**WOMEN IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A REVIEW OF THE  
FEMALE CHARACTERS IN NWABUEZE'S *THE DRAGON'S  
FUNERAL* AND IROBI'S *NWOKEDI***

**Godstime I. Eze & Njideka Y. Oluoha**

**Introduction**

Over the years, the complex experiences of Nigerian women affected by conflict and war have continued to be addressed yet, there has been no special conference organized in southeastern Nigeria focused on the role of women and how these conflicts generally affected them, a void which demands to be filled. The interest of this research is to highlight the cost of the conflict on Nigerian women, their participation in the hostilities, and their contributions to the survival of individuals, families, communities and country using two plays that deal with direct conflict management by the women.

Aside those directly involved in the war like the Aba Women Riot, various communities in Nigeria and other countries of the world at a particular point in time deal with issues that spring up conflict. These conflicts are sometimes resolved by different heads of such society or a group of individuals either men or women or taken to higher authority for a common goal, peace. In Nigeria, women lose certain legal rights during matrimony. The Feminist movement has challenged the established perception of women's rights and skills. *The Dragon's Funeral*, which examines the remote factors that triggered the Aba women's riot, sounds Africana-womanist largely because it adopts a moderate approach in reviewing the relationship between men and women in a male dominated society. Africana-womanism, isolates the black peculiarity of the female subject, and connects her philosophy to her unique cultural background through conflict management. Women in different dispositions appear subtle and mild in handling issues within them especially those affecting their daily activities in the family or the society generally. Conflict may seem to be a problem to some, but this isn't how conflict should be perceived. Nwabueze and Irobi systematically examine the right attitude African women should adopt in a family and community unit in conflict management, recommending total submissiveness of women in their homes and relevance in the society directly or indirectly, using the characters of Adaugo and Mrs. Nwokedi to teach women obeisance to natural and contemporary acceptance of the authority and knowledge of women in handling issues at different levels. This is to counter the stereotypical attitude in sexist dimensions and further reduction of the woman's servitude state of women in the early times. However, when conflict begins to decrease development and gives way to more conflicts, and then conflict management would be needed to come up with a resolution.

### **Concept of Conflict/ Conflict Management**

There are actually a lot of ways to define conflict due to how it is used in many areas. Hence, to keep it simple for the layman, conflict is the opposing ideas and actions of different entities, thus resulting in an antagonistic state. Conflict is an inevitable part of life. Conflict may be defined as a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals. Conflict on teams is inevitable; however, the results of conflict are not predetermined. Conflict might escalate and lead to nonproductive results, or conflict can be beneficially resolved and lead to quality final products. According to Anthonia Ezema and Peace Udensi, “Conflict is an essential and necessary part of human social life”. (299), we often find ourselves in conflict in different scenarios; may it involve other individuals, groups of people, or a struggle within our own selves. Consequently, conflict influences our actions and decisions in one way or another. Therefore, learning to manage conflict is integral to a high-performance team. Although very few people go looking for conflict, more often than not, conflict results because of miscommunication between people with regard to their needs, ideas, beliefs, goals, or values.

**Conflict management** is simply the approach to managing issues, the practice of being able to identify and handle conflicts sensibly, fairly, and efficiently. Since conflicts between individuals, communities and groups are natural part of human existence, it is important that there are people who understand conflicts and know how to resolve them. It is the handling of opposing ideas and actions of different entities, thus resulting in aggressive or unfriendly situations. Everyone is striving to show how valuable they are to the company they work for and at times, this can lead to disputes with other members of the team. Conflict management is the principle that all conflicts cannot necessarily be resolved, but learning how to manage conflicts can decrease the odds of nonproductive escalation. Conflict management involves acquiring skills related to conflict resolution, self-awareness about conflict modes, conflict communication skills, and establishing a structure for management of conflict in your environment.

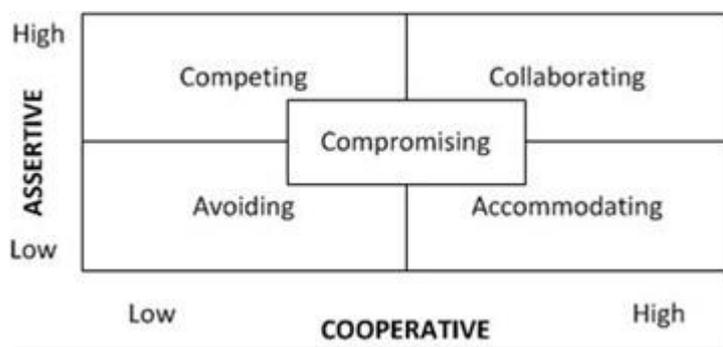
### **Different Types of Conflict**

- **Interpersonal conflict/Intergroup conflict** refers to a conflict between two individuals. This occurs typically due to how people are different from one another. We have varied personalities which usually results to incompatible choices and opinions. Apparently, it is a natural occurrence which can eventually help in personal growth or developing your relationships with others. In addition, coming up with adjustments is necessary for managing this type of conflict. However, when interpersonal conflict gets too destructive, calling in a mediator would help so as to have it resolved. Intergroup conflict takes place when a misunderstanding arises among different teams within an organization. This is usually due to the varied sets of goals and interests of these different groups

- **Intrapersonal conflict/Intragroup conflict** occurs within an individual or a group. The experience takes place in the person's mind or within a group. Hence, it is a type of conflict that is psychological involving the individual's thoughts, values, principles and emotions. Interpersonal conflict may come in different scales, from the simpler mundane ones like deciding whether or not to go organic for lunch to ones that can affect major decisions such as choosing a career path. Furthermore, this type of conflict can be quite difficult to handle if you find it hard to decipher your inner struggles. It leads to restlessness and uneasiness, or can even cause depression. In such occasions, it would be best to seek a way to let go of the anxiety through communicating with other people. Eventually, when you find yourself out of the situation, you can become more empowered as a person. Thus, the experience evoked a positive change which will help you in your own personal growth. Intragroup conflict usually happens among individuals within a team. The incompatibilities and misunderstandings among these individuals lead to an intragroup conflict. It is arises from interpersonal disagreements or differences in views and ideas within a team.

### **Approaches to Conflict Management**

Conflicts happen. How an individual responds and resolves conflict will limit or enable that employee's success. There are five conflict management styles that can be applied in the view of Kenneth W. Thomas and Ralph H. Kilmann known as *Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument (TKI)*<sup>5</sup> that is a widely used assessment for determining conflict modes. The assessment conflict scores in the areas include accommodating, avoiding, competing, compromising, and collaborating. Below is the diagram of different management strategies.



*Thomas-Kilmann Conflict Mode Instrument*

**Competing:** This is the win-lose approach. A conflict manager is acting in a very assertive way to achieve his or her own goals without seeking to cooperate with other employees, and it may be at the expense of those other employees. This approach may be appropriate for emergencies when time is of the essence. Competing

inconflict management is high assertiveness and low cooperation. Times when the competing mode is appropriate are when quick action needs to be taken, when unpopular decisions need to be made, when vital issues must be handled, or when one is protecting self-interests.

**Accommodating** mode is low assertiveness and high cooperation. Times when the accommodating mode is appropriate are to show reasonableness, develop performance, create good will, or keep peace. Some people use the accommodating mode when the issue or outcome is of low importance to them. An accommodating conflict manager is one who cooperates to a high degree. This may be at the manager's own expense and actually work against that manager's own goals, objectives, and desired outcomes. This approach is effective when the other person is the expert or has a better solution.

**Collaborating:** Here, the people involved become partners or pair up with each other to achieve both of their goals in this style. This is how managers break free of the win-lose paradigm and seek the win-win. This can be effective for complex scenarios where managers need to find a novel solution. The collaborating mode is high assertiveness and high cooperation. Collaboration has been described as “putting an idea on top of an idea on top of an idea...in order to achieve the best solution to a conflict.” The best solution is defined as a creative solution to the conflict that would not have been generated by a single individual. With such a positive outcome for collaboration, some people will profess that the collaboration mode is always the best conflict mode to use. Therefore, the collaborating mode should be used when the conflict warrants the time and energy

**Avoiding** mode is low assertiveness and low cooperation. Many times people will avoid conflicts out of fear of engaging in a conflict or because they do not have confidence in their conflict management skills. Times when the avoiding mode is appropriate are when you have issues of low importance, to reduce tensions, to buy some time, or when you are in a position of lower power. Avoiding an issue is one way one might attempt to resolve conflict. This type of conflict style does not help the other staff members reach their goals and does not help the manager who is avoiding the issue and cannot assertively pursue his or her own goals. However, this works well when the issue is trivial or when the manager has no chance of winning.

**Compromising:** This is the lose-lose scenario where neither person nor manager really achieves what they want. This requires a moderate level of assertiveness and cooperation. It may be appropriate for scenarios where you need a temporary solution or where both sides have equally important goals.

### **Synopsis of *The Dragon's Funeral***

The play is a story of the Aba women's riot in November 1929, it explores the taking over of women in resolving a long lasted conflict between the community and the colonial master in the colonial era. Ekwedike the village narrator through series of flashbacks re-enacts how the women leader Adaugo Nwanyeruwa led the women of Ngwa to fight a just cause. The women upon the realization that their husbands have failed to protect them, their families and the entire community against exploitation of different kinds, decides to defend themselves and in a revolutionary style carry out a successful protest against the oppressive colonial administrators and their collaborators against an impending tax imposition on women and in the end, the women emerges victorious, destroys chief Okeugo's royal cap and staff of office following his trial by the administrative judge. Chief Okeugo is found guilty and sentenced to three years imprisonment with hard labour.

### **Synopsis of *Nwokedi***

Nwokedi Snr, highly disgruntled at his political aides for his electioneering failure, engineered by his son, Nwokedi, puts his aides under the Ikurube-oath and sets out to Lagos for a judicial redress. Arikpo, an in-law to Nwokedi Snr., pursued by his Ugep Youths for defiling their restriction on his second tenure senatorial bid, runs to Mrs. Nwokedi for shelter. Tormented by his sustained injuries, and the persistent Ekumeku ritual and war songs, Arikpo laments over his lost property and political failure, regretting and cursing the Ugep Youths. At Bakalori, Nwokedi is penalized to serve his nation six extra months as a corps member, for beating up two soldiers and arousing his fellow corps members (corpers) to embark on violent revolution against the politicians. Remembering his role in school cult, especially the killing of the Capone and his previous ritual ram-beheading as the village Ekpe masquerade, Nwokedi became incensed with blood, human blood, as an anti-dote for the demanded socio-political cleansing.

Ekumeku (his age grade) and other villagers await Nwokedi's return with series of ritual and war songs. Traumatized by this ritual atmosphere, and Nwokedi's persistent spill threats, Arikpo confesses to Mrs. Nwokedi that he was responsible for the murder of Ezinna (Nwokedi's sister) and her three children. Nwokedi convinced of Arikpo's crime, connived with other Ekumekus to substitute Arikpo's blood for the sacrifice. Nwokedi Snr's intervention brings his life to an end.

### **Conflict Management in the Play Texts: Women and their Approaches *The Dragon's Funeral***

The play exposes the pathetic stereotypic picture of how women are most times seen as part of the man's property and they are not even allowed to ask questions neither are they to be integrated in the scheme of affairs that concerns them in their respective societies which they are part of. In *The Dragon's Funeral*, Emeka Nwabueze presented Adaugo Nwanyeruwa as a woman with great intelligence in conflict management due to her ability to organise her fellow women to settle conflict at different levels in the society. She is very assertive of their victory in dealing with

the problem affecting them. Her approach to the situation is that of nonviolence and that is evident when she maintains in her conversation with her fellow women below:

**ADAUGO:** My sisters, we shall not allow ourselves to be taxed. We shall resist any attempt to harass us. We shall put things in order... We must resist the Government. And if they come after us, we must fight back. (19) Our strength lies in our determination to stay together, to fight together and to die together if the need arises. We shall be protecting our ancestral land, and our ancestors will not allow us to vanquish. A woman does not stay at home and while logs of wood meant for cooking soak in the rain... we are simple people but we are not simpletons (21).

**IKODIE:** (*Raising her hand*) I have a question. Suppose our husbands command us not to leave the house, what do we do? We know the limits of our power. A person who knows that his anus is small does not swallow an *udala* seed. (21)

**NWUGO:** We deny them the thing that gives the joy. Women are the givers of joy, the managers of the body of men. And when their manhood awakens it behaves as if it would penetrate a wall, sending their senses in a state of anomie. If we join together let me see the man that will withstand us for one market week. Unless that man is dead between his thighs. (21)

From the above, Adaugo and Nwugo are assertive and optimistic about the success of their mission if only the women work together as one but the fear in Ikodie's expression is removed by the determination she saw in other women. She confesses that after the Achalugo has given the conclusion of the meeting agenda:

**ADAUGO:** Now, I want to make one thing clear to all of you. Once we start, there is no going back. Our aim is not to fight our husbands; our aim is not to confront men unnecessarily, even if they are strangers. Our aim is not to show that we are indispensable to men. In executing our action, we should ensure that we don't fail in our duties as wives, as daughters, as mothers, as the epitome of peace in our community. Our aim is to fight injustice, to fight for our rights, to fight for our children. As women we have to do what we feel is right, even if men try to stop us.

**WOMEN:** (Singing) Women are ready! Waiting for action...

**IKODIE:** (Stands up and sings) I had questions. I had my doubts about the cause. But the determination I witnessed from all of you has put fire in my veins. I am ready to fight with all the blood in my veins. (24)

She urges them to remain submissive to their husbands and not to derail in the main essence of their protest. According to Adaugo, "in executing our action, we should ensure that we don't fail in our duties as wives"(24). In *The Dragon's Funeral*, Adaugo is presented as a heroine capable of managing conflict, handling difficult issues and having great leadership qualities and a great sense of leadership. According to Cindy Ezeugwu,

Women in *The Dragon's Funeral* are people who are capable of taking the bull by the horn and he endeavours to show the need for women to be given the opportunity to express themselves fully in the society thus, it brings to light the plights of women in the hands of the male dominated society and at

the same time excuses the women's revolution affirming that the society relegates them to the background and pushes them too far, therefore they are responsible for their misdemeanours if any. (102)

She further maintains that,

women in the play are also portrayed as women with strength and spirit of resilience, despite all the attempts that their husbands made in order to dissuade them from convening a meeting and opposing the colonial masters, the women refuses to give in and resiliently continue with their quest with strength and boldness until they were able to realize a tax free system for themselves. Adaugo's strength is also manifested in the manner with which she is able to treat teacher Emeruwa when he comes to her house for the controversial head and property count. (104)

The women used dialogue and some symbolic actions to manage the conflict in the land. No violence of any kind, no blood shed or physical combat in the cause of the protest against their gender and community in general. They restored sanity in the land, a task that the male figures have failed to achieve.

#### **In *Nwokedi***

The play is not really about the female character, Mrs. Nwokedi but her unique approach to conflict management cannot be overemphasized. She has ways with both her husband and her son and even her son-in-law. Her management of conflict is more cooperative than assertive, she works more on the psyche of the people around her, having her ways with words and calming the tensed environment down with the avoiding approach of conflict management for peace to reign. This can be adduced from her conversation with Arikpo, her son-in-law:

**MRS NWOKEDI:** (*Staying his hand*) I have told you not to worry, haven't I? (*pause*) Nwokedi is my son. I can sing him like song. I can read his mind like the back of my hand. I can recognize his face even in darkness. I will hand him. Sit down.

**ARIKPO:** If you had written him, coming home today he would have prepared himself and his mind for the sight of these ashes. And there wouldn't have been any high-blood pressure for us.

**MRS NWOKEDI:** I decided against that...Because he had already disgraced his father politically in front of the entire village. And his father has sworn to strangle him. If I had written him, don't you realize he would have returned home. And what do you think would have happened here? (53)

Mrs. Nwokedi in her wisdom plans to use Arikpo to calm the situation that may come up as a result of having both her son and her husband in the same roof after what they have done to each other. And when it happens that Nwokedi returned before his father, she hides Arikpo in the bedroom to calm her son down before he finally sees Arikpo and his ugly story. In a calm and motherly manner, she begins with asking him about NYSC but the sight of the radio changed the plan and she was

forced to deliver the bad news to Nwokedi. She resorted to emotional blackmail by reminding Nwokedi that she is his mother to calm him down. She controlled the situation when her husband returned from Lagos by tactfully sending Arikpo to the door while she leads her son to his room in order to work on her husband as she planned earlier with Arikpo.

**MRS NWOKEDI:** Senior, (*smiling*) Nwokedi has agreed to tell Ozoemena Nwakanma to step down for you.

**NWOKEDI SNR:** What did you say?

**MRS NWOKEDI:** Ozoemen Nwakanma will step down for you. Nwokedi has convinced him.

**NWOKEDI SNR:** Has he?

**MRS NWOKEDI:** Yes.

**NWOKEDI SNR:**(*ecstatically*)This is unbelievable! Unimaginable! Incredible! Preposterous! This is...where is Nwokedi? ... The boy is good. That boy is good. He is the greatest son in the world. The brightest and the finest. He is a star. (67)

She goes on to tell him that getting the Ekumeku jobs is the condition for their agreement to step down for him. Conflict management can take any shape and requires flexibility on the side of the manager. He/she must be mentally on alert to know when to change approach or continue. Mrs. Nwokedi has her strength in knowing what to say and what to do in a particular situation. She even went as far as telling her husband that she has worked him and Nwokedi but he was engulfed with the good news she has given to him. This is evident in the conversation below:

**NWOKEDI SNR:** That's a good idea. Ugonwanyi, how did you work on Nwokedi?

**MRSNWOKEDI:** Just how I worked on you.

**NWOKEDI SNR:** (embraces her) Agunwanyi, you know you are the pillar of my life. The very brick and mortar of my existence. If my life was a house, you are the foundation. I am very grateful. Glory unto you...(68)

Mrs. Nwokedi could not properly resolve the conflict as she planned due to the strong feeling of death that couldn't leave her mind. But she tactfully made Arikpo to tell the truth about what happened to her daughter and two children and she concluded thus:

**MRS NWOKEDI:** Aripko, (*weeping*) I am not the one to forgive you. Nwokedi is the one to forgive you. After that (*pause*)It is left for you to forgive yourself. (88)

### **Conclusion**

The positive portrayal of women in plays and culturally educating societies on the roles of women in conflict management can go a long way in narratives. The action of Adaugo and Mrs. Nwokedi according to Godstime Eze and Daniel Chibuko is, "a struggle for fundamental change in gender relations in order to recognize women as complete and active members in development process" (320). The orthodox view of women as belonging to a man especially when married, incapable of doing things on her without the help of a man was debunked in the two plays. We

can now affirm the importance of women and the power of management that they possess. This research therefore serves as an important record that present and discussed women as embodiment of vulnerability in the hands of their husbands and community agencies, but active participants and survivors of critical situations, who demonstrated remarkable resilience and initiative, waging war on all fronts in the face of wobbly conditions and scarcities, and maximizing opportunities occasioned by thwart and intimidation.

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## **TYRANNICAL OPPRESSION AND DISILLUSIONMENT: A STUDY OF CHIMEKA GARRICKS' *TOMORROW DIED YESTERDAY***

**Cornel O. Ujowundu & Stella Okoye-Ugwu**

### **Introduction**

The attainment of political independence by African Nations brought along with it many problems of leadership. Corruption and mismanagement were at their peak. These problems which emanated from the leaders and were manifested in all aspects of African life - political, social and economical - have constituted recurrent themes in many African novels. Chief Obafemi Awolowo in *Coups in Africa and Barracks Revolt* asserts that "the Africans supported the nationalists in driving away the colonialists with the hope that independence would make life better and more meaningful" (7). But, on the contrary, the people, according to Ngugi wa Thiong'o in *Homecoming*, "were disappointed to see some nationalists scrambling for seats vacated by the white man, subjecting the masses to same conditions they were before" (65). The theoretical framework for this study is Marxist theory. Marxism is a political and economic theory of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels that interpret history as a continuing economic class struggle and belief that eventual result would be the establishment of a classless society and communal ownership of wealth of the nation. It is an idea that does not simply recognise the existence of the evil conditions but also recommends the way out and advocates direct action to bring the desired change. According to Ngara Emmanuel in his book *Art and Ideology in the African Novel*:

Social stratification and inequality are a historical part of our society and these are what Marxist writers are continually fighting against in our society. Through the change significant attention of social structures will be made. This will come in form of a revolution which is the displacement of one class by another (31).

Chimeka Garricks's novel, therefore, explores the oppressive conditions the people need to fight against in order to effect improvement and attain their lofty aspirations.

### **Textual Analysis**

Chimeka Garricks sets out in his *Tomorrow Died Yesterday* to portray the picture of the plight of the people of Niger-Delta and the rise of militancy in Nigeria. The text is a literary composition conveying moral truth mixed with fictional characters and their individual experiences. The narrative has five books and each episode named after the narrator or a major character or incident. It explores a plethora of themes, ranging from suffering, pain, disappointment, poverty, exploitation, to tyranny and oppression. The work's major thematic focus is on tyrannical oppression and its attendant consequences on the people.

*Tomorrow Died Yesterday* is a novel set in the post-colonial Nigeria. It x-rays the tyrannical leadership seen in the Niger-Delta region and exploitation at its peak.

The narrator takes us through the lives of ordinary people and the effect of the harsh experiences on them. Garricks makes use of the fictive town of Asiam, an oil rich town located in the heart of the Niger-Delta region as the setting of the story. He uses the fictionalized world of Asiam to navigate the turbulent terrain of life in the restive Niger-Delta region of South-South, Nigeria. The author brings to light the major cause that leads to the Niger-Delta militancy which the government does not want the world to know about. In his introductory note, Chimeka states that:

I know now that I wrote this story as a form of catharsis, to try to make sense out of all the madness, and to tell some of the truth, as I understand it. Besides, I was fed up with the fact that the only “voices” of the people of Niger-Delta was either the political class or the self-styled “militants,” (two equally appalling choices in my view). I was also tired of the hypocrisy of the people of the Niger-Delta, my people, who are the real victims but have refused to take the lead responsibility of their own roles in the calamity that has befallen them.

The novel focuses on the lives of four young men who struggle to live by their values in a difficult and morally challenging environment. The story is written in no chronological order. It centres on Doye Koko, alias Doughboy; Amaibi Akassa; Kaniye Rufus and Tubo who are childhood friends and indigenes of Asiam (the oil land). The Niger-Delta region produces most of Nigeria’s oil and since the early 1990s has experienced a lot of conflicts caused by tensions between oil companies and the Niger-Delta ethnic minority groups who feel they are being exploited. This has led to increased militarisation in the area and kidnapping of foreign oil workers. It is against this backdrop that Chimeka Garricks writes.

The action of the novel begins in 2003, when a routine kidnapping of a foreign oil worker by Doughboy (Doye) goes terribly wrong. This kidnapping leads to a chain of events that reunites the four friends. Kaniye is a lawyer in the group, although he has not practiced law in years and instead, owns a restaurant. Tubo is the self-centred one who works with the Imperial Oil Company at the centre of the story. Doye (Doughboy) is the leader of a militant oil group that kidnaps foreign Imperial Oil workers and Amaibi is the lecturer and activist in the group.

*Tomorrow Died Yesterday* spans three decades. Part way through the book, we go back to 1970, the year all four male characters were born. The novel flicks back and forth between 2003 and 2004, when the kidnapping occurred and the series of unfortunate events that unfolded afterwards, and key moments in each of the character’s lives—the 70s, 80s and 90s. We get glimpses of each of the boys’ childhood, how they became friends, the eventual demise of their friendship, and the events that shaped their lives and made them who they are.

The novel explores one of the major challenges facing Nigeria today—oil. Chimeka Garricks manages to capture it all in his book—oil bunkering, oil militancy, the impact oil has had on the everyday Nigerian living in the Niger-Delta region, the corrupt politicians and employees of oil companies and how people try and live their lives in this situation. It also explores chiefly pain, suffering, corruption, dehumanisation, exploitation, inhumanity, money mongering and ruthlessness all of

which are aspects of the central focus-tyranny and oppression. The first portrayal of tyranny and oppression can be seen in Amaibi's description of his mode of arrest to Kaniye. Amaibi says, "They came into my house very early one morning, almost a squadron of them. They smashed down my door, commando-style. They arrested me . . . in bed. I didn't resist then. They shot me. I still don't know why"(55).

The tyrannical nature of the government can be seen in the above statement. Amaibi being an upright man and an activist kicked against the governmental control of the oil companies which drilled from Asiamama. The government were only interested in the revenues the oil companies generate. They never looked into the affairs of the oil town or provide neither basic amenities nor infrastructural development. The oil companies also lack provisions for proper industrial waste disposal, thereby polluting the Asiamama River, environment and causing the death of aquatic animals which is the town's source of livelihood. These and many more Amaibi kicked against because Asiamama is a town made up of mostly fishermen, the natives lived at the mercy of the companies. Amaibi went as far as suing the government to court with the help of his friend Barrister Kaniye Rufus. He even organised rallies that picks on the governmental neglect of the Asiamama community which got the governing body agitated and sought for a way to bring Amaibi down.

Soon, the government found a way by the Imperial Oil Company using Amaibi as an intermediary between Doye Koko (Amaibi's childhood friend and the head militant) and the Imperial Oil Company. Amaibi as agreed took the ransom to Juju Island in exchange for the Imperial Oil staff Manning who was kidnapped by the militants, not knowing that the hostage had already died. The government soon made a case out of Amaibi's selfless help with the help of Wali, the tyrant chief security of the Imperial Oil Company. Amaibi was charged of aligning with militants when it was they (the Imperial Oil staff) that begged Amaibi to help out. The government used this medium to oppress and dehumanise Amaibi who had been challenging them all along. Amaibi's words to Kaniye while in the prison gave a clear message of what his life was like. Amaibi says:

. . . No leader from the Niger-Delta has gone to court with the government against him, and came out a free man, I won't be the first. I'm certain of that; twenty senior advocates can't save me. I'm going down, Kaniye, no matter who I get to defend me. In the circumstances, I'd prefer to go down fighting . . . (36).

Amaibi is seen as those voices in the society who refuse to be shut down by the oppressive system of government, even at the point of death. Sir James Rufus, Kaniye's father and a senior advocate, also voiced out the tyrannical nature of the government when Kaniye sort his advise to help in Amaibi's trial in court. Sir James had this to say, "The government wants Amaibi out of the way. In this country, the government is the mafia. Everything has already been arranged. The trial will be merely to rubber stamp his predetermined conviction. And the rest, as they say, will be history" (69). Garricks used *Tomorrow Died Yesterday* to also tell the world of the circumstances surrounding the Niger-Delta crisis cum militancy. Niger-Delta suffered

exploitation and neglect not only from the government but also from some of their own who enrich their pockets at the expense of the community. This, Garricks made known in his author's note and used the character Chief Dumo Ikaki to satirise those selfish politicians found in the society and also show the corrupt nature of the human mind. Chief Dumo Ikaki, a member of the Asiamas Council of Chiefs and the special adviser to the governor on special duties likes to be at the helm of affairs. Dumo's position in the government should have been able to bring about infrastructural development in Asiamas Community but all he was after was to enrich himself the more. He master-minded the arrest of Amaibi because Amaibi's involvement in the ransom delivery cut the percentage he and the Imperial Oil staff executives were to get from the money. His tyrannical and oppressive nature can be seen when his company Tortoise Shell was given the contract to secure a generator by Imperial Oil Company, which is to give electricity to Asiamas Community. He used the contract as an avenue for money laundering and oppression. This can be seen in the words of Tubo, an Imperial Oil staff:

Tortoise Shell bought a second-hand contraption from one Asian country. It powered parts of Asiamas town for all of twenty-three days before falling apart. I say parts of Asiamas town because the whole town was never completely wired. Coincidentally, it was the houses of Chief Ikaki's enemies that were not wired.

Chief Ikaki, being the head of the Asiamas Council of Chiefs, intimidated the chiefs with his governmental position and runs the chiefs' council with an iron fist. He is also the Amayanabo's puppet-master because he compels the Amayanabo to do whatever he says. He even banished Sir James and his loyalists from Asiamas because they challenged his authority.

In his author's note, Garricks asserts that, ". . . I was also tired of the hypocrisy of the people of the Niger-Delta my people, who are the real victims, but have refused to take lead responsibility for their own roles in the calamity that has befallen them". Garricks incorporates the theme of hypocrisy in his novel *Tomorrow Died Yesterday* as the Niger-Deltans turn everything into a money-making venture. This is the case when Asiamas loses some of its natives in a pipeline explosion in one of the bunkers. The Asiamas Council of Chiefs seeks for monetary compensation from the government instead of agitating for means to secure the pipelines from oil bunkers. Greed and hypocrisy are also seen on the side of Dumo Ikaki who pretends to have other affairs of Asiamas at heart only to exploit, oppress and covert funds meant for the people. This can be seen when Chief Ikaki's company, Tortoise Shell, deserted the contract given to them which is to clean up the oil spillage on the Asiamas River. He is also the brain behind the dehumanising experiences Asiamas town got from the soldiers after they agitated for monetary compensation for an oil spillage on the river.

The novelist uses the actions of the soldiers in the novel to satirize the disposition of the Nigerian military. In line with the Nigerian military, the soldiers sent to Asiamas terrorize the people they are meant to protect. The themes of extreme tyranny and oppression can be seen in their actions. The soldiers assault and

manhandle the people of Asiama without mercy. They kill, rape and batter the inhabitants. The soldiers thinking that Asiama natives are responsible for the death of a soldier who slipped off a boat and was mangled by blades of the outboard engine during the demonstration at Asiama Base Camp, deal mercilessly with the natives in a revenge mission. The soldiers shoot sporadically, killing many people, Mpaka Doye's father inclusive. They lay all the villagers on the ground, both young and old and also make a man eat his own excreta. They flog and humiliate Doye, the Amayanabo by making him do frog jump before his subjects. "They caught the Amayanabo hiding in the royal mausoleum. They beat him. They cursed him for not being able to control his kingdom. Then they made him hold his ears, squat and jump around on his haunches". (376)

They catch Amaibi and his wife Dise hiding inside the church and rape Dise till she passes out. The tragedy of the situation is made even worse when you consider that they subject her husband to watching while they rape his wife. The rape of Dise has a chain reaction on her and her husband Amaibi. Dise loses her pregnancy in the unfortunate incident and also undergoes a psychological depression which alters her entire lifestyle. Amaibi on the other hand could not handle the incident, which cost him his marriage to Dise. The doom spelt by the soldiers on Asiama changed the town as it affected each and every member of Asiama negatively. The novelist uses Kaniye's words to Doye to bring to light the government's nonchalant and insensitive attitude towards the plight of the people. Kaniye had this to say to Doye when he was asked to sue the soldiers to court, "If Asiama people make enough noise, the best that can happen is that the military government will set up a panel of inquiry or some other bullshit committee who will find that the atrocities were committed by "unknown soldiers, acting outside their command". (374)

The above statement shows the oppressive nature of the government who would do everything possible to shut down any voice that tries to protest or ask questions. The novelist also used the character of Doye Koko (Doughboy) to tell the world the cause of the Niger-Delta struggle/militancy and also the effect of tyranny and oppression on the oppressed. Doye is born under a harsh condition with a tyrant as a father who always oppressed his family with ranting and beating. As a kid, Doye is very aggressive and always tries to intimidate his peers, a leaf he borrowed from his father Mpaka. Doye has been frustrated all his life, starting from his tyrannical father, Mpaka's constant beating and desertion by his wife, Doye's mother, the death of Soboye his only brother, which resulted from oil bunkering which affected Doye by not going for a scholarship exam. The intimidation he got from the soldiers that came to Asiama, his father's cold murder by the soldiers and finally his denial of a job opportunity in the Imperial Oil Company even when he emerged the best in the interview. Doye from his tender age built a strong wall around himself which thickened with harsh experiences as time passes. These experiences made him hostile and violent. He saw the government activities with the oil companies as a slap on their faces and a rape of their land because the natives were not compensated and were given the least job in the companies. He took upon himself to fight the government and formed a group called the "Asiama Freedom Army," which with

time metamorphosed into militancy. The group were credited with oil bunkering, kidnapping and bombing of oil installations which forms the basis of the storyline.

Garricks uses Doye to tell the world that one raised under a tyrannical and oppressive situation will be a lot worse than what nurtured him. The novelist also used the characters to satirise the people found in the society who try to battle/fight evil with evil, thereby going astray as power intoxicates and meeting their Waterloo. The story is actually relevant to any human community where dictatorship, exploitation, tyranny and oppression is practiced. Thus, the novel is a satire on the Niger-Delta struggle and the factors that led to it. The author employs devices such as irony and sarcasm to convey his message. He writes in his author's note saying:

As I write these words in October 2009, the pandemic has spread all across Nigeria, and the kidnapers less discriminatory in their choice of victims. Recently, I heard this rumour about the kidnap of a "vulcaniser" (an artisan tyre-mender) for a ransom of thirty thousand naira. The Niger-Delta struggle has become a tragedy so bizarre that one has to search for comedy in it just to remain sane.

### **Conclusion**

Literature helps us understand our society, the world we live in, and be aware of the happenings around us. Through literature, our society is clearly seen and we become aware (conscious) of what happens every day in our society and other places as can be seen in Helon Habila's *Waiting for an Angel* and Chimeka Garricks' *Tomorrow Died Yesterday*. One may think that he knows enough of what happens in his society, but when we read literary texts more is revealed to us. In literature, the author writes what he feels, what he sees and what he thinks should be in the society. Literature mirrors our society and shows us everything we need to know or learn. This is exactly what the two authors Chimeka Garricks and Helon Habila had done in their works. Thus, *Tomorrow Died Yesterday* is a story of post-colonial disillusionment. The people of Asiamas had to live under the tyrannical dictators of the government and the multinational natives. The cause of this started from when Asiamas was discovered to have an oil rich soil. The government exploit the people so much so that even some of the natives of Asiamas who are in political authority join with the government to exploit their own people. This can be seen in Chief Dumo Ikaki, a member of the Asiamas Council of Chiefs and also a top government official who covet and deprive the people of the little relief which the government gives them. The oppression, exploitation and deprivation lead to rebellion by some natives which in turn escalated to the Niger-Delta militancy.

Chimeka Garricks uses *Tomorrow Died Yesterday* to portray the situation and events that have kept the Niger-Delta region where it is today. The novel is a political satire used by the author to satirise the ills of his society. Many incidents in the novel show the tyrannical and oppressive system of leadership practised in Nigeria. This can be seen in the case of Amaibi Akassa whom the government apprehended unjustly, not just because of his alleged alliance with the head militant Doye Koko but because of his incessant law suits against the oil

companies who lack adequate waste disposal methods, leading to oil spillage which in turn kills aquatic animals and makes their land infertile. The agitation and protest by the natives against the bad leadership lead to the government sending troops of soldiers to the town who deal mercilessly with the Asiamas natives. The people longed for improved livelihood and a better society but the government failed to allow their vision come to fruition.

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## **LOST IN THE LABYRINTH: SALAMI'S *EMOTAN* AS A PARADIGM IN THE QUEST FOR A LEADERSHIP MODEL IN NIGERIA**

**David Essi**

### **Introduction**

President: Food scarcity? There is no food scarcity in this country wherever I take time to travel out of the Presidential Mansion, I see people carrying food everywhere. Each time I pass a market, I see much food that I begin to wonder how the traders are going to see all of them... (Emeka Nwabueze *A Parliament of Vultures* 65)

Democracy which comes from a combination of two Greek words – demos (which means the body of citizens living within a particular city – state); and Kratos (which means power or rule). Democracy thus meant rule by the people or the many – the direct personal participation of the citizen in the government of the city. Thus, from the ancient Greek era to today's America, now touted as the world's democratic model, the practice and application of democratic cannons in establishing socio-political issues have become the deciding indicators in judging the occidental and the developing societies. Today, Nigeria is almost at the threshold of two decades into its fourth republic, as such, the application of democratic norms or otherwise in the running of the affairs politically in Nigeria becomes relevant if we must make meaningful progress.

Human societies all over the world have developed some minimum acceptable standards to regulate and ensure the smooth running of these societies. These minimum standards are what could be referred to as laws and certain individuals invariably becomes its guardians. Writers and human right activists are generally seen as natural guardians of the law. Human history is replete with names like Aristophanes, Socrates, Bertolt Brecht, William Shakespeare, John Sheridan, Ken Saro Wiwa, Wole Soyinka, Chinua Achebe, Martin Luther King Jr. Desmond Tutu, Ngugu Wa Thiong O, De Lama and others are quite notable. Some of these individuals mentioned above have had to cool their heels in prison because of constant clashes with the powers that be who are intolerant of the views of the opposition.

From Paul Biya's Cameroon, Al Bashir's Sudan, to Yoweri Museveni's Uganda and ousted Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe; African leaders have shown by their actions that they are intolerant of the views of the opposition. This brings to bear the view of Francis Fukuyama that "most leaders are Megalothymic" (130). In reprimanding our leaders vaulting ambition to ascend to power at all cost as well as silencing all perceived opposition, Femi Osofisan reports:

**KANSILOR:** The law is a chameleon: It adjusts its coat always to the colour of strength  
**BAALE:** There is only one law. You swore to defend it!

**KANSILOR:** My oath Baale, is to serve the people using the law as a weapon. But if the law itself stand in the way of my service, the law must yield! (*Aringindin and the Nightwatchmen* 75)

Leaders who trample on justice and make the law to succumb to their selfish ambition are no leaders. This is what Kansilor exhibits in his inordinate ambition; how the law could be made to yield to the vaulting ambition of an individual. Leaders are far from ideal and selfless when they exhibit villainous and egoistic traits. In *Kurunmi* by Ola Rotimi, we are presented with a leader who though having heroic virtues, manifest some villainous traits and could be seen as a heroic villain. Most of Nigeria's leaders today are in the mould of Kurunmi. The trappings of office makes them "egocentric and megalothymic". Kurunmi is a bourgeois military hero who stops at nothing to acquire more wealth at the expense of others. He went to war not only because of his massive "Megalothymism and egocentricism", but also to acquire more territories. Without consulting his elders and military council Kurunmi goes into his expansionist war. The war eventually consumes him. Kurunmi cries out before the shrine of Ogun:

**KURUMI:** When a leader of men has led his people to disaster and what remains of his present life is but a shadow of his proud past then, it is time to be a leader no more (70).

At this point, Kurunmi commits suicide and thus ends his vaulting ambition. Many despotic leaders have gone the way of Kurunmi (Essi 14 -15). In *Fate of an Orphan and Obidike, The Last Warrior* by Alex Asigbo, Obalichi and Obidike are characters cast in the mould of selfless leaders. Obalichi, who is torn between a sacred duty he owes his homeland and his love for Agbomma, a woman he loves, dies in defense of fatherland. Obalichi, infact, reaches a level of awareness when he says.

**OBALICHI:** A man can do many things when his passions are enslaved. A man whocannot die for what he believes in is not a man (31).

A leader could be said from the foregoing to be one who renders unalloyed services to his fellow human beings in the spirit of love and sacrifice. A genuine leader therefore is imbued with the spirit of self sacrifice- willingness and readiness to inflict pain on oneself to save others. For Obidike, the realization that a fulfilled life is one which is lived for the service of humanity galvanizes him into going to war to free his fatherland from the threat of the Abohs. Patriots who are indeed selfless leaders at times, inspite of the intimidating task of liberating their fatherland from unpleasant leadership, evil oppressors and other national ills may never receive awards for their selfless actions. This we can see in the case of Obidike, as he lies dying, having been stabbed by his own father. He says:

**OBIDIKE:** Fumy... I who have Swarm Rivers now die in the soup pot of an old woman” (105)

This paper examines the practice of democracy in the Nigerian nation space as well as the quest for an ideal leadership using Irene Salami’s *Emotan*. This is because; those we have been unfortunate to have as leaders were no better than egomaniacs and Megalothymics, using the words of Francis Fukuyama.

### **Democracy: The Nigerian Experience**

Nigeria obtained her independence from colonial Britain on 1<sup>st</sup> October, 1960 without any armed struggle on the part of Nigeria. Thereafter, Nigeria practiced the parliamentary system of government fashioned after British model. This saw the three (3) regions into which Nigeria was divided (North, West and Eastern regions) being run as semi-autonomous regions with each region at liberty to develop as it pleased. However, this political dispensation was short-lived as bickering and financial recklessness soon brought the soldiers out of their barracks into governances. This military misadventure so it seemed, saw Nigeria going through a 30 month long war with its attendant socio-economic consequences.

After the failure of the first Republic, the second Republic took off in 1979 fashioned after the America presidential system of government. This presidential system of government touted as a federal system of government has seen the centre – the federal government wielding so much power. The irresponsibility of our second Republic leaders saw the coming of the soldiers once again to abort this democratic process. With so many shifts in dates, the third republic presidential election that was believed to have been won in a free and fair contest by Late Chef M.K.O Abiola was annulled by Nigeria’s self styled President Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida. In the miasma of this political debacle, late General Sani Abacha took over the reins of power in a palace coup and took Nigeria down a political cul-de-sac until his untimely death ended this political rigmarole. General Abdulsalam Abubakar who took over started his own transition programme and ended up foisting General Olusegun Obasanjo (Rtd) on Nigerians, in what became the Fourth republic.

Obasanjo’s eight years as civilian ruler could best be described as eight years of a maximum leader. Upon the expiration of his two tenures of four years each, Obasanjo fruitlessly sought for a tenure elongation. With the failure of his tenure elongation bid, Obasanjo supported Late Umaru Musa Yar’Adua in the 2007 “do or die” presidential election (according to Obasanjo) to succeed him. Late Umaru Musa Yar’Adua won the election but died midway into his tenure. Late President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua was succeeded by President Goodluck Jonathan who was hitherto his (Yar’Adua’s) Vice President. President Goodluck Jonathan completed his late principal’s tenure, contested and won a fresh mandate in 2011. President Goodluck Jonathan, a man from the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria, failed against all expectations to meet the yearnings and aspirations of Nigerians. His tenure witnessed thievery of gargantuan dimension by his appointed ministers and aides. This makes Bobson Gbinije to claim that “the level of corruption and lack of transparency in the

Jonathan administration is so proverbially unprecedented that it cannot be wished away” (19). President Goodluck Jonathan at best could be described as a sitting duck during his tenure. He failed woefully in his re-election bid in 2015. His party the PDP (people’s Democratic Party) was trounced in the 2015 presidential election by the APC (All progressives Congress) which had President Muhammadu Buhari as its presidential candidate.

President Mohammadu Buhari who won the 2015 presidential election came into power with his “Change” mantra vowing to clean the Augean stable of corruption, ineptitude and fiscal irresponsibility of the hitherto PDP government. From all indications, the eighteen years of democracy so far witnessed in this fourth republic has been a most trying period for Nigeria and Nigerians. Right from time, artists in the cloak of moral agents have been in the forefront of the demand for change. It is in the light of the “mandate” which could be referred to as “sacred mandate” which artists are seen to be holding as watchdogs of every society that we examine. *Emotan* by Irene Salami, written on the Nigerian situation.

#### ***Emotan as a moral thesis on the Nigerian Leadership***

A writer in one of Nigerian dailies made this declaration:

The problem of Nigeria is that of fatherlessness, Nigeria as a nation has never been fathered. Check every nation that has grown to any level of greatness and development economically, socially and politically, you will discover that there are men that have actually fathered such nations. Some even sacrifice their lives on the altar of nationalism for their nation... men like Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, Winston Churchill, Mahatma Gandhi, Mao Tse Tung, Charles de Gaulle and Ben Gurion. Back to Africa, you have Nelson Mandela, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere... these are men that had served their nations selflessly with the vision of nurturing their nations to greatness. As I check through history, I ask myself the question, who are the fathers of Nigeria as a nation? ...Nigeria is a nation born out of due time by immature parents, midwifed by highly inexperienced nurses,... till today, we are one but not a whole, we are jointed but not linked..., the cry of my heart for Nigeria is “Lord, give us fathers! Fathers with a vision. Fathers with a passion for the nation, fathers that will nurture , sustain, protect, teach, lead by example, discipline with love, care for and develop this fatherless nation called Nigeria (Aiyedogbon 20)

It is indeed a sad trajectory that for more than five decades of Nigeria’s independence, the country has been in political and leadership doldrums as Chinua Achebe claim thus, “...The whole trouble with Nigeria rests squarely on leadership and Nigeria is less than fortunate with her leader” (13). Many Nigerian playwrights and scholars have consistently pre-occupied themselves thematically with the search for an ideal leader or leadership. It is in this regard that Ola Rotimi expresses his view on the personality of an ideal leader. He says:

First, my ideal leader must be a man or woman who is unreservedly detribalized. Only in this state can that leader’s judgment subordinate bias to principles. Second, the person must be committed to the well being of the

generality of his people which means that he/she must be selfless. Third, that person must be action-bound. Fourth, the person must be forthright in the pursuit of fairness as in the dispensation of justice.. (21)

Bobson Gbinije in his reference to Richard Nixon's Profile and reminiscences of men who have shaped the modern world reports,

Great leadership is a form of art, requiring both force and vision to an extraordinary degree, the leader necessarily deals to a large extent in symbols, in images and sort of galvanizing idea that both persuade and move them. The manager thinks of today and tomorrow but the leader thinks of the day after tomorrow. The leader represents a direction of history (19)

*Emotan* by Irene Salami aptly captures Nigeria's brand of leadership demonstrated by the insensitivity of the ruling class and their fondness so to say for holding on to power, decimating all opposition and perceived enemies as well as amassing wealth at the expense of the ruled. The play presents before our very eyes the contemporary political realities in Nigeria serving therefore as a moral thesis and a critique of the idiosyncrasies of the ruling class (leaders). The play – *Emotan* opens with a coterie of self centered chiefs cruelly plotting the downfall of a would be Oba (Ogun). Chief Iyase, the prime minister's speech attests to this:

**IYASE:** Our strategy will be to convince him to banish Ogun from the kingdom (5).

With Superior argument and blackmail, the chiefs successfully cajole Oba Orobiru into banishing his brother (the right heir to the throne) to the evil forest and never to set foot on the soil of Benin kingdom again.

**OKOBIRU:** Enough of your savoury words. I have decided that you leave the kingdom of Benin at once. You are burnished out of the kingdom of Benin at once. You are banished out of this kingdom for as long as I remain on the throne. My guards will take you to Unuame on the Ovia River... Any day you ever set foot on the soil of Benin kingdom, while I am seated on this throne, you will become a dead man. Do you understand? A dead man I say, Ogun (10).

This corruption and injustice continues as Irughe (Ogun's younger brother) who accompanies him in exile usurps the throne. Irughe takes the title of Oba Uwafiokun. Much later, it is discovered that *Emotan* is the brain behind Ogun's efforts to regain the throne. Several plans are made to thwart *Emotan*'s efforts including a plot to marry her into the Oba's harem.

**IHAMAMA:** She is a very pretty woman. She has never had any child. If you ask my opinion, I think you should "bae igban" and put her in your harem. Let her become one of your numerous wives under the care of your "Eson". She will in no time be engaged in domestic trivialities. I feel this is a better plan than asking an army to go seek mere *Emotan*. It will be like using a cutlass to kill an ant. (22)

Focused and determined as she is, Emotan refuses to be grounded in whatever form including the royal privilege of becoming a queen. She responds thus:

**EMOTAN:** I would rather die than become a queen in Oba Uwafiokun's harem, the usurper, the traitor, the schemer. I would rather die; you can take my corpse to him when I am dead (30-31)

In the play, Ogun's younger brother who usurped the throne taking the title of Uwafiokun is prodded on by the advisers. These advisers are charlatans and sycophants. Over the years in Nigeria, charlatan and sycophantic advisers have been the bane of ideal leadership. These advisers have a way of surfacing in every successive government since independence in Nigeria. Iyase's speech corroborates this assertion.

**IYASE:** We congratulate your majesty for your successful ascension to the throne of Benin. We assure you of our continued support and loyalty. Oba Ugha to Okpere (13).

Former military president Ibrahim Babangida was wrongly advised to annul the 1993 presidential election believed to have been won by late Chief M.K.O Abiola. Late General Sani Abacha who took over from General Babangida was equally advised by his advisers to transmute into a civilian president. In 2006, chief Olusegun Obasanjo, the then president was equally advised to contest for a third term in office. A power drunk leadership that seeks to hunt down perceived opposition is what we find in *Emotan*. Oba Uwafiokun seeks to haunt Emotan whom he sees as a threat. He says to Isoken, his queen:

**UWA:** I am in control, I am disturbed no doubt but I am still in control. I can handle Emotan myself, I will deal with her personally (36)

Under President Olusegun Obasanjo's tenure, Nigerians lived in a siege as all perceived oppositions were clamped on. A state of emergency was declared in Plateau and Ekiti States. Prince Ogun who later becomes the Oba with the title of Oba Ewuare the Great is an epitome of ideal leadership. He rewards deserving citizens for their selfless service. He equally dispenses justice equitably. Emotan is rewarded for her sacrifice and service to Benin kingdom.

**EWUARE:** Emotan, I mourn for you. You shall become a national deity. The ground on which you will be buried shall be known as Emotan square. There probably would have been no Benin without your singular sacrifice (93)

This is the hallmark of good leadership. In a most dramatic twist of fate, President Muhammadu Buhari recently apologized to the family of Chief M.K.O Abiola for the annulment of the June 12 1993 Presidential election won by Chief M. K.O. Abiola the symbol of Nigeria's present democratic process. President Muhammadu Buhari equally honoured Chief M. K.O. Abiola with a post humous Grand Commander of the Federal Republic (G.C.F.R). An honour reserved only for

Presidents in Nigeria President Muhammadu Buhari has finally exorcised the ghosts of the June 12, 1993 Presidential election debacle. This action indeed gives meat to an old Igbo proverb which says that “What two persons have seen and confirmed to be a boa must not be mistaken for a piece of diamond. Selfless sacrifice in *Emotan* is depicted in *Emotan* as a woman who puts her life on the line to ensure that justice prevails in Benin kingdom. She refuses to present “ewere leaves” (the leaf of peace) to Oba Uwafiokun during the Ewere festival. This action draws the ire of Oba Uwafiokun.

**UWA:** Ogbe ma gbaro, Ogba mavbe diaru. (Looking a bit worried) My chiefs, did you notice that *Emotan* refused to present her ewere leaves!

**ESOGBAN:** Your Majesty, keep your mind at rest. We are with you. Who is *Emotan*? A mere woman who cannot hurt a fly.

**IYASE:** Your Majesty, that is sabotage. She must be kept under close observation. If she persists, your Ogiamwe can take care of her (21-23)

*Emotan* is both a follower and a leader who mobilizes the women and gives them a voice in a male – dominated society. *Emotan* and the women so to say, are the conscience of the kingdom. This brings to fore Wole Soyinka’s submission that “the man dies in all who keep silent in the face of tyranny” (23). In the heydays of Abacha’s tyranny and political maneuvering, Wole Soyinka, late Chief Anthony Enahoro, late Chief Abraham Adesanya, late Chief Alex Ekwueme and other pro-democracy activists stood their ground and spoke their resentment of the junta. Late Chief Bola Ige described the five political parties midwifed by Abacha as “the five fingers of a leprous hand.” Our leaders today are a far cry from “fathers” like Abraham Lincoln, Nelson Mandela, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Uthman Dan Fodio and others. This has been the bane of our development as a nation. *Emotan* as a leader is able to raise an army to reclaim the throne for Prince Ogun. Faced with the prospect of sacrificing her life in order for Prince Ogun to gain his throne, *Emotan* says:

**EMOTAN:** I will lay down my life for the throne of Benin. I will, I will. Difficult though it may be, I have no choice. I am ready to pay the price. Benin will know peace, Benin will know prosperity and fame (64-65)

*Emotan* is eulogized as a leader in Act 5 scene 4 in this manner:

**ADESUWA:**...You encouraged us to come out of our home and trade at the market... where can we ever find a woman, a leader, a mother, a friend and a fighter like you? (93)

*Emotan* displayed self sacrifice and selfless service that should ideally accompany true and genuine leadership. This is indeed in consonance with late Ambassador Maitama Sule’s assertion that a leader should display “the philosophy of the herdsman”. He says the herdsman is ready and prepared to die for his cattle. In like manner, a selfless leader should give his all in service to his fatherland. Patriots

like Kwame Nkrumah, Thomas Sankara, Samora Machel, Che Guevara, Amilcar Cabral, Nelson Mandela and others were indeed herdsmen who gave their all in service to humanity. Emotan could be referred to as a Martyr for our present leaders to emulate. Selfless service is not assuming an office of responsibility and coming out financially richer than you went in. on the contrary, ideal leadership is a period of stewardship knowing that you are accountable to the people. Adam Oshiomhole, the immediate past governor of Edo State, maintains that:

Leadership is about courage, conviction and being able to act – we need our political leadership to go back to the basics and not the symbolism we currently witness, I think the quality of the Nigerian leadership deteriorated from the days of the military up to the moment that we got our priorities wrong... The way forward is for us, the leaders to go back to the basics and ask ourselves what the issues are... (13)

### **The Playwright as a Catalyst: Salami as Example**

Countries like France, Russia, China, Burkinafaso, Madagascar, Tunisia and Egypt (Arab spring) and others have gone through hard and turbulent periods or what is generally regarded as people's revolutions in an attempt to correct certain systemic problems (Asigbo and Utoh-Ezeajugh 514). Sadly though, these systemic problems seem to be more prevalent in African and third world countries. These anomalies are engendered by inept leaders who find themselves in the corridors of power yet unprepared for leadership. In their desperation to remain in power, they do all they can to subvert the will of the masses as well as gagging the press. This is what Salami exposes in her play *Emotan*. Salami as a catalyst uses her dramatic oeuvre to conscientize and galvanize the people to stand against the injustices and bad leadership bedeviling the Nigerian nation. As a catalyst and a vanguard, she deploys her theatre to, not only identify the problems but also hazard possible panacea – the undertaking of a people's revolution as a solution to the ineptitude of our leaders since independence. Corroborating this writer's view on the role of Salami as a catalyst and a vanguard, Emmanuel Dandaura affirms that the, "Playwright is a member of the society, so naturally, his artistic sensibilities are shaped and sharpened by the socio-economic conditions and political happenings of his time" (2)

The playwright affects society through his writings because he is not insulated from happenings in his society. The playwright therefore plays the important role of a catalyst in his society using his dramatic oeuvre to sensitize and guide people's reactions to current socio-economic and political happenings. Salami is convinced that the only way out of the dark tunnel of bad leadership is through the hard way. This is why Emotan mobilizes an army to unseat Oba Uwafiokun, the usurper. Emotan equally sacrifices her life to ensure victory and the enthronement of Prince Ogun as the Oba. Salami advocates a mass upheaval to overthrow hoodlums in the garb of leaders that bestride the country's political space. In support of this standpoint, Alex Asigbo in *War of the Tin Gods* says: "Blood is the only sacrifice that can guarantee a brighter future. It is the only sacrifice that can expiate the sins of this nation"(36). From history, playwrights have always felt like Asigbo that "Those who

make peaceful change impossible, who remain impervious to the wishes of the opposition, make violent change inevitable” (41-42). Many playwrights have had to cool their heels in various detention facilities for daring to bring up to ridicule the idiosyncrasies of draconian rulers. Nonetheless, contemporary African playwrights have not faltered in using their plays as weapons of conscientization, sensitization and mass mobilization, Wole Soyinka in his *A Play of Giants*, satirizes tyranny and military dictatorships, Femi Osofisan in *Who is Afraid of Solarin* and *Midnight Hotel* lampoons corrupt leadership, Esiaba Irobi in his *Hangmen Also Die* x-rays the issue of embezzlement, Bode Sowande in *Farewell To Babylon* treats bourgeois domination and its resultant backlash – revolt, J. P. Clark in *All for Oil* takes a look at exploitation, Femi Branch, whose stage play titled *Po* performed at Tena Kulture, Victoria Island, Lagos, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of September, 2014, exposes the atrocious activities of the political class – leaders, who would do anything to hold on to power to the detriment of the poor masses as well as using the electorates as instruments to achieve their selfish interest (Sam-Duru, 52), Emeka Nwabueze equally lampoons a corrupt parliament as the bane of altruistic leadership in *A Parliament of Vultures*.

### **Conclusion**

Nigerian leaders have over the years found themselves on the lower rung of moral and ethical degeneracy. This is the reason why Nigerian playwrights have consistently taken a swipe at the corruption, ineptitude and follies of our leaders since independence. Playwrights like Salami and others are catalysts yearning for a desired change of the prevailing status quo. These prevailing anomalies leaves us with the view that we are not yet out of the tunnel as far as bad leadership is concerned. This prompts this writer to submit that Nigeria as a nation has never had selfless and forthright leaders who have shown themselves to be magnanimous in victory and gracious in defeat as it were. This seems to be why we have not made any meaningful progress as a nation since independence. Hence, the timely warning of Dele Sobowale that “the economy of Nigeria will get nowhere until we muscle the big thieves” (7)

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**DISCRETION, THE BETTER PART OF VALOUR: READINGS FROM  
NELSON MANDELA'S *LONG WALK TO FREEDOM***

**Ogechukwu A. Ikediugwu**

**Introduction**

Apartheid is a legalized system of racial discrimination that is influenced by the emergence of the Afrikaner nationalism. N. Worden writes that apartheid is an ideology that promotes the Afrikaner supremacy and pride in response to the British invasion as well as the threat from the black who are resisting subordination. Apartheid is not only a system of racial discrimination; it is also an imposed separation or segregation of the black and the white in the areas of government, labour market and residency. Mavis B. Mhlauli posits that apartheid is pervasive because it is deeply embedded within the economic, social and political structures of South Africa. To implement its policy of divide and rule, the National Party passes a series of laws which include the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage, the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act which promotes the placement of the black and the white in separate residential areas on a comprehensive and compulsory basis, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act which enforces segregation in the use of public facilities like transport, cinemas, restaurants and sports facilities, the Bantu Education Act which is a policy for separate schooling and curriculum on the basis of race. A curriculum which emphasizes the Bantu Culture is eventually introduced. K. Hartshorne describes the Bantu culture as largely rural, static and a clear attempt to create a limited vision of the black within the broader context of South Africa. The introduction of the use of mother tongue in schools is basically not an advantage for the black because it is perceived to be myopic and unable to capture some of the scientific concepts, and it also lacks the standard orthography. This is a plan to subjugate the black and render them economically, socially and politically inferior through education.

The black people and the coloured people do not fold their hands looking at these suppressive laws: they fight and resist them tirelessly. In this regard, several political parties are formed and the prominent one among them is the African National Congress (ANC) which is a party Nelson Mandela champions and dedicates his life fighting its cause. However, the National Party becomes ever more determined to curb these oppositions and resistances by passing the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, which increases the police force and gives the law enforcement agents more power to deal with the protesters. The implication is that the power of state control is even more fortified and brutal. The brutal attitude of the government forces the ANC, under Mandela, to drop its peaceful approach and decide to match violence with violence. But the black cannot effectively match violence with violence because the white minority is in control of the national power and they are backed by the West. It is in this guise that Mandela, along with others, is sentenced to life imprisonment in 1963. The struggle continues.

Stuart J. Kaufman submits that the diversity of South Africa's population goes far beyond the division between black and white. Apartheid South Africa distinguishes between four racial groups - black, white, coloured (people of mixed race, mostly Afrikaans-speakers) and Indians. He gives the population of each race as follows: in 2010, the black comprise 79.4% of the population, the white comprise 9.2%, the coloured have 8.9% and Indians or Asians have 2.6%. He records that while the relative size of the white population has been declining in recent decades, the black have always comprised the overwhelming majority of the population. He posits that the main reasons the minority sustains apartheid are to enable them to keep a steady supply of cheap black labour available to the mines, reserving all political power and skilled and supervisory jobs for the white (6-8). This is because, according to Moodie, "... in the Boer view blacks were the 'sons of Ham' destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water" (29). Kaufman identifies Hendrik Verwoerd as the architect of apartheid. He also identifies the premises on which apartheid is sustained as: the belief that South Africa is a white republic and must be ruled by a white man; the Whiteman is of incalculable importance for civilization and history and will always be needed where order, peace and progress are desired (16).

Lwazi S. Lushaba sees apartheid as a system designed for the white capitalist interests, logically ending in the domination and exploitation of the majority black working class. In strict class terms, the means of production are an exclusive preserve of the white bourgeoisies while the black are inserted into the apartheid capitalist edifice as providers of labour. The organization of the superstructure corresponds with the capitalist dictates of wealth accumulation by the minority white bourgeoisie (116). The theory of apartheid is relevant in this essay because it focuses on Mandela's discreet actions to dismantle apartheid system in South Africa.

### **Review of Literature**

Not much has been written on Mandela's *Long Walk to Freedom* but more than enough has been written on Mandela and Apartheid in South Africa. Biko Agozino records that the idea that certain people are predisposed to criminality as a result of genetic inheritance is difficult to reconcile with the politics of a revolutionary like Mandela because such a theory belongs to crude biological determinism of the sort embraced by fascists like apartheid officials. According to Agozino, Mandela remains on the terrorist watch list of the US Government until 2008 even after the distinction of being the first black and first democratically elected president of a new South Africa. UK officials who also are opposed to his release from prison join the US in supporting the apartheid regime for decades and continue to call him a terrorist. But Obama and numerous leaders around the globe are different: Obama challenges his audience during Mandela's funeral that the leaders of the world should emulate his example of humble leadership devoid of bitterness instead of continuing to oppress their own people. Agozino notes that Mandela practices criminology as peacemaking and criminology as love making by seizing the opportunity to open dialogues with the wicked white supremacist regime

at a time that hardline ANC supporters prefer to continue the armed struggle and defeat the apartheid regime militarily.

Penny Johnson posits that Nelson Mandela spent his young life fighting for the freedom of South Africa's black and coloured populations from oppression imposed by the minority government. He is imprisoned for twenty seven years. Soon after his release, he becomes the first president of South Africa in elections in which all the people could vote. Mandela gives great priority to reconciliation between the races in spite of the brutality of the previous regime and his own personal suffering. He never falters in his beliefs in democracy, equality and learning, holding out the hand of peace to those who had oppressed and deprived others.

Mavis Mhlauli examines apartheid in South Africa, using Mills theory of racial contract to understand how the system operates and flourishes in South Africa. His paper draws from the different tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT). It provides an illuminating overview of apartheid and uses education, legislation and religion as examples to unpack the racial inequalities that were rampant in the then South Africa. Mhlauli explains the racial contract and uses it as an analytical tool to interrogate racism in South Africa. He recommends that for South Africa to transform, it has to understand the modus operandi of racism from a critical race theory perspective in order to unearth the subtle nature of its manifestation in the post apartheid era.

Kaufman investigates the factors that make South Africa's negotiated transition to majority rule politically possible. Among the white, the key factors include the decline in fears of the global Communist threat, the collapse of the racist symbolic politics that had propelled apartheid policy, trust for F.W de Klerk and clever framing of the National Party's message in a 1992 referendum campaign. Among the black, negotiations are easily accepted by a public opinion that was notably more moderate than were the ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela and that also had a substantial amount of trust in de Klerk. However, both de Klerk and Mandela fail to get all of their followers to accept restraint; the result is a civil war that has killed over ten thousand people while the negotiations are underway. Though the above reviews resemble this essay in the area of apartheid, the essay distinguishes itself from them in that it is an indepth assessment of Mandela's decisions and actions in his quests to dismantle apartheid system in South Africa. Though apartheid system has come and gone, its study is still very relevant because it is a part of African history and it is necessary that the younger generation should know what their forebears passed through in their lives as a people.

### **Analysis of the Text**

There are decisions and actions which, when taken by warriors, are capable of marring or enhancing victories in the war fronts. Certain decisions taken by Mandela and the ANC to achieve freedom in South Africa are quite discreet and commendable. Mandela's advice to "the Twenty- five MK political prisoners to accept the government's offer of amnesty and leave the [Robin] Island" (581) is

discreet and remarkable. The men have earlier refused the offer on the ground that “they would leave [the prison] only after a victory on the battle field, not the negotiating table. They were fiercely opposed to this particular settlement, in which they had to enumerate their crimes before receiving indemnity” (581). In as much as Mandela appreciates their sentiments, he also understands that they are very unrealistic because the black people are not a match to the white minority government when it comes to the possession of sophisticated military weapons. He acknowledges that “every soldier would like to defeat his enemy on the field, but in this case, such a victory was out of reach. The struggle was now at the negotiating table, I [Mandela] argued that they were not advancing the cause by remaining in jail. They could be of greater service outside than inside” (581). The men’s stance on the matter is only a youthful exuberance that lacks discretion. They fail to understand that, for the black, such victory is not forth coming, because, according to Ezenwa Ohaeto, “gallantly alone hardly wins a war where the latest technological inventions are deployed” (59). Kayode Afolayan’s record is correct. He writes that the white minorities “were backed by Western powers, influential groups and syndicates, [and they] had their hands on the instruments of power of the nation and the blacks, landlords,... became slaves in their own country” (47). What informs Mandela’s advice is the knowledge of the oppressors’ military advantage. The men eventually see reasons with him and leave the Prison.

The ANC’s compromise to suspend the armed struggle to give room for negotiations is also discreet. This is because, the National Party has repeatedly announced that “it would not negotiate with any organization that advocated violence” and it will be hard for the party to “suddenly announce its talks with the ANC without losing its credibility.... In order for us to begin talks... [Mandela advises that]...the ANC must make some compromises so that the government would not lose face with its own people” (537). Mandela argues that the suspension can easily be called off whenever the need arises. He is aware, according to the text, that “it was the reality and the threat of the armed struggle that had brought the government to the verge of negotiations” (568). Negotiation is good but when pressed to the wall, violence becomes inevitable. This is what informs Vikash Kumar’s submission that “the oppressed tend to come down to the level of the oppressors in the use of violence in order to regain their lost self esteem” (199). In physical combats, the black perish more than the white because of the sophisticated ammunitions. The compromise yields the required dividend. According to Mandela,

On August 6, in Pretoria, the ANC and the government signed what became known as the Pretoria Minute, in which we agreed to suspend armed struggle .... The agreement also set forth target dates for the release of political prisoners and the granting of certain types of indemnity. The process of indemnity was scheduled to be completed by May 1991, and the government also, agreed to review the Internal Security Act(586).

Even Obama, the immediate past US President, recognizes the importance of compromise in dealing with national issues. Justin Leroy posits that Obama’s

message is “the promise of a politics of unity and change, a politics that acknowledges difference of identity and interest but at the same time insists upon the need for compromise and co-operation to achieve the common good” (qtd in Tolson; 38). There is no need emphasizing that compromise is necessary, the world over, in dealing with national and international matters. Mandela repeatedly visits Mr. de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi and signs agreements that are aimed at restoring peace in the country. These actions are diplomatic. He understands that Buthelezi and his organization are opposed to peaceful negotiations and that the President, who does not like the trends of the negotiation, is aiding Buthelezi to perpetuate violence against the ANC members so as to forestall the negotiations. The evidence of this assertion is not only because the government allows Chief Buthelezi’s organization to be carrying weapons to their rallies and conferences, he also keeps mute and does nothing while all the killings perpetuated by the police and the Buthelezi’s organization go on in the State. Mandela intensifies his pressures for the negotiations for he is aware that matching violence with violence will cause more deaths for his people since they have no arms to contain this violence. Achieving peace through negotiations is the only way out of the problem. It is a situation such as this that makes this essay to oppose Stuart J. Kaufman’s position that the “main hero of the negotiation process was F.W de Klerk, who courageously passed the point of no return early in his presidency by unbanning the ANC and other opposition groups, and who managed to keep his reformist government on the path to a negotiated settlement in the face of fierce opposition by hardline opponents” (1). This position is a sharp contrast to the government’s actions in the text. A government that truly endorses peaceful negotiation will not go behind to encourage and perpetuate violence because violence and negotiation do not exist side by side. Pressures must have compelled him to embark on negotiation and when the trend of the negotiations is not favouring the white, the government does everything within its power to forestall it. This, no doubt, makes this essay to conclude that the hero of the negotiation is Mandela because he has pressurized for it and has been consistent and persistent from the beginning to the end. The negotiation embarked upon by the government must have been a ruse. The fact is that the government is not progressive because, in the words of Ezeani, “A healthy and progressive country is one where no group, no matter how small in numerical calculations, is a victim of discrimination or injustice” (203). A government that truly encourages negotiation should follow the line of justice and fair play. The text makes it obvious that Mr. de Klerk is afraid of majority rule and its effects on the white minority. So the “government seemed prepared to wait indefinitely; their thinking was that the longer we [the ANC] waited, the more support we would lose” (602). But the ANC and its allies are not prepared to wait indefinitely. So they agree on a policy of “rolling mass action” which is not only aimed at exposing to the government the extent of the people’s support the ANC enjoys but also to show the government that the black are no longer prepared to wait forever to gain their freedom. Although the demonstrations are not without many casualties, “the tragedy of Bisho led to a new opening in the negotiations” (605). According to Mandela, “I met with Mr. de Klerk in order to find common ground and

avoid a repetition of another tragedy like Bisho. Our respective negotiators began meeting regularly” (605). This was in Sept., 1992. The demonstrations and strikes are well-timed: although many lose their lives, the deaths help to further negotiations and to bring freedom into focus. The decisions and actions are in the right direction. It is on this date, Sept. 26 that Mr. de Klerk and Mandela sign:

The Record of Understanding, an agreement which set the mold for all the negotiations that followed. The agreement established an independent body to review police actions... and banned the display of traditional weapons at rallies. The real importance of the Record of Understanding was that it broke the constitutional deadlock of CODESA 2. The government finally agreed to accept a single, elected constitutional assembly, which would adopt a new constitution and serve as a transitional legislature for the new government. All that was left to negotiate was a date for the election of the assembly and the percentage of majorities necessary for it to reach its decisions. We were now aligned on the basic framework that would take the country into a democratic future. (606)

Mandela’s refusal to surrender his organization’s weapons as requested by the government under De Klerk is discreet. The implication of surrendering the weapons is that the ANC members cannot defend themselves when they are pushed to the wall by the government and its allies. The ANC through Mandela tells CODESA that “... we would turn in our weapons only when we were a part of the government collecting those weapons” (596). It would have been suicidal if they had released the weapons because of the double standard the government had adopted. From the look of things, it would have amounted to using the ANC’s weapons to massacre its members. After Mandela’s reports to the CODESA, he still turns round and shakes De Klerk’s hands. That shaking of hands is both diplomatic and symbolic. It symbolizes a seal of friendship between De Klerk and the black. It is diplomatic because it will help to still make the negotiations possible for the required dividends are realizable through peaceful and friendly negotiations. ANC and Mandela also apply discretion during the murder of Chris Hani, “the former Chief of MK, and one of the popular figures in the ANC” (607). The people decide to go to war but Mandela warns that all these killings are geared towards forestalling the negotiations and prolonging the freedom of the people. He addresses the people: “... the process of peace and negotiations could not be halted. With all the authority at my command, I appeal to all our people to remain calm and to honour the memory of Chris Hani by remaining a disciplined force for peace”(608). He knows that “the murder was an act of mad desperation, an attempt to derail the negotiations process.... The assassination of Chris was an attempt by white supremacists to arrest the inevitable. They preferred that the country descend into civil war rather than have majority rule by peaceful means”(608-609). To prevent “retaliating violence” (609), the ANC “arranged a weeklong series of mass rallies and demonstrations throughout the country. This would give people a means of expressing their frustration without resorting to violence”(609). All this helps to further the negotiations. Mandela has studied the

white South Africans and realized that they are difficult and problematic and that for the black to achieve freedom, there are needs for sacrifices and compromises. It is just as Emmanuel Obiechina has written: “out of every serious crisis in the life of a people there comes a deepening of insight into the true nature of man and of the human society” (52).

ANC’s insistence on using “a single ballot paper for the election, rather than separate ballots for national and provincial legislators” (611) is discreet. This is because, not only that the majority of the voters are voting for the first time in their lives, most of them are illiterates who can easily be confused with separate ballot papers. Unlike the black, the white are literate and conversant with voting. Mandela and his group do not want to create a loophole which the government can easily manoeuvre to stumble into victory at the expense of the black South Africans. Following their insistence and pressures from the outside world, the government is compelled to capitulate and give free and fair election a chance to rule in South Africa. Although there are manipulations of ballot papers at some white dominated places, they are not grievous enough to prevent justice from taking its course. The credit goes to Mandela and his group’s doggedness.

In the New Year, when the transitional executive council (selected from all parties) starts working for the elections entrusted into their hands, some parties start to opt out for some clumsy reasons, not minding that the deadline for registration is very close. The text has it that: “Inkatha, the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaner Volksfront failed to sign. The government of the Bophuthatswana homeland also refused to participate and resisted reincorporation into a united South Africa” (615). A credible election cannot go on without these parties in attendance. Mandela, through the ANC and its allies, takes some diplomatic compromises: “we agreed to the use of double ballots for provincial and national legislatures; guarantees of greater provincial powers; the renaming of Natal province as Kwa Zulu/Natal; and the affirmation that a principle of internal self determination would be included in the constitution for groups sharing a common cultural and language heritage” (615). According to the text, Mandela is ready to carry out more compromises and to practically kneel down to beg the leaders of these organizations to allow the elections to prevail in order to avoid shedding more blood. This diplomatic decision works very well: Chief Buthelezi agrees to provisionally register for the elections in exchange to a promise to subject their differences over constitutional issues to international mediation; and General Viljoen endorses the election and registers in a new party, Freedom Front. The white minority had earlier called the elections a betrayal and had intended to hide under the indigenous leaders to perpetuate apartheid. The indigenous leaders endorsement of the elections is a victory for the black Africans, achieved through Mandela’s discretion. When, much later, the Inkatha people are informed that the election date is not subject to mediation, they refuse to see the mediators who take their leave without talking to anyone. By this time, nothing is at the stake and Chief Buthelezi knows that the elections must take place and that his decision does not matter anymore. He is therefore compelled to accept the offer of a constitutional role for the Zulu monarchy and he agrees to participate in the elections. There are

skirmishes in other areas but they are not strong enough to stop the elections. The credit for this goes to Mandela's discreet actions and diplomatic compromises. He is able to outwit both the mischievous black leaders and the white minority government and make them look foolish in their ugly and selfish designs. Festus Okafors' record is very appropriate in Mandela's actions. He submits that, "in our collective struggle to build a better society our patriotism should be sincere and should be ennobled by clear thinking and objective reality. In very serious issues, our actions should be based on well reasoned and properly articulated principles" (54). In his pursuit of freedom for his people, Mandela is sincerely committed, focused, objective, and patriotic and applies appropriate discretions to achieve his aim. Ezeani posits that, "no people will be said to have dignity when they are not proud of themselves, or when they do not cherish and value what and who they are and what they have" (210). Mandela is determined to restore the dignity of his people, to cherish and value the environment they find themselves, to participate in controlling their land, and live in peace with other peoples in South Africa. Mandela, according to Mhlauhi Worden, believes that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people... The rights of the people shall be the same regardless of race, color or sex, All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside" (208).

Judging from the incidents highlighted above, it is clearly discernible that Mandela applies appropriate and commendable discretions in handling the matters concerning the South African black. But Mandela seems not to have used such wonderful discretions in the things that pertain to him personally. His decision to leave the Fort Hare University after spending some years lacks proper discretion. He takes this decision without involving the Regent, his guardian. By leaving the university at that point in time, he has sacrificed his career and he is meant to start all over again. His decision has adverse consequences for his relatives and for himself. His resignation from the Student Representation Council and quitting his academic career has neither improved the students diet nor increased the SRC's powers in the school. Life is not as rigid as he has taken it here: it is full of compromises. His earlier plan was to get a university degree and, with it, secure a lucrative job that would enable him cater for his mother and siblings. By quitting the university the way he did, he has not only failed himself, the Regent, his mother and siblings, he has also failed the students because he cannot fight for them while he is outside the school. He should have accepted his position in the SRC and then used it as a base in fighting for the students' cause. This is his initial mistake in life and, after it, he comes to realize that life is full of compromises: it is far from being a one way traffic.

Evelyn and Mandela can no longer live as husband and wife. This is because, as Mandela himself has reported, "I could not give up my life in the struggle, and she could not live with my devotion to something other than herself and the family...In the end, we could not make our marriage work" (208). Everything is wrong with this decision to separate completely from his family. The children are drastically affected by the separation but this does not make either party to change their minds and reach a compromise. Mandela, towards the end of the text, regrets his action concerning his

family life. He says: “when your life is the struggle, as mine was, there is little room left for family. That has always been my greatest regret, and the most painful aspect of the choice I made” (600). The remote cause of his separation from Winnie, his second wife, is traceable from his struggle: everything went wrong while he was in prison for twenty two years. When he was released, things could not normalize as he wanted them. Separation became inevitable. I think that what Mandela should have done would have been to leave off entering into any marital relationship with any woman till he was through with the life of struggle. He married his third wife after his struggles and they lived till the end of his life. It is normal and natural that no woman likes to marry a husband who does not pay attention to his family. I am sure that if Mandela is to relive his life on earth, he will not repeat that costly mistake. Everybody is selfish to an extent and that is why Plato says that it is natural to give yourself a large portion of the cake when you are sharing it out. His first duty is to his family and then to his state.

The two issues that earn Mandela seven days in isolations in the Robin Island Prison would have been prevented if he had applied his discretion appropriately. He picks a newspaper that is lying on a bench in the corridor: he is anxious to know what is happening outside the cell. That is understandable and natural because they are shut off from the happenings outside the prison. He knows the safer time to read the newspaper but he fails to do so. He says: “normally I would have hidden the newspaper somewhere in my cell and taken it out only after bed time” (415). As a result of this unthoughtful action, he earns himself “three days in isolation and deprivation of meals” (415). He knows the implication of his action and goes ahead to do it: what does he gain by punishing himself unduly? This punishment would have been prevented if he had exercised a little patience. As if this punishment is not enough lesson for him, when Brigadier Aucamp visits the Prison from the Head Office, Mandela walks towards him and stubbornly ignores the Prison’s Commanding Officer’s order to go back to his work. How does he expect the Brigadier to disregard the officer and attend to him. It is not proper and this should have occurred to him. Aucamp is not happy with him and orders the warders to “charge him” (417). This stubbornness earns him “four days in isolation” (417). All these would have been averted if he had been more discreet. The lengthy deprivation of food can cause him ill health which may lead to the loss of his life. And when this is the case, he loses the opportunity of fighting for his country and rejoining his family.

### **Conclusion**

The essay establishes that there are discreet decisions and actions that are remarkable and worth commendation in Mandela’s pursuit of freedom in South Africa. Mandela’s advice to the twenty - five MK political prisoners to accept the government offer of amnesty and leave the Robin Island prison is remarkable. As Mandela has argued, they will be of better service to the state outside the prison than inside it. Mandela’s suspension of the ANC’s armed struggle which gives room for peaceful negotiations is discreet since there is no prospect of the black defeating the enemy in the battle field.

Mandela's repeated appeals to get Mr. de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi sign the record of Understanding Agreement are diplomatic and discreet. They help to further the movements towards a democratic government. The essay notes that Mandela's decision not to surrender the ANC's weapons is a decision in the right direction because to do otherwise would have been suicidal for the black. His decision not to return violence for violence after the murder of Chris Hani is remarkable for it would have landed the state into a bloody civil war and forestall the negotiations. The essay records that Mandela's insistence on using a single ballot paper is discreet because the white would have taken advantage of the inexperienced and illiterate black people to manoeuvre the elections and win at the expense of the black people.

The essay observes that Mandela is discreet in things pertaining the state but he is not as discreet when it comes to the things concerning him personally. His decision to leave the Forte Hare University without completing his programme lacks discretion and so is his decision to break away from his family.

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