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## **Heroism as Neurosis: Pejorism in Ama Ata Aidoo's *The Dilemma of a Ghost***

**Emeka Nwabueze**

Ama Ata Aidoo's *The Dilemma of a Ghost* is a significant play in the corpus of modern African dramatic literature. Though generally regarded as unstructured drama dealing with social problems concerning issues prevalent in the contemporary society, the play deploys artistic innovations in its portrayal of theme and character. In this play, the extant riddle of which comes before the other, the hen or the egg, is very relevant. Thus, the question of whether character comes before plot becomes relevant because of the playwright's creative concerns. The hen started as an egg, and yet the egg was hatched by the hen. Some scholars argue that without a character there will be no story and consequently no plot. This is quite correct in the historical sense, but it is necessary to note that the duty of the playwright is to create incidents that have plausibility, incidents that are capable of happening in the society for a particular effect.

Plot grows out of situation based on the logic of cause and effect. When we say that a character is developing, what is implied is that the playwright is skilfully manipulating the situation in which the character has been placed, thus giving him the opportunity to speak, reason, act and interact according to the moral quality of his personality and his sense of integrity. In *The Dilemma of a Ghost* the playwright creates a protagonist or a hero through whom the plot unfolds. Ama Ata Aidoo creates Ato Yawson as the major character through whom the play's major actions are portrayed. After establishing the protagonist she creates a conflict which appears quite late in the play in order to establish the sequence of action and prepare the reader for the eventual pejorative actions that follow.

Ato Yawson, though from a poor family, manages to go to the United States of America where he falls in love with, and marries an American lady who does not understand the cultures of his people. In the United States of America where the action started, no problems are anticipated. But once home in Africa, problems begin to arise mainly as a result of the rigidity of traditional Africa culture and the fluidity of America culture.

Constructing a plot that is organic, coherent and unified, the playwright easily propels the play to its horrendous denouement. Utilizing a prologue and five acts, she significantly compresses the play, ensuring that the basic unities of place and action are observed. The setting is the courtyard of the newest wing of the Oduama Clan house. The wall of the old building encloses the terrace at the right hand corner, in order to link the present with the past, and centre the main action on the cultural conflict of inter-racial or inter-cultural marriage.

The prelude is designed as an introduction to the underlying situation that creates the need for the action of the play. It serves as the exposition of the plot, and is divided into two segments. Both segments are flashbacks which go very far in time

and place. The first segment introduces the economic imbalance of spending so much of the family funds on one individual:

But if in the making of  
One scholar  
Much is gone  
You stranger do not know (7).

The playwright suspends the information relating to the training in order to increase the interest of the reader. Rather, she goes on to narrate further expenses being made for this character, whom she describes as “one scholar”, to show that he is the first, and at present the only educated person in the family. As a result, there is a new addition to the house which will be reserved exclusively for his use. It is clear that this very important individual would not reside in the village, but since he is expected to come home on weekends and on festive occasions like Christmas, there is need for a secluded accommodation for his use. Apart from Christmas, the scholar is supposed to come home for other traditional activities, as reflected in the following statement:

And certainly, he must come home for blessings when the new yam has been harvested and the stools are sprinkled. The ghosts of the dead ancestors are invoked and there is no discord, only harmony and restoration of that which needs to be restored (p.8)

The concept of duality is introduced through the image of festivity. The Scholar is expected to be involved in festivals like Christmas due to his orientation as a modern man. But he is also expected to be involved in the traditional activities of his society, being first and foremost an African. It is this concept of duality that creates problems for the scholar.

The second segment introduces the two major characters, Ato Yawson and Eulalie Rush. It is their graduation day and that gives them the opportunity to ruminate on their future. From their discussion one notices that they want to get married and return to Africa. Quite early in this relationship, the disparity begins to intrude into their affairs, but they do not take it into serious consideration. They both profess to love each other and, as far as they believe, “that’s what matters” (10). By the end of the prologue, they both decide to postpone having children. They profess to create a paradise, and since having children will make him jealous, Ato declares that they should postpone having children as he could not bear to see Eulalie love someone else, not even his own children.

It is clear that this behavior is definitely un-Africa, and that Ato is just behaving according to the American culture which he has now internalized. But since he is returning to Africa where both of them will ultimately reside, he has to create an attitude, a face through which he has to face the paradoxes of his own personal existence. It is this creation that creates the neurotic stance in his psyche.

As the first act opens, two important archetypal characters are introduced. They, like Old Man and Old Woman in her other play, *Anowa*, act like choruses. They

gossip about other characters and create a yardstick through which their behaviour can be judged. From them (1st woman and Second Women), we notice that the story of Ato's return is known to the entire community, and that Ato's mother had continued to pile up debts in the effort to satisfy him. Their consolation is that with Ato's return the debts are expected to be cleared, thus heaping a major responsibility on Ato's head. In the African society, the return of a person from a foreign land who had acquired the proverbial Golden Fleece is supposed to improve the fortune of the family.

The introduction of simultaneous staging, a technique of presenting two incidents on stage at the same time, both serving as compliments to each other, helps the advance the plot further. For instance, as the two women speak, Esi Kom, Ato's mother, comes in, doing some symbolic chores. Neither the two women, nor Esi Kom, show any awareness of the existence of the other. But each scene adds to one's understanding of the other.

The family meeting that follows gives more insight into the culture of the people and the problems of the family. The first item in the agenda is marriage. The entire family is surprised that Ato claims to be married without giving them prior information, or even seeking their approbation. On inquiry about Eulalie's tribe, they are told that she has no tribe. Ato's effort to explain how a girl from a "white man's land" can be as black as Africans even causes more alarm. Nana, with a heavy heart, tells 1st Woman and Second Woman, who symbolically represent the community, that by marrying a girl from "the off-spring of slaves" Ato has brought calamity to the family.

Scene Two which takes place weeks after the first act, characteristically opens with the 1st Woman and 2<sup>nd</sup> Women, who are returning from the woods. As usual, they gossip about Ato's mother Esi Kom, reiterating her major problems. Further information is given about Ato. We now know that prior to his marriage to Eulalie, he had negotiated for the marriage of the daughter of Yaw Mensa, but had abandoned the arrangement and taken a foreign wife. No reason is given for his decision, resulting in the conclusion that Ato is characteristically erratic.

Eulalie's soliloquy and her happiness to be in Africa which, she believes, is her original root, is quite significant. Though considerably happy, she expresses the typical American stereotype about Africa by expecting to see lions and other wild animals. As the soliloquy progresses, the voice of Eulalie's mother continues to intrude from back stage giving the impression of a discussion between Eulalie and her mother. Eulalie's fears of aspects of African culture as exemplified in her fear of the drums and the terror on the possibility of witch-hunting is apparent. Applying the panoramic style, a method of showing many incidents in one unified act in order to give the reader a more comprehensive view of the proceeding, the playwright portrays various images of the people in the family.

When Ato and Eulalie come for the week-end, two anonymous characters, Boy and Girl, are introduced for a more exploration of Ato's mind. They sing a song called "The Ghost". The gist of the song is that a ghost is confronted with a choice between going to Elmina or Cape Coast, but he is unable to decide where to go to. The

importance of this concept is that both towns symbolically represent both cultural and modern metropolitan cities. The song appears quite clear in Ato's head but his inability to see the Boy and Girl when he is looking for them shows that the playwright uses them merely to portray the psychological state of Ato's mind. Ato is neither completely a metropolitan man, nor fully a cultural African. He finds it difficult to know where to turn his attention to. As a result he lives in a "no-man's land" since he wants to belong to one, but his dilemma does not allow him to make a clear choice. Ato who considers the incident of Boy and Girl a dream is, nevertheless, worried about the Boy's look. He tells his uncle. "But uncle, the Boy looked like me when I as child " (30). Though Ato appears to recognize the unwelcome truths about his personality, he is unable to achieve therapy because of his reluctance to jettison suppressed feelings and emotional conflicts, preferring more to continue his romantic heroism and allowing individualistic and idiosyncratic forces to take control of his psyche. Living in the world of two ideals results in double jeopardy for Ato and this causes him to be overwhelmed by philosophic problems of existence leading to his eventual resort to escapism.

The issue of Eulalie's integration into Ato's family is portrayed in slow motion. It starts with disagreement about such trivial item as food, and reaches a climax with a quarrel over a serious issue like procreation. First Ato's uncle, Petu who has harvested some cocoyams from the farm, wants to bring some to Ato and his wife. Eulalie could not even appreciate the visit and complains: "This means the whole lot of them will be coming to see us" (p.20). They decide to go and see the new Methodist school to avert the problem of receiving unwanted visitors. Later, Esi Kom enters their house without permission. She brings snails, which she considers a very delicious African delicacy, but Eulalie describes them as "horrid creatures" and throws them away. Monka, who has been spying on Eulalie, notices this and reports back to her mother, who wallows in lachrymose:

And what, my son? Do you not know how to eat them now? What kind of man are you growing into? Are you wife's taboos yours? Rather your taboos should be hers.

Clearly, the status of Esi Kom has not changed despite the fact that her son, Ato, is well paid. The fault is heaped on Eulalie who is described as lazy, inconsiderate, wasteful and unfortunately, barren. She is described as a woman who dissipates the family funds in the purchase of luxurious items without leaving any for her husband. The duality here concerns the idyllic society and the modern society. The interpretation of extravagance by a village woman is contrasted with the idea of realistic spending by an educated woman. The so-called luxurious items which they accuse Eulalie of wasting money on (stove, refrigerator, etc) are mere necessities to the modern woman.

The ritual of the "Sprinkling of the Stools" is a traditional ritual which involves the killing of goats and chicken and the sprinkling of herbal concoctions in the entire compound, while a man beats the gong behind them. In the traditional

society, this is a very important part of culture which is guaranteed to stabilize the family and drive away evil spirits. But to Eulalie, it is merely “a blasted mass” (41). The most important incident in this act is the cleansing of Eulalie’s stomach. As the family elders reveal, they have been unhappy at the fact that Ato’s wife has not had children for the family. Since this is considered a very serious problem, they have chosen the day of cleansing to tackle the evil that may have befallen her, and invoke the ancestors to give her a child. The ritual involves two distinct activities. First, Eulalie’s stomach should be washed with medicinal herbs. The second involves pouring of libation to the ancestors and requesting the dead “to come and remove the spirit of evil around you and pray them (to) bring you a child” (44). Ato fails to cooperate, and this causes the cessation of the ritual. When Ato and Eulalie discuss the incident, Eulalie is disappointed with Ato for not being a man and admitting to his people that they have no children not because his wife was barren but because they had decided to suspend having children. Ato’s image as a ghost, therefore, begins to manifest. Because of Ato’s attitude, members of his family, as well as the entire village, describe Eulalie caustically as “The Morning Sunshine”. This symbolizes fragility and inability to adapt to hard-work. This reference is borne out of the fact that Eulalie is considered luxurious and seen as dissipating her husband’s funds with reckless abandon.

The inevitable quarrel between Ato and Eulalie is motivated by the results of the previous incidents which collectively commingle to bring the play to its pejorative dimension. Ato’s inability to act like a man has begun to disturb Eulalie. This is why she is not happy with Ato’s constant complaint about what “his people” do not like about her behaviour. As far as Eulalie is concerned these complaints do not have much substance hence she decides to be herself and ignore whatever Ato’s people say. She maintains: “I have been drinking in spite of what your people say” (47).

The climax of the plot comes when Ato physically assaults Eulalie. The question of child birth and the decision of Ato’s family to ask that Eulalie strips before them in order that her stomach should be washed, is again brought up. Eulalie wonders why Ato could not intimate his people their decision to suspend having children. The argument reaches a stage where Eulalie call’s Ato’s people “these bastards, these narrow-minded savages” (48). This outburst causes Ato to be smack her on the cheek. She goes to the nearby school and sits on the grass with her head bowed. Ato is unaware of her destination and does not come back to the village until midnight, and from his discussion with his mother it is clear that he had gone to the city in search of Eulalie. The resolution becomes complete when Ato finally admits that his wife is not barren, that they had decided to suspend childbirth. Ato’s mother is shocked at such a decision, still wondering her son’s mental balance. This leads her to the realization: that the problem is not necessarily from Eulalie but from Ato., that through his behaviour he had encouraged his wife to call his people savages. Eulalie returns and Esi Kom supports her through the door that leads to the old house. This symbolizes her final integration into the Yawson family.

*The Dilemma of a Ghost* operates through an avalanche of symbols. A symbol is something which stands on itself and yet stands for, suggests or means something

else. As C. Hugh Holman points out, “a symbol is a trope which combines a literal and sensuous quality with an abstract or suggestive aspect” (519). A symbol, therefore, is an image or statement which, in invoking a concrete reality suggests another level of meaning. The symbol does not stand for the meaning, but evokes an object which suggests the meaning.

There are two broad types of symbols in literature. The first type relates to those symbols which suggest universal meaning, hence their meanings are generally perceived wherever they appear in a literary work, like the use of land and ocean to suggest time and eternity. The second type is that which reveals its suggestiveness (or meaning) from the way in which it is used in a given literary work. Symbolism, in *The Dilemma of a Ghost*, operates in this particular dimension. The symbol is not synonymous with metaphor. A metaphor is a word or a phrase which literally denotes one kind of object or idea used in place of another. It is an implied analogy which ascribes the qualities of one object to another. A symbol, on the other hand, expresses emotion not by describing it directly but by suggesting to the mind of the reader what the ideas or emotions stand for.

The symbol of ghost first manifests in a song. The “good” symbol is also related to the image of dilemma to complete the play’s symbolic title. The idea of a ghost occurs when a human being loses his humanness and is therefore incapable of fulfilling the basic expectations of human action. Ato’s world is not the world of the human being, as we know it. He is portrayed as a mere “ghost” of a person, and is neither able to play it straight to his wife nor confide in his family. The height of this obnoxious behaviour reaches its apogee when he succumbs to allow his wife to strip before the village elders and allow concoctions to be smeared on her stomach to cleanse her stomach and make her become pregnant. He lacks the humanness to tell them the truth and save them unnecessary waste of time and money, and save his wife unnecessary embarrassment.

Ama Ata Aidoo has portrayed her characters with significant complexity. She portrays the characters in such a way that they relate to the central theme of the play. As a result the play’s plot is unified around the central theme and the characters are portrayed essentially according to their relationship to the central theme. Talking about the complexity of characterization in dramatic composition, Emeka Nwabueze points out that

the complexity of the dramatic text yields to the existence of the concept of equifinality, a communication situation which fosters the emanation of meaning from different sources each struggling to make its own sense, but all geometrically leading to one final issue (vii).

The image of dilemma is conjured when the “ghost” is even incapable of decisive action. He is the image of “a wretched ghost” at Elmina junction “going up and down singing to himself” (28). He has a choice of going either to Elmina or Cape Coast but he is unable to decide on his ultimate destination.

Elmina, the city of the historical castle in Ghana symbolizes culture and tradition while Cape Coast, a metropolitan city and university town, symbolizes

sophistication and modernity. Ato has been to the United States of America. He is the holder of a university degree. But he is unable to jettison his Africanness and act like an emancipated man, or ignore the acquired modernity and behave like a true Africa. This inability creates problems for him. He now lives in that notorious “no-man’s land” in which many educated Africans find themselves.

Finally it is necessary to conclude this discussion by examining the symbolic nature of the play’s denouement. Some people may argue that the play has no resolution, or that it has a false resolution. But if one examines the central theme of the play as that of the integration of a foreign wife into the Ghanaian society, then one notices that integration took place at the end of the play. After lashing out on Ato and blaming him for all that happened, Esi Kom speaks clearly to Eulalie: “Come, my child” (52).

When the marriage between Ato and Eulalie was contracted, Ato promised her that they will live in a world of their own, uninterrupted by even appearance of their own children. But once back in Africa Ato wants her to pretend to be complying to the cultural demands of his people. Eulalie’s refusal to play this role causes Ato to drop his mask. This cowardice also manifests in the issue of having children, as has already been discussed. It was Ato’s idea that they should suspend having children. yet he is unable to tell his people the truth because, according to him, they will not understand. When Eulalie, in the argument that ensues, calls his people names he resorts to violence in order to massage his megalomania.

In the final analysis, a prominent African proverb that “grey hair is wisdom” is emphasized. Thus Ato’s mother, in spite of her contempt for Eulalie, discovers that Ato is the cause of the confusion. She, therefore, empathizes with her daughter-in-law and integrates her into the family leaving Ato to continue to wallow in his characteristic dilemma.

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## **Chinua Achebe and Postcolonial Politics: A Critical Study of *A Man of the People, Anthills of the Savannah and There Was a Country***

**Ogechukwu A. Ikediugwu**

### **Introduction: Theoretical Background**

Post colonialism is a theory that springs up in opposition to colonialism. It does not only deal with anti-colonialism but also sets out to showcase African sensibilities and disillusionments in many areas of human endeavour. Adeboye Williams writes that the emphasis of the postcolonial literature is not on the case of how colonialism ruins Africa, “but of how African leaders aborted the great hopes and expectations of indigenous rule” (359). Leela Gandhi records that postcolonialism emanates owing to the collective suppression of the colonial experience in the minds of formerly colonized peoples. This suppression is the colonized’s mechanism of checking the persistence of mental colonization after independence. Linda Yohannes therefore notes that postcolonial theory is an organized body of inquiry into the colonial past; it is a calm objective revisiting of the colonial experience with the aim of critically and deconstructively reflecting upon its ambivalence, its discourse and its legacy as well as a search for ways forward (6). Aijaz Ahmad sees postcoloniality as all that is “non-white, not Europe” (286). Ashcroft et al believe that the postcolonial theory involves discussions about experiences of different kinds: race, gender, suppression, slavery, migration, resistance and reaction to the influential master ideology of imperialism such as history, philosophy and linguistics (2). Postcolonial literature sets out to denounce what the colonizers’ ideology has laid down as parameters to assess the literature and writing of the colonized. Postcolonial theory is also important because it provides diversified interpretations of literary texts. Lois Tysong, Homi Bhabha, Ania Loomba, Chinua Achebe, Ngugi Wa Thiong’o, Leopold Sedar Senghor, Aime Cesaire and Frantz Fanon are also renowned proponents of postcolonial theory who propose that this theory should also examine themes and strategies that the ex-colonized can implement to resist western colonial and imperial domination of non-western cultures.

From the above insights, it is succinctly clear that the term, postcolonialism, is diversified and varied. But in this paper, we shall pin it down to political disillusionment in Africa, with Nigeria as the case study. Many scholars have written critical essays on Chinua Achebe’s novels – *A Man of the People and Anthills of the Savannah*.

### **Review of Literature**

Vachaspati Dwivedi investigates various aspects of realism that appear in Achebe's novel, *A Man of the People*, and describes various political and social changes that have taken place in Nigeria since its publication in 1967.

Francis E. Ngwaba, in his essay on *Anthills of the Savannah* and *Arrow of God*, demonstrates that the underlying formative influence in Achebe's method of characterization appears to be the synthesis of opposites into one smooth whole. He writes that the novelist is profoundly aware of the permanent existence of irony of fate as a fact of life itself and that human aspirations are legitimate but the realization of these aspirations depends on unpredictable variables which man cannot control. Because of this situation, it becomes proper that, in fiction as in real life, we have the blending of contraries (377). Ngozi Okeke submits that "Achebe succeeds in achieving a synthesis of opposites in his method of characterization. A society would become too simple, too monotonous if all the individuals that make it up are the same." (5). Umelo Ojinmah writes that Achebe, in *A Man of the People*, believes that another contributory factor to the postcolonial tensions of the society in the new nations is the tendency among those who find themselves in positions of power, to see those positions as their birthright. They therefore utilize any and every means to perpetuate themselves in such positions (64). John Povey states that the theme of *A Man of the People* is the corruption inherent in the system, intensified by Achebe to such a vehement degree that it virtually constitutes an attack on the entire political process. The title is with deliberate irony proved to be the exact truth. Bitterness has soured the novelist and this is indicative that the most urgent condemnation comes not from characters but where the author himself most obviously intrudes (110). Kez Okafor records that Achebe's portrayal of society in *Anthills of the Savannah* leaves no doubt that the present social order is unsatisfactory. The author's quest for social reform is directed at the people: the novel is informed by adequate consciousness of the historical circumstances that have created the current unacceptable condition and also the progressive forces that need to unite to give the society a new lease of life. Achebe's revolutionary perspectivity ranks in contemporary significance with the revolutionary work of Sembene Ousmane and Ngugi Wa Thiong'O (232).

Emmanuel Ngara shows that a sensitive and perceptive reading of *Anthills of the Savannah* reveals that Achebe has risen to new heights in both artistic excellence and social vision. In the novel, the use of language is intricately bound up with the author's narrative technique and the text has a far more complex plot than any of its predecessors. This is partly a result of the fact that the author makes a complicated use of the first person narrative and combines with the omniscient narrative technique (253). Dubem Okafor demonstrates that those *flaws* for which *A Man of the People* has continued to be denounced constitute its strength and relevance. The text is the one novel where the author's ideological stand with the people is indubitable; where antiquarian socio-historical explanations and rationalizations are replaced by contemporary socio-political and ethical anatomy; where the target of his excoriation shifts from foreign conquistadors to indigenous exploiters and oppressors; and where the much flaunted artistic/technical flaws and contradictions are an expression and

transmutation of the shortcomings and contradictions in society and its people (178). Olawale Awosika identifies four categories of characters in *Anthills of the Savannah* – the military ruling class, the politically privileged intellectual elite, the ordinary intellectual and the divinely inspired group. He examines each of these characters for what they stand for and shows how each relates to the others to create a unified whole (235). Uzoечи Nwagbara demonstrates that Achebe's fiction is a derivation of the corpus of verifiable, realistic literature on militarism in Nigeria's postcolonial experience.

Uka Augustine Nwanyanwu explores the consequences of the use of terror to extract obedience from the populace and ethnic minorities in Nigeria by the military by offering an account of the experiences of failure of leadership in Achebe's and Okpewho's works. The aim is to draw attention to this emerging trend in the novel and how concepts can modify and re-contextualize the frontiers of Nigerian fiction (169). Ugochukwu Ejinkonye posits that *There was a Country* shows how Nigeria's inability or unwillingness to learn from her history of clearly avoidable tragedies has continued to sink her deeper in muddy waters of underdevelopment, and how the repentant stance of the leading protagonists in the country's monumental crises and failures continues to ensure that Nigeria perennially wallows in the same old, costly mistakes (3).

### **The Civilian Leadership and Bad Governance**

In *A Man of the People*, we behold the nation's Prime Minister rejecting vehemently a solid piece of advice offered by a renowned Minister of Finance, who is also "a first-rate economist with a Ph.D in Public Finance" (3). His advice is geared towards resolving the dangerous financial crisis that is evident in the country owing to the slump in the international coffee market which is the main bulk of the nation's economy. Though two-thirds of the cabinet see reasons with the Minister, the nation's Prime Minister throws it overboard on selfish grounds: "He was not going to risk the election, by cutting down the price paid to coffee planters at the critical moment; the National Bank should be instructed to print fifteen million pounds" (3). Not only that to print this huge amount of money will heighten inflation and, therefore, worsen the economic situation of the country, the Prime Minister goes ahead to sack the Financial Minister along with his supporters and instigates mob actions against them through his lies that "the dismissed ministers were conspirators and traitors who had teamed up with foreign saboteurs to destroy the new nation"(3). Whether Achebe gives his readers the names of this new nation and its prime minister or not, the political situation in Nigeria at that point in time reveals that the new nation is Nigeria and that the Prime Minister was Nigeria's first Prime Minister from the North who inherited power from the colonial masters after Nigeria's independence in 1960. As it is obvious in the nation's history, the northerners are backward academically and so one can be sure that the *Honourable* Prime Minister is not all that lettered as Islam does not encourage the formal education of its members. This is glaring in the editorial of the *Daily Chronicle*, an official organ of the P.O.P. (People's Organized Party) to which the Prime Minister belongs. With his collaboration, the editorial has it

that “the miscreant gang (the sacked ministers) were all university people and highly educated professional men.... Our true leaders are not those intoxicated with their Oxford Cambridge or Harvard degrees but those who speak the language of the people. Just as if this editorial is not enough, the Prime Minister himself declares: “from today, we must watch and guard our hard-won freedom jealously. Never again must we entrust our destiny and the destiny of Africa to the hybrid class of Western-educated and snobbish intellectuals who will not hesitate to sell their mothers for a mess of pottage” (6). The above extracts do not only expose the ignorance of the Prime Minister and his sycophants, they also project their resentments of the intellectuals, simply because they find it problematic to measure up with their standards. Not that the Prime Minister does not know the value of education, he knows but condemns it because it is not within his reach. The plain truth, no doubt, is that leadership is better in the hands of the intellectuals and if it becomes a major yardstick for selecting Nigerian leaders, leadership positions will continue to elude the likes of the Prime Minister and his fellow northerners because they constitute the bulk of the illiterates in the country.

Charles Nnolim’s record supports our stance on this matter. He writes that “Achebe is a writer of the political novel whose end is utopian because the goal towards which all his novels tend is that golden era when the intellectual elite will wrest politics from the illiterate politicians and the military and create an egalitarian society free from poor leadership, bribery and corruption; for that time when politics will be played here, as in Europe and the West, according to the rules of the game...” (167) The above extract seems to be only a wishful thinking for the hero’s dream of a good leadership of his nation has never been actualized before his demise. To Achebe, “leaders are ... role models. People look up to them and copy their actions, behaviours and even mannerisms. Therefore if a leader lacks discipline, the effect is apt to spread automatically down to his followers.” (qtd by Nnolim, 168).

The fact is that the Prime Minister’s government is never in reality “the government of the people by the people and for the people” as he has quoted. Achebe here wants to expose the fallacy in the saying: the Prime Minister was not duly elected by the people and his leadership is not in the masses’ interest either. For a government to be referred to as the government of the people by the people and for the people, the leaders must have been duly elected by the masses and such leaders go into offices to serve the masses and to develop the nation but never to pursue their selfish goals. The Prime Minister here is a stooge of the ex-colonial government and he comes into power through the manipulations of facts and figures by the colonial masters. So he is in office to serve the interests of his masters and his own interests. In the West, a Prime Minister who deprives the masses from hearing his minister’s explanations of an allegation labeled against him (the Minister) stands the chance of being suspected and, therefore, risks his office in the process. Not only this, even the newspapers that publish lies should stop functioning. There, education is indispensable and nobody dares to toy with it without being bombarded by the general public. Having dismissed his intellectual experts, the Prime Minister selects semi-illiterate greedy sycophants like Chief Nanga and Chief Koko to replace the

intellectuals. Nanga is appointed the Minister of Culture even though he has only the standard six certificate.

Chief Nanga, the semi-literate Minister of Culture, has neither seen the President of the writers' society nor heard about his name even though it is expected that in a country where writers are so few, they will all be known to the Minister of Culture. When Chief Nanga is told that Mr Jalio, the Writers' President, is the author of *The Song of the Black Bird*, the most famous novel in the country, he has neither read the novel nor seen it. And he says so in public without feeling any shame! In his attempts to underscore his wisdom and to deflate Jalio, the Minister of Culture succeeds in exposing his ignorance and ridiculing himself. This happens in a book exhibition where Nanga is invited, as the Minister of Culture, to chair the occasion. Instead of minding his business for the day, the Minister scornfully addresses Jalio in the following words: "If you want me to attend any of your functions, you must wear a proper dress. Either you wear a suit... or our national costume. That is correct protocol" (62-3). What Achebe wants to expose here is that a Minister of culture does not know that a suit is not his people's cultural dress. And he says this proudly with the air of importance and wisdom surrounding him! As if this blunder is not enough, when he is reading the prepared speech, he says that before long "our great country will produce great writers like Shakespeare, Dicksons, Jane Austin, Benard Shaw and – raising his eyes off the script – Michael West and Dudley Stamp" (65). When do Michael West and Dudley Stamp belong to the famous English literary writers? Michael West is known for his elementary school dictionary while Dudley Stamp is famous for his lower elementary geography. Apparently, the Minister of culture must have come across the two names in his primary school which was the only formal education he was exposed to.

This is an occasion that has been graced by two or three ambassadors: they will go back to their countries to tell their people the calibre of ministers Nigeria has and make mockery of our government. The Minister himself does not even realize the blunder he has committed because when Jalio and the Editor of the *Daily Matchet* go to congratulate him and to request for copies of the speech, "Chief Nanga produced two clean copies from his file, bent down at the table and amended the relevant portions in his own fair hand by the addition of those two names to the list of famous English writers" (65-6). This is humorous and equally serious. Nanga is not ashamed because he does not know that his actions are shameful. It is people like Chief Nanga that Achebe aims at exposing their ignorance and corruption in *A Man of the People*. Umelo Ojinmah notes that *A Man of the People* "reflects Achebe's intense disillusionment with the way things had gone and a general sense of despair of the mess that had been made of self-rule" (60). Achebe himself agrees that "*A Man of the People* is rather a serious indictment... of post independence Africa" (qtd in Ojinmah, 60). Achebe's novels reflect the history of his country. This is also reflected in John Povey's submission that "the mere fact that he [Achebe] is one of the few novelists from Africa to write his stories with a historical setting is in itself indicative of the way he has been able to separate his own immediate experience from that of his protagonist, and thus achieves artistic rather than personal expression" (97). It is

as if Nwagbara had Achebe in mind when he posits that “for postcolonial Nigerian writers, writing does not exist in vacuum; every piece of fiction refracts truthfully the situation and realities in Nigeria” (87). This is what Wellek and Warren refer to as “The reflection of reality” (239) in fiction. Jago Morrison (116) also concurs to this. All these citations point at the fact that Achebe’s novels cannot be waved aside as an empty fiction; they showcase the political actualities of his own time.

In the same novel, Max describes Chief Nanga as a “corrupt, empty-headed, illiterate capitalist” (74). This name fits the Minister perfectly well. In addition to his ignorance and illiteracy, the Minister wants the road between Giligili and Anata tarred for two selfish reasons: “he had ordered ten luxury buses to ply the route.... Each would cost him six thousand pounds. So he has two good reasons for wanting the road tarred-next elections and arrival of his buses” (43). Where does Nanga get such amount of money to order for ten luxurious buses at once? Is it from his honestly earned salary? This is the nation’s money which was meant to use in developing the nation and the people. He feels unperturbed diverting such huge amount of money from public projects to his endless pocket. He wants the road in his constituency tarred so that he can put his vehicles into business to amass more wealth for himself. Not only this, the tarred road will heighten his popularity and fetch him more votes even though the road is not tarred in the masses’ interest.

Odili is brutalized by Chief Nanga’s thugs for daring to vie for the Minister’s position in their constituency; and the Minister of Construction, Chief Koko, runs one of his jeeps over Max and he dies on the spot. The reason for Max’s death is that he is trying to prevent Chief Koko’s wife and other women in P.O.P from “smuggling into the polling booths wads of ballot papers concealed in their brassieres” (142). Any politician that ascends to the throne does not want to leave it: he plants himself in power and does anything humanly possible to retain it. This is entirely out of order and, therefore, not the nationals’ bargain for independence. Odili regrets that “we all had been in the rain together until yesterday. Then a handful of us – the smart and the lucky and hardly ever the best – had scrambled for the one shelter our former rulers left, and had taken it over and barricaded themselves in” (37). But the army people (the soldiers) decide to save the situation by chasing the Prime Minister and his gang of ministers away from government and cease the central government thereafter. The question that is uppermost in the people’s minds is: can the soldiers give Nigeria and her people the required good leadership they desperately need to move the nation forward? The answer to this question will reveal itself in the following analysis of *Anthills of the Savannah*.

### **Military Rule: the *Hope of the Masses***

Achebe, in *Anthills of the Savannah*, portrays his disgust and disillusionment that the *Almighty Messiahs* (the Nigerian soldiers) who have carried out a coup to displace the corrupt civilian government turn out to be as bad as the civilians or even worse than they. One would have thought that after purifying the government, the soldiers would organize elections and constitute a viable democratic government in the country just as it is in many countries of the world. But not only that the soldiers

turn to terrorism and dictatorship, they become corrupt capitalists to the core and also try to barricade themselves in government as the civilians have done. Cabinet meetings are not what they should be: the ministers and other government officials practically go to meetings to take instructions and orders from His Excellency, Sam, the Head of State. The cabinet members go to meetings in apprehension because they do not know the kind of terror they will face in each meeting: it depends on the mood of His Excellency on any particular day. According to Chris Oriko, the Commissioner of Information and one of the main characters in the novel: “Days are good or bad for us now according to how His Excellency gets out of bed in the morning....”

Achebe is also disillusioned about the conduct of some of the intellectuals in the cabinet who now become sycophants and gossips in order to find favour from His Excellency. For instance, Prof. Okong, the Commissioner of Works, goes to Sam to discredit Chris and Ikem Osodi, the editor of the *National Gazette*, in the following words:

I do not know whether to alert you... on your relationship with the Honourable Commissioner for information and also the Editor of the *Gazette*... I am sorry to be personal. But I must be frank. I believe that if care is not taken those two friends of yours can be capable of fermenting disaffection which will make the rebellion look like child's play. And if my sixth sense is anything to go by, they may be causing a lot of havoc already. (19-20).

Achebe creates these characters to indicate that higher certificates do not guarantee good conducts: people may possess them and still behave disgracefully. The irony in their actions is that, in trying to gain favour from His Excellency, the sycophants succeed in deflating themselves before him and, therefore, lose his favour. What Prof. Okong gets in response to his allegation is:

That's fine, Mr. Okong. I deal with facts not gossip. Now run along and deal with the crowd and report back to me as soon as it's over.... [And after he has left to carryout the order, His Excellency continues], I handled him pretty well, though. I certainly won't stand for my commissioners sneaking up to me with vague acusations against their colleagues. And he calls himself a university professor.... Disgraceful. (20-21).

The above extract is an authorial commentary. These degrading actions make Sam look down on the intellectuals and treat them with scorn. Achebe, in the above extract, does not show any pity for them. By projecting the characters; Achebe lays bare his disgust and disillusionment in the intellectuals' inability to show good examples.

*Anthills of the Savannah* portrays the political history of Nigeria after independence. The author is very sensitive about the political situation in his country and traces it religiously. M. Gray posits that realism “is best used for writers who show explicit concern to convey an authentic impression of reality either in their narrative style, or by their serious approach to their subject matter” (241). Achebe, no doubt, shows explicit concern in conveying authentic impressions of reality in both his narrative styles and subject matters. Emmanuel Ngara observes that Achebe rises

to greatness "...partly because he is a talented artist but equally importantly because he is a thinker who does not only set out to write, but one who has a social vision and philosophy of art.... Reading Achebe's novels is like reading about the history of Africa from pre-colonial times through colonialism and the early days of independence to the present.... [His] works are characterized by realism" (249). This observation is very correct about Achebe because, reading through his novels, it is discernible that they are products of deep and refined thinking and that they showcase the political situations of his country at any point in time. *Anthills of the Savannah* was written during the military era. According to Charles Nnolim: "in *Anthills*, [Achebe] demonstrates... that he has lost hope in the ability of the military to solve our political and economic problems.... [In the text], Achebe comes close to being cynical about the administrative and political ability of the military who are more interested in the props of power than in solving the nation's problems" (176). N.F. Inyama concurs with Nnolim when he notes that Sam "comes into power as the unanimous favourite among his peers to lead the nation in its recovery from political corruption and ineptitude, a redeemer and healer and protector, but who changes to a terror, and an insensitive dictator" (227). From all indications in the novel, Sam ascends to the throne and turns round to scorn the leader through which he got to power. His reign does not give succor to anybody; no wonder then Achebe's disillusionment in the *Almighty Messiahs*.

It is good to note that the *abomination* Sam's friends, Chris and Ikem, have committed is that they speak out their minds and advocate that the right thing should be done. They refuse to be booth-leakers who go to His Excellency soliciting for favour. Initially, when Sam came into power, it was Chris and Ikem that put him through his works as a Head of State. So, Sam knows very well that they are men of substance and respects them for that, though internally. But he fears them because of their forthrightness: a corrupt capitalist leader will naturally not cherish upright and out-spoken people because they pose some dangers to his leadership. From all indications in the novel, Achebe, because he is himself upright, endorses Chris' and Ikem's conducts. They are examples of good intellectuals because of the ways he presents them in the novel. To Achebe, it is better to lose your life, as Chris and Ikem have done, than become a sycophant like Prof. Okong or the Attorney-General.

Like in *A Man of the People*, His Excellency wants to make himself a life president of his country but this is not acceptable by well-meaning nationals except his sycophants. Amazon is made to suffer from drought for two years because her people refuse to endorse the memorandum containing the life presidency of His Excellency. To punish the people for their *crime*, Sam stops all the bore-holes being dug at Amazon. As the text puts it: "Because you said no to the Big Chief, he is very angry and has ordered all the water bore-holes they are digging in your area to be closed so that you will know what it means to offend the sun. You will suffer so much that in your next reincarnation you will need no one to tell you to say yes whether the matter is clear to you or not" (127). The extract above shows that His Excellency is unduly vindictive. The tone is clearly sarcastic and cynical. One of Chris' *sins* is his daring to advise him to visit Amazon and look into the people's

problems emanating from the drought. But he sees the advice as an affront and shouts down at him. Chris refuses to relent because he believes it is unfair to make a whole region suffer for no just cause. There is no doubt here that Achebe endorses Chris' stance on this matter and that is what he expects all the intellectuals in the cabinet to emulate to force a change in the corrupt capitalist, Sam. The use of "Sun" in the extract is metaphorical. It indicates the seriousness of their case.

When the delegation from Abazon comes to Bassa, the state capital, to see His Excellency and to endorse the memorandum, he refuses to grant the people an audience. The head of the delegation's lamentation is both revealing and pathetic: "We came to Bassa to say our own yes and perhaps the work on our bore-holes will start again and we will not all perish from the anger of the sun. We did not know before but we know now that yes does not cause trouble. We do not understand the ways of today yet but we are learning" (127). The tone of the extract is also cynical. The people are not in Bassa because they want the life presidency: they have been pushed to the wall and, so, must endorse whatever memorandum that is brought to them to stop their people from perishing. They will look foolish if they do not sign the document. Achebe projects this extract to show what a people suffer for being under a dictator and traitor. This is exactly what Chief Nanga, in *A Man of the People*, has done to the village of Urua for supporting Odili to vie for his position in their constituency. He withdraws all the pipes brought to the community for water bore-holes. To bring back the pipes, the people of Urua have to publicly denounce their support for Odili and uphold Nanga's candidature. What Anthony Burgess observes about *A Man of the People* is also true about *Anthills of the Savannah*. He posits that *A Man of the People* is "a bitter yet funny satire on the personality cult which hides inefficiency and corruption in so many newly independent African States" (qtd in Alan Hill, 549).

Ikem's crimes against His Excellency are numerous. According to the novel, "his most poignant editorials such as his condemnation of the human blood sport called public execution; his general dissatisfaction with the government policies..." (141). Ikem is sacked from being the Editor of *The National Gazette* for identifying with the delegates from Amazon. He is abducted and murdered in a cold blood, but before his death, the public lecture he has given to students at the University of Kankan adds so much to his popularity among the students. Chris himself has to flee from Bassa for he knows that he too is not safe. But before he leaves Bassa finally, he makes sure he tells the press and Emmanuel, the Students' Unionist leader, about Ikem's death and how the government agents have abducted and murdered him. Though Ikem and Chris lose their lives in the process, Ikem's exposure of the corruption in the government and Chris' publication of Ikem's murder are remarkable: they stir the general public against the government and this leads to a coup and abduction of His Excellency by unknown faces. Although they lose their lives, Ikem and Chris are heroes of the nation. The point Achebe wants to make with these characters especially, Ikem, is that the fear of death should not deter people from doing the right things for the well-being of the people and the nation. Jennifer Baisey summarizes the text thus: "Sam represents power driven by self-interest. Ikem

represents the desire for reform. He is outspoken and admired by the people, and prefers to do things his own way without compromising. Chris represents efforts to work for good within the system. He is a good man in a bad regime; and he is idealistic enough to believe that by staying in the government he can serve his people” (60-61). In support of Bussey, Cynthia Bily notes that “Ikem and others face similar choices, but Ikem chooses the most nobly.... He combines the other qualities of the other two, but in the end all three die” (69). The fall and death of His Excellency is a sure indication that Achebe endorses ignominious defeat and death of a corrupt capitalist dictator. Awosika, on his own part, describes Ikem as “a kind of theoretical humanism which insists on rejecting any structures, political, social or intellectual, which threaten to deny or obstruct the way of fair play. Ikem is truly an embodiment of some of the best attributes of the African intellectual” (239). I think Awosika refers to Ikem as “theoretical humanism” because his types mainly exist on paper but hardly in practice. His kind is rarely found in reality. Though Ikem is dead, his actions make the difference. According to Kez Okafor, “Emmanuel observes that the ideas in the editorials and lectures transform him as well as his friends into more conscious individuals. No wonder then that he displays a high level of initiative during the crisis that is precipitated by Ikem’s murder” (227).

#### **Achebe Comes Out More Factual and Realistic**

In *There Was a Country*, Achebe strips himself of fictionality and comes out more factual and realistic. This assertion is evident in the characterization of the text: the characters are well-known to Nigerians and their actions are still evident to some living Nigerians. Achebe has intended to ratify the anomalies in Nigeria with his fiction but when it fails, he decides to come out more realistic. To Achebe, *There Was a Country* is a reaffirmation of the issues he has discussed in *A Man of the People* and *Anthills of the Savannah*. To his critics and scholars, it is an authentic confirmation of the various stances taken in *A Man of the People* and *Anthills of the Savannah*. The text is, therefore, a correct history of Nigeria from Achebe’s own point of view and to which many Nigerians testify its authenticity. It traces the history of Nigeria from the late colonial rule through independence, post-colonial rule, Nigerian/Biafran War to the present. This text makes it obvious that most of the intellectuals that fight for and win Nigeria’s independence come from the eastern part of the country. In Achebe’s own words, “the father of African independence was Nnamdi Azikiwe. There is no question at all about that.... Azikiwe... was the preeminent political figure of my youth and a man who was endowed with the political pan-Africanist vision. He had help, no doubt, from several eminent sons and daughters of the soil” (41). Azikiwe hails from Onitsha in the South-eastern part of Nigeria and Achebe records that his newspaper, *The West African Pilot*, is a well-known anti-colonial crusader which publishes its messages in the kind of English that is easily understood by the masses; no wonder then that anti-colonial messages spread like a harmattan bush fire in Nigeria and other African countries. As it is in the text, Azikiwe’s intention for lowering his use of language is “to speak directly to the masses. His strategy was an incredible success. *The West African Pilot’s* anti-colonial message was spread very

quickly, widely, and effectively.... *The West African Pilot* was the most influential publication of its type throughout British West Africa – from Sierra Leone through Ghana to Nigeria” (42)

By compromising democracy, the colonial masters have sowed a seed of discord. In a situation where semi-illiterate people populate the central government and high government offices, corruption and high-handedness become the order of the day. As the text puts it: “public servants helped themselves freely to the nation’s wealth. Elections were blatantly rigged. The subsequent national census was outrageously stage-managed; judges and magistrates were manipulated by the politicians in power. The politicians themselves were pawns of foreign business interests” (51). Though all these things are to be expected, they are heart-breaking to the southerners, especially the South-Eastern people who virtually fought for and won the independence. This situation is never a part of their bargain in seeking for the Nigeria’s independence. It is equally more disheartening when we realize that the bulk of the nation’s economy comes from the South. Not only that the northerners have usurped the positions that ordinarily would not have gone to them, they also use the oil money that comes from the south to feed themselves fat and to strengthen their economic relationship with the ex-colonial masters. How does anyone expect them to carry out normal census or to conduct credible elections when the Bretons have taught them how to manipulate facts and figures to achieve their selfish interests? If they conduct credible elections and census, the implication is that they will lose their grip of power which they are not prepared for. Achebe himself confirms that it is these situations that he has reflected in *A Man of the People*. When the ugly circumstances become unbearable, the soldiers carry-out a coup that has pushed the corrupt politicians out of the central government. Because tribalism has become the order of the day, the northerners see the coup as Igbo coup and carryout a counter coup which automatically restores them to the government. After they have come back to the government, they embark upon the 1966 pogrom which claims the lives of over thirty thousand Igbos living in the north and elsewhere in the west. Achebe shows his disgust that some intellectuals from the north, south-west and south-south should support the unfortunate actions. The pogrom and the severance of the easterners from the north lead to the most bloody civil war in the world history.

#### **Assessments of Achebe and Conclusion**

The three works of Achebe, *A Man of the People*, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *There Was a Country*, showcase the author as an anti-corruption crusader and a nationalist per excellence. The texts are protests against corruption in his country and, therefore, highly political. The essence of writing them is to effect positive changes in the political outlook of the Nigerian and, by extension, African politicians in order to make life easier for the masses.

Chinua Achebe is an in-depth writer who is also a great thinker and highly sensitive. He has ears for minute details. He is evidently highly talented, brave and out-spoken. All these attributes manifest themselves in the three texts under scrutiny. He has the guts to tell the Europeans in his work that they are the root cause of the

corruption in Africa. He is exceptionally blunt in *There Was a Country*; identifying realistic persons and stating their ugly actions that have contributed immensely in moving Nigeria and Africa backwards.

Achebe is glaringly honest and objective, and completely abhors oppression and injustice. His honesty manifests itself in his presentation of the Nigerian/Biafran War in his texts, with a particular reference to *There Was a Country*. His impartiality and objectivity are discernible in his presentation of Alhaji Aminu Kano even though he is a leader from the north. He celebrates him as a saint and a revolutionary and admits that "... it was indeed true that if for any reason Aminu Kanu should discover that he had joined the ranks of the oppressor he would promptly and openly renounce his position and wage war on himself" (63). This is evident in the way Achebe endorses Aminu as a model leader who is worthy of emulation.

In spite of the collaborative roles the Yorubas played in the Nigerian/Biafran War, Achebe acknowledges Wole Soyinka's actions in trying to avert the war which led to his twenty-two months imprisonment (without trial) by the Nigerian government (109). He does not cherish injustice and this is obvious in his condemnation of the Europeans who denied Azikiwe the rulership of the Nigerian government even though he was the main figure in the fight of Nigeria's independence.

Achebe is a teacher and also a historian. He uses his works to create awareness to his fellow Africans. He himself says that his novels will help his "society regain belief in itself and put away the complexity of the years of denigration and self-abasement" (43). His novels showcase the history of African continent from precolonial through colonial, postcolonial to the present day Africa.

He is an Igbo man who is also proud of his *Igboness*. He projects the Igbos as a special set of people; they are dynamic, perseverance, clever, democratic, hardworking, foresighted, aspiring and vibrant. Instances of this assertion abound in *There Was a Country* and *A Man of the People*.

That Achebe is a good family man is incontestable and highly protective of his wife and children. He accommodates his wife and children in his personal house in Lagos but during the 1966 pogrom, he quickly evacuates them from Lagos to the east to ensure their safety first. In his own words, "I arranged to smuggle Christie and the children out of Lagos on a cargo ship from Port" (69). He has to return to the east much later. From all indications, Achebe does not only love his family and his *Igboness*, he also loves Nigeria and Africa and tries to protect them from the Europeans' denigration. All his writings testify to this. Charles Nnolim describes Achebe as "a good family man, a great nationalist, a true patriot, a world-famous intellectual, a writer in the world class-in Igbo parlance, an eagle perched on an iroko" (170).

These three texts, *A Man of the People*, *Anthills of the Savannah* and *There Was a Country*, adequately project Chinua Achebe's nature and political outlook. The essay establishes that Nigerian independence does not avail Nigerians the opportunity of good governance: the two groups of leaders, the civilians and the soldiers are

highly corrupt and exploitative and, therefore, lack credibility. The texts exhibit Achebe's indictments on the Postcolonial Nigerian and African governments.

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## **Music, Narration, Mimesis and the Mytho-epic Essence: A Folkist Interpretation of Two Nigerian Plays**

**Uche-Chinemere Nwaozuzu**

### **Introduction**

Much has been written on traditional elements in modern African drama. By the same token scholars and practitioners have advanced several critical and theoretical parameters to articulate this new and engaging genre. One of this critical ideal is folkism. Folkism is founded on the design of indigenous African performance aesthetics. Its is an artistic philosophy and critical school which argues for the need to exploit the elements of language, narration, traditional folklore and history in the creation of indigenous African drama. Its chief exponent is Sam Ukala who defines it as, “The tendency to base literary plays in the history, culture, and concerns of the folk, and to compose and perform them in accordance with African conventions for composing and performing the folktale” (285). Ukala further has this to say about some of its features,

Indigenized English is broadly like language of African folktale in performance: easy to comprehend; dramatic (that is, easy to articulate..., pleasurable to hear because of its music,... rich in ideophone. In addition... imagery, proverbs, analogies, and other elements of formal indigenous speech are, when appropriate, woven into the indigenized English of literary theatre in order to enhance its literariness. It also absorbs untranslatable or popular vernacular words to boost its local colour (281).

The above view gives us a panoramic view on some of the quintessential features of the folkist critical parameter which forms the theoretical nexus of our investigation of Odunke Artiste’s *Ojaadili* and G.I Nwaozuz’s *Eruru* two Igbo language plays. We can take another opinion on folkism from Steve Ogunde,

Folkism derives from the total apparatus of traditional “theatre”. It aims at recreating that ambience, that delicate balance between ritual and inspiration. It seeks to recreate in contemporary performance and written text, that idiom and the nuances of oral performance without losing the immediacy of contemporary frame of reference. It is a complex of form, setting, theme, and performance within a traditional setting (5) (Ogunde et al ed. *Eagle in FLIGHT*)

From the views expressed above, we can attempt a summation of some of the elements of folkism. Folkism is the manner and method of creating and performing traditional folk orature which derives its roots from the culture and more of the people for which it is meant and which it gives content. It is an artistic philosophy and way of doing art that appropriates the ideals of myth, commensality, instruction and aesthetics to orchestrate a synthesis of traditional performance theory, form and practice. Some of its quintessential elements include but not limited to the artistic vision, belief, artifacts, songs, masking music and mime of the cosmos of the folk.

This will suffice for our theoretical incursions into the ideal of folkism. An attempt would be made below to give a brief account of the incidents that constitute the plots of *Eruru* and *Ojaadili*. After this, we shall examine how elements of music, narration and mine contribute in giving artistic shape to the folkist critical paradigm.

*Ojaadili* by Odunke Artists is a play that derives its material from indigenous Igbo myth and culture. The plot revolves around the hero Ojaadili who exhibits the knowing hubris of tragic characters of classical drama in his dealings with his fellow men and fate. The story unfolds using the epic-odysseic style. It is the combination of this style and the mythic element that has led us to use the term mytho-epic in our categorization of the play. Emboldened by his fame and success as a wrestler, Ojaadili refuses wise counsels from his mother, bride, Ugumagala (*an author/narrator animal character*) and the elders and embarks on a perilous and grandstanding expedition to the land of the Animals and the land of the Dead; all to prove the point that he was the greatest wrestler. However, unlike the typical tragedy, the folkist design of instruction and sententiousness intervenes and he is brought back to life after having fought with his Chi and paid the supreme price. This design is used to amplify the social and moral nature of folk performance of the mytho-epic genre, which often seeks to entertain as well as teach.

Our second play *Eruru* is written by Gabreilla Nwaozuzu. Like *Ojaadili*, *Eruru* employs the traditional elements of Igbo orature in its construction. The plot tells the story of *Eruru* a damsel who is sent to a sacred stream to fetch water by her wicked step mother. Despite the entreaties of neighbours, the wicked woman insists that *Eruru* goes to the sacred stream. *Eruru* after encountering many obstacles, returns alive with the water and much wealth, having been blessed by one of the benevolent spirits because of her humility. Out of jealousy, the wicked stepmother sends her own daughter who due to her uncouth manner and lack of proper home upbringing, perishes in the journey. This plot is very popular in several Igbo sub-groups and has served as a veritable oral material in instructing girls and boys on the need to be kind, humble and foresighted. *Eruru* just like *Ojaadili* realizes the virtues of good sense and humility at the critical moments of their odysseys when they are faced with life threatening situations and the only way out was the acceptance of those very values that most tragic characters derided and rejected.

### **Folkist Tendencies in *Ojaadili* and *Eruru***

We shall begin our analysis of folkist aesthetics in the two plays with *Ojaadili*. As the title of the paper highlights, we shall examine elements of music, narration, mimeses and the mytho-epic Essence in the play which we identify as features of folkism.

*Ojaadili* is dipped in traditional Igbo songs and music. In fact the play is introduced with a song that heralds the entrance of Ugwumagana;

Mbge emmume a na-amalite, ebe nile gbara Ochichiri. Udi egwu Igbo na-ebu-isi na-agu. Ebe nile dara juu. Oku ji nwayoo na-enwu, nwete Ogwumagana ebe o ji nwayoo na-azonye ije, na-ele ma ala ala ga-epu ma o zoo ukwu abuo, o lee anya n'aka nri nan aka ekpe, fee odu ya, kwe n'isi, zokwaa ozo. o malite ikwu okw. (1)

The song above serves to introduce the play by calling on the audiences' attention to imminent entry of the Narrator known as Ugwumagana. Another folkist element used in the play is narration. Narration to Ukala is integral to traditional African performance as it advances the story and is used to also pass moral and sententious messages to audience. Gbilekka has this to say, "Folkism lean heavily on folkist technique based on the aesthetics of storytelling theatre...here members of the audience and the raconteur are inseparable" (1-2).

In *Ojaadili*, the character Ogumagana serves as the narrator. He introduces the play and advances the plot. The very first scene begins thus;

OGWUMAGANA: Oha na eze  
Okoro na agboghò  
Onye o bula jide nke nna ya,  
Jide nke ya na chi ya,  
Out a unu huru m,  
o bu nke m natara Chi m ka m j kwuru.  
(oku chagharia chaawa akwukwo ndu akwukwo ndu).  
Mgbe ahụ, ugwu di ogbu  
Ogbu di ugwu  
N' oge mbu,  
Tupu a nyuo ihe a na-esigbu anyi taa  
mu na Ebunu ukpabi no n'igwe ali,  
eke na egwurugwu wee kewaa igwe abi,  
ma elu ma ala buru sooso mmiri  
Okpoko, nnunu mma na-eje ozi  
Wee nodu n'aka nri anyi  
Na-eti,  
Kpaa! Kpa!! Kpaa!!!  
si na anya ya ahula nti ya  
site mgbe ya ji chewe  
ka ala okpoo segote  
Na o teela ya ji na-efeghari...

The play employs narration intermittently properly woven into the play to shed light on aspects of plot and action not physically captured in the drama.

Myth and epification, another important feature of folkism employed by Odunke artist in *Ojaadili*. Mythic figures such as Ozo - Chimpanzees and Mmuo - Spirits form part of its dramatis personae. The epic nature of the plot is given vent because it spans seasons and different worlds of animals and spirits. We can take an example from *Ojaadili*'s confrontation with these entities,

OZO: oo mu bu ozo (na -ekwu ka olu ozo).  
ozo dimgba ka a na-etu m  
gi bu mmadu, onye ka i bu?  
QJAADILI: (na-ele ozo n'anya).  
OZO: gi bu mmadu,

Onye ka i bu?  
i choro itikiliti  
ka i choro imakirima?  
OJAADILI: (kpata akwukwo ise, ghasara ozo n'ala)

In the lines above, Ojaadili battles with Ozo – Chimpanzees and defeats them. Next he confronts the mythical spirits- Mmuo whom he fights and defeats the lot of them. The last little spirits however overcomes him but he is saved by the sagacity of Ogumagala who accompanied him on the odyssey to the land of the spirits. The encounter with the Muo is captured in the lines below

MMUO ISI ATQ: Bjanu ka anyi tuo aro  
Na ihe na-enweghi eze na-acho itagbu agu.  
Onye ga-eje ozo.  
MMUO ISI ASAA Oo mu  
MMUO ISI ATQ: I ruo, I metukwala ya aka.  
Were ahijia na mkporogwu nye ya onodu.  
I iwa anunebe?  
MMUO ISI ASAA: Ee!  
MMUO ISI ABUO: Jee fetuo ya  
Mu new mkpru anya ya ma e feto ya/  
MMUO ISI ANO: Mu new apaa ukwu ya  
MMUO ISI ISE: Mu na mmadu agaghi azo imeju ya.  
O teela m ridewere imeju mmadu.  
Ngwa jee bio mgba.  
Hapu ila anyi oge n'iyi.  
N'ihia na oke ite e sinyere n'agu  
Na-akwado igbofu n'ala  
(mbu o batara, o koo ojaadili ogwu,  
choo ikotu ya. ojaadili ghotu onwe ya,  
detu aka n'ogwu OGWUMAGANA budooro ya.)  
OJAADILI: Ogologo ukwu abughi na nwa m etola.  
Oke dimkpa abughi oke ikpo nsi.  
o masi gi puo nnu isi,  
o gaghi enyere gi aka  
(mmuo kochara ogwu y anile, echaa,  
ojaadili kotuo ya, gbawa egwu na  
agu: ojaadili ngolo didi ngolo  
Nkwuma ngilinga onu bia gwolije ya)  
MMUO ISI ATQ: Umu ibe, okwu erie m onu o!  
NDI OZO: Ee-e!  
MMUO ISI ATQ: Ihe anyi huru n'ite abughi ofee  
NDI OZO: Ee-e!  
MMUO ISI ATQ: ihe mmadu muru kpakata ike,  
o na-akparu n'Ikenga ya?  
MMUO ISI ATQ Etito toro mbe n'isi.  
A kpapuo akpapuo, okwu

A hapu ahapu okwu.  
MMUO ISI ATO Jeenu dute Ikenga ojaadili  
Sinyere ya obere ite ga-agbonyu oku ya.  
OJAADILI: Izu agbasi agbasi agaghi azo unu  
o baghi uru  
a gbago agbago, aka m unu  
a gbada agbada, aka m unu  
Ojaadili ka mmuo ukwu na mmuo nta  
mu na-achi n'ala anu ohia.  
mu ga-achi n'ala ndi mmuo  
ojaadili kariri unu.  
(Obere mmuo puta bja kwuru, ojaadili  
Na-ele ya ana mkpari, namaghi na o bu  
Ikenga ya. Out nnunu na-ebe: "kwa-afu  
kwa onwu  
OGWUMAGANA: (na-egbu oja)  
ziji fulu zi... mpelekete  
zi fulu zi... mpelekete  
Echi bu izu naabo ato ... mpelekete  
Mbe ji kwawa ogo ya...mpelekete  
ogo mbe nwuru anwu...mpelekete  
zii fulu zi...mpelekete  
(kwuwe okwu)  
ojaadili,  
Putaba ka anyi laa  
Ebe nwaa na-arachata mmanu  
o dikata, o rachata mmee.  
OJAADILI: Nshiko si nay a egwuola mmiri nta  
gwuo nke ukwu,  
o buru ite ofe agadi nwanyi  
ga-eri isi ya  
ikenga gini?  
Gini na-azara ha Ikenga?  
OGWUMAGANA: Nwata bulie nna ya elu  
Ogodo ayochie ya anya.  
OJAADILI: M tigbuo mmuo isi naasaa  
O buru nke obere a?  
OGWUMAGANA: Ojaadili,  
Ihe ruo 'ato, o to  
O na-esi,  
o siwela!  
onwu ga-egbu nwa nkita  
Anaghi ekwe ya anu isi nsi  
Afa si gi ejela ala mmuo (61-63).

The next play we shall examine its folkist tendencies if *Eruru*. Like *Ojaadili*, *Eruru* is immersed in a lot of traditional Igbo songs and dances. The first scene opens

in the village wrestling arena with an introductory dance that heralds the setting and texture of the play. The traditional Igbo song runs thus,

N' ọgbọ mgba: *Ndi egwu na-eti iji kpọbata ọkamgba Ikeagwumba. (Egwu e nwere ike igu).*

Onye ụjọ abiala nga anyi na-awa anya  
Egwu nchaghara anya o  
Onye ụjọ abiala nga anyi na-agba mgba  
Egwu nchaghara anya o  
Ehe e anyi na-awa anya  
Egwu nchaghara anya o  
Ehe-e anyi na-egbu ichi  
Egwu nchaghara anya o .

*(Ozibo Ikeagwu amabata wugharia, fegharia Ndi Obodo ya na-eu ya aha, dika Azueruala, okwa dike, Gaagaa na ogwu, Anu kpọrọ nkụ na-eju ọnu, dgz. A chụrọ ọgbọ) (11)*

The song and scene above presents an atmosphere of conviviality of calmness before the main conflict breaks out in the play. Like in Ojaadili song is used to advance plot, celebrate achievements and mourn losses. In fact Cyrus Damisa Suru, argues that “music and dance fundamentally represent the true nature of African performance mode” (308)

Narration is another visible token of folkism in *Eruru*. In the play the Narrator goes by the name Oko Akuko;

OKO AKUKO: Ụmụnne m na ụmụnna m, unu ahụla etu mmadu ga-esi nọrọ be ya nọpia mkpụrụamu. Unu ahụla ka nwata enweghi ihe o mere jiri banye n'oke nsogbu, ewi onye ọzọ magburu n'onye na-akwaghasi onye ọ bughị ya magburu ya anya.

Leenụ ihe nwa enwe nne, enwe nna jiri isi kote. Onye ekoteghi, ọgọdọ ya ekoteere ya. Eruru nwa mma na-eburu okwu ekotala okwu n'ihu ihunaanya Ikeagwumbe nwere n'ebe ọ nọ. ikeagwumbe mere elu, mee ala jiri hu na akwa ugo a ruru ya aka ma Urionu fooro ntutu taa na nke ahụ agaghi eme; na kama ọ ga-eme, ka ala gbawaa. Ihe a huziri bu ọndu agaghi n'ihu, alaghi azu, erighi eri, akwafughị akwafu. ikeagwumbe ebe Eruru erughị gi aka, leenụ Akwanwa kporo luwa; kama ehi gi ga-agbalahụ gi, i gaghinụ egbubiri ya ọdụ? Tufiakwa Ikeagwu si kama ya ga-eme nke a, ya asuwaa abụ; na anya ya agaghi ahụ ntị ya beluso ma ya ji enyo.urionu; jiri nwa ya nwaanyi bu Akwanwa siere Ikeagwu onya nta, siere ya onya imo, ma ọ bughị Ikeagwumbe, nwa Akadodo, Nwoke anaghị etu mma n'ihu, a kwaa akwuru, agwo turu mbe, ka onya a ga-ama. Chei! Ochonu ahughị ma onye e nyere eweghi. Urionu, hapunụ nwata ka ọ kpara abya ya huru ihe a na-ekwe ya n'okwu abo. Dụo onwe gi ọdụ. zeere nwa enwe nne, enwe nna. hapu nkata ọjọ a i na-akpara ya. Matakwa na ehi enweghi ọdudu na chi ya nachuru ya ijiji. (33-34).

Oko Akuko; the Narrator helps advance the plot of the play and fill in the grey areas for the audience. In addition, he also intones some of the chants that embellish the actions of the scenes where the major characters such as Eruru and Ikeagwumbe appear.

Animal and supernatural characters such as Agu (Lion) and Umu Mmmuo (Spirits) also feature in in *Eruru*. These characters of fantasy gives vent to the mytho-epic texture of the play. In her journey to the sacred stream to fetch water for her stepmother Eruru encounters them and prevails. The first obstacle she encountered was Agu (Leopard)

- AGU: Wuum! Wuum! Wuum! Wuum? (Eruru akwusi. Agu etikaputa nochiere ya uto. Eruru ewere akwa gee n anti).
- ERURU: Nna m agu, abiara m udo, abiaghi m ugu.
- AGU: Gosi na i bira udo. (Eruru gosi agu ogbe akwa. agu na-agbaghari n'iwe, na-esi Eruru n'imi ma na-aku okpookpo eze ya kpom kpom kpom ka a ga-asị na o ga-eri Eruru).
- ERURU: (Kwawa akwa ariri) Nna m agu: une  
Biko egula m : une, dgz.
- AGU: wuum! Wuum! Wuum! (Nye Eruru utu gbabakwa n'ohia)
- ERURU: (lee utu ndi ahu anya). Kedu ihe agu choro ka m jiri utu ndi a mee? (gee akwa nti) o di mma agaghi m aracha (57).

After narrating her plight to the Leopard, he allowed her to pass. Next she encountered Ozo (Chimpanzee). Applying the same method, the Chimpanzee allowed her to continue on her odyssey.

- QZO I: (kuo aka "kpam") Tata nwoke, tata nwaanyi aruola ala ebe a o. (kuo aka kpam). Tata nwoke, tata nwaanyi aruo ala ebe a o (kuo aka kpam); (umu ozo ndi ozo esi n'ime ohia gbaputa gbaa Eruru okirikiri; egwu ejide ya).
- QZO I: (Na-ekwu horohoro) Tata nwaanyi nye kpo gi bia ebe a?
- QZO II: Ehi ee! Anu adaala o (Ndi ozo na-agbaghari).
- ERURU: (Gee akwa ya nti) umu ozo abiara m udo, abiaghi m ugu.
- QZO I: (N'imi n'imi) Tata nwaanyi, I wagbuola onwe gi n'anya. Onye si gi bia n'ogbe anyi? Nye bira n'ogbe anyi chotara mgba ngwa jikere ugu maobu mgba. Horo otu. N'uzo banayere Eke ukpana ndi mmuo. Eruru agara na-abia. umu mmuo ndi o na-ezute ka ha na-aga ahia ga na-agbaghari n'iwe (58-59).

The next epic character that confronted Eruru was Umu Mmo. With he use of songs and gestures she appeals to the creatures to let her pass.

- MMUO I: Hm, Hm, mmadu na-esi.
- MMUO II: (N'imi n'imi) E e eziokwu, mmadu na-esi (Eruru egee akwa y anti, weputa nza ya na-efe ya).

- MMUỌ III: Hm, Hm mmadu na-esi (*ọ hụ Eruru, na-arụ ya aka*) Lekwa ya o. Lekwanụ ya o. (*Eruru ekwughi okwu; o legharighi ana, na-akpudebe ahia nso. ụzụ na-eme n'ahia*)
- MMUỌ I: Nwa mmadu, ebee ka ị na-eje? (*Nkiti*) Nwa mmadu, kwe ekele. (*Nkiti*) New mmadu, Ogbi ọ dara gi? (*Nkiti*) (*Eruru agara ruo Eke ụkpana ndi mmuọ, aghara adị n'ihia na ndi mmuọ nọ n' ahia nuru isi mmadu*)
- MMUỌ ISI ABUỌ: H-m H-m cherenụ ụmụnne m emeghi eme emeelanụ o!nri adaala o. Anu adaala o! (*Ha agbaa Eruru okirikiri*)
- ERURU: Ndi mmuọ,unu egbula m (*o weputa ogbe akwa ya ka o gee nti, ụzụ atụọ*)
- UMU MMUỌ: Nwa mmadu, onye nyere gi mkpanaka nne anyi?
- MMUỌ ISI ABUỌ: Gini? ọ bu gi ji mkpanaka nne, anyi na-achọ? Jidenụ ya. ọ ghoọla anụ oriri. Onye zuru mkpanaka nne, gini ka a ga-eme ya?
- UMU MMUỌ NIILE: Onwụ! onwụ! onwụ! onwụ!, (*ha na-chughari Eruru ji jide ya. Agadi nwaanyi ahụ ji ike eje ije agara bata*).
- AGADI NWAANYI: (*N'imi n'imi*) Mba! Mba! Mba! Onye na-eme nke a? Hapụnụ ya! Hapụnụ ya! ụmụ m chereka m ka m kọrọ unu. ọ bu m nyere nwata a mkpanaka m ka o gosi ya ụzọ e si abia ebe a. Nwata a bu ezigbo nwata. ọ bu ya nyeere m aka ibulata ihe ndi ahu niile m zuru n' afọ Nkaku ụbọchi a (*umu mmuọ na-atamu na-ekwe n'isi*) Biko nu, ụmụ m, unu egbukwala ya. Unu emekwala ya ihe ụfụ ọbụl. ọ bu ezigbo nwa, nwa oma, nwa a zuru azu.
- MMUỌ I: (*N'egwu na ochi*) ọ ga-anwụ. ọ bu aghugho ka o ji nata nne mkpanaka ya.
- ERURU: Biko nu, Unu egbukwala m, ka m kọrọ Unu akuko uwa m.
- MMUỌ ISI ABUỌ: Ngwa, kọọ ka anyi nu.
- ERURU: (*Bido akwa ariri*) (64-65).

Eruru overcomes Umu Mmuo (Spirits) and succeeds in fetching water from the sacred stream as requested by her wicked stepmother.

### **Conclusion**

We shall begin here by highlighting the fact the virtually all the elements of folkism deployed in the two Igbo plays examined in this paper are animated by the human agent hence the inclusion of mimesis or the mimetic space in the title of the paper. Elsewhere, I have argued Ukala's proclivity to use traditional symbols to orchestrate plot and embellishment (2010). Characters such as Mmuo (Spirit), Ozo (Chimpanzee) and Agu (Leopard) in the two plays studied here are classic example of this preoccupation with non-human characters found in traditional African folk tales. By the same token the odysaic format in the two plays are knowing features of folkism which Ukala in "Folkism: Towards a National Aesthetic Principle for Nigerian Dramaturgy" described as "Indigenization" (281). The odysaic design of these plays is populated with mythic characters that have super human powers while the protagonists are imbued with ambition, wit and courage. These characters execute

these traits by confronting the animal and supernatural antagonists and defeating them. Often the duration of this encounter spans days and seasons. It is these features that we have termed mytho-epic and odysseic. Other elements of Ukala's folkism identified in *Ojaadili* and *Eruru* were song dance and narration. While the latter is used to advance the plot and pass sententious comments by the playwright, the former are used as embellishment to give the plays their true African colour. By employing the efficacy of folkist materials such as indigenous music, narration and mime to orchestrate and redefine the African performance aesthetics within the template of contemporary literary dramaturgy, giving it life, profundity and accessibility *Ojaadili* and *Eruru* are unique examples of plays writing in the mold of folkist aesthetics as advanced by Sam Ukala. We shall conclude by citing Femi Osofisan's views. For Osofisan,

The technique used... (*in the plays discussed in this paper*) are quite familiar on the African stage, that is, a transference to the modern proscenium context, of narrative strategies of our traditional folklore. The significant elements here are the use of the narrator-raconteur, of a proverb-enriched diction, of multiple setting achieved through improvisation and suggestion, of a simple linear plot with actions that are morally symbolic, played out through the medium dance, music, dialogue, songs and finally with the active involvement of the audience. (X).

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## **Re-Reading Audre Lorde's Poem "Power" in Light of Conversational Implicature**

**Adaoma Igwedibia**

### **Introduction**

Experiences have shown that what people say or write is not always what they actually mean. Quite often, speakers' or authors' utterances or writings mean much more than what they actually literally say or write. For instance, a speaker who sends someone on an errand might say, "If you like, don't come back today." This statement might have the implied meaning of, "Return as soon as possible or come back very quickly." This is in line with the view of Jenny Thomas (1995, p. 1) who posits that "people do not always or even usually say what they mean." He illustrates this with these examples: "it's hot in here." This statement is open to varying interpretations. For someone who came into a room with the windows shut, this might mean 'please open the window.' Or it might mean, 'Is it alright if I open the window?' Or 'You're wasting electricity.' What someone says at times can be the complete opposite of what he or she means. Thomas suggests that people can mean something quite different from what their words suggest.

The preceding exposition lays out the problem of meaning in context, specifically how context contributes to meaning. Grice, writing on the same subject, studies a sort of talk-in-interaction, raising questions such as: do speakers mean what they say, or say what they mean? In other words, he studies context-dependent aspects of meaning. We will return to Grice momentarily. Meanwhile the present study seeks to investigate the features of the speech context embedded in the poetic lines in AudreLorde's poem, arguing that context helps determine which proposition is expressed by a given poetic line. The meaning of those lines can be regarded as a function from a context, including time, place, and possible worlds shared by both poet and readers, into a proposition, where, as Robert C. Stalnaker (1972, p. 383) argues, a proposition is a function from a possible world into a truth value. In other words, the study investigates aspects of meaning involved in the interaction between a poetic expression's context of utterance and the interpretation of elements within that expression.. An important aspect of AudreLorde's language use in her poetry is one that takes context into account as an essential part in the construction of meaning.

Returning to Grice, one of his two most influential contributions to the study of language and communication is his theory of meaning, which he began to develop in his article "Meaning," written in 1948 but published only in 1957 at the prodding of his colleague, P. F. Strawson (Wikipedia) Grice further develop his theory of meaning in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of his William James lectures on "Logic and Conversation," delivered at Harvard in 1967. These two lectures were initially published as "Utterer's Meaning and Intentions" in 1969 and "Utterer's Meaning, Sentence Meaning, and Word Meaning" in 1968, and were later collected with the other lectures as the first section of *Studies in the Way of Words* in 1989. But Grice's most

groundbreaking contribution to philosophy and linguistics is his theory of implicature which started in his 1961 article, "The Causal Theory of Perception," and is most fully developed in his 1967 "Logic and Conversation." According to Grice (1967), what a speaker means by an utterance can be divided into what the speaker "says" and what the speaker thereby "implicates." This results in what Grice calls Conversational Implicature. To conversationally implicate something, according to Grice, is to mean something that goes beyond what one says in such a way that it must be inferred from non-linguistic features of a conversational situation together with general principles of communication and cooperation. To Grice, a conversational implicature, is, therefore, something which is implied in conversation, that is, something which is left implicit in actual language use. In other words, implicature provides some explicit account of how it is possible to mean more than what is actually said. Grice then goes on to propound his theory of implicature which he calls the Cooperative Principle. The Cooperative Principle, according to Grice is a norm governing all cooperative interactions among humans and it consists of four conversational maxims.

From the foregoing, one could simply ask the question as to why the speakers' utterance can mean different things at different times on different occasions. Another question is how do we interpret what the words actually mean on a certain specific occasion? And why don't people just say what they mean? According to Thomas (1995, p. 1-3), several interesting questions arise from observations. He asserts: "If speakers regularly mean something other than what they say, how is it that people manage to understand one another if a single group of words such as "it's hot in here" could mean so many different things at different times, [in different contexts], how do we work out what it actually does mean on one occasion as opposed to the other? And why don't people just say what they mean? To him, these and many other similar issues are addressed within the area of linguistics known as pragmatics. Simply put, pragmatics is a field of study that shows how language is used to send messages that are not directly related to the additive value of the raw linguistic data of the utterance. Thomas (1995, p. 1-2) posits that "in the early 1980s, when it became common to discuss pragmatics in general textbooks on linguistics, the most common definition of pragmatics was: meaning in use or meaning in context, in other words, contextualized meaning.

Patrick Griffiths (2006, 1) sees semantics as

the study of the "toolkit" for meaning: knowledge encoded in the vocabulary of language and in its patterns for building more elaborate meanings, up to the level of sentence meanings. Pragmatics [on the other hand] is concerned with the use of these tools in meaningful communication. Pragmatics is about the interaction of semantic knowledge with our knowledge of the world, taking into account contexts of use.

AudreLorde's poetic language generates internal meaning. In particular, this study seeks to examine and analyze the deeper, inferred "social force" of language in Lorde's poem. The clearest way Lorde communicates her ideas and thoughts is

through language. To achieve this, the ideas and thoughts she wishes to communicate become encoded either phonologically (by the sound of the spoken words) or graphically (through marks on a printed page). When this meaning is conveyed semantically, the encoded meaning—the words, phrases and sentences Lorde creates—can be easily decoded without particular thought of the context. Sometimes, however, a deeper, inferred meaning is also encoded within her language, and this creates a pragmatic force within the text. Thus, this study rests on the proposition that whenever Lorde writes or says something semantically in her writing, she means to infer extra force to her utterance.

Surface readers of Lorde's poems ignore the pragmatic force of her language in their analysis and thus lose many critical marks and deeper levels of meaning in her writing. This study hopes to correct this imbalance or this neglect. An example will make this clear. In her poem "Power," we read the following lines:

I am trapped on a desert of raw gunshot wounds  
and a dead child dragging his shattered black  
face off the edge of my sleep  
blood from his punctured cheeks and shoulders  
is the only liquid for miles and my stomach  
churns at the imagined taste while  
my mouth splits into dry lips  
without loyalty or reason  
thirsting for the wetness of his blood.

The meaning these lines embody will very much depend upon the social and historical circumstances in which they are couched. In other words, they are pragmatically loaded words whose meaning can only be inferred by the context of the language use. For instance, the poet in the preceding lines just quoted employs the striking images to infer the urgency of the situation, that of social justice. Pragmatic meanings can be inferred in this way because, owing to the context of the language use, careful analytical readers are able to read into a word the extra meaning—the utterances' pragmatic force—conferred upon it by the way it is used within a particular social situation. The application of pragmatics to this poem allows us to see how language is used in interesting and social ways: knowing that a listener or reader of Lorde's poem shares certain knowledge with the poet by allowing his or her conversation with the poet/speaker to be more personal, lively or less extended. It also allows us to use words and give them inferred elements such as power aspects, because Lorde's listener/reader is aware of her social standing. Similarly, Lorde's poetic language can act in ideological ways to reinforce African American societal values, again pragmatically. The following lines from Lorde's poem, "Power": require more than a semantic analysis to reveal the intended meaning of the words and phrases:

The policeman who shot down a 10-year-old in Queens  
stood over the boy with his cop shoes in childish blood  
and a voice said "Die you little motherfucker" and

there are tapes to prove that. At his trial  
this policeman said in his own defense  
“I didn’t notice the size or nothing else  
only the color.” and  
there are tapes to prove that, too.

This study rests on the assumption that Lorde’s poems are about the intersection of language and power, just as they underscore or exemplify the important areas of pragmatics. The implicit understanding of a power relationship between, for instance, two speakers in an interlocution, is often indicated by the meaning implied by the language used. And this meaning can be very context-dependent. It also rests on the conviction that a recognition of speaker intention conditions success in overall interpretation of Lorde’s poetic utterance. Reboul and Moeschler (1998, p. 93) posit that interlocutors [in this case, in Lorde’s poems] arrive at a satisfactory interpretation of the utterance, if they succeed in recovering the contents that the speaker intended to communicate by means of that utterance. For Grice (1975), meaning and intention are never explicit and transparent; they can only be recovered, thanks to the implicit elements. As has been stated earlier, Lorde’s poems have not been subjected to detailed pragmatics analysis of the kind intended by this study.

#### ***Statement of the Problem***

AudreLorde’s writing apparently constitutes a major propelling force in the growth of postcolonial and cultural studies. Several works have been done by scholars on the study and interpretation of Lorde’s poems, especially through literary/critical analysis. It is quite obvious that Lorde’s poems have not been subjected to a pragmatics analysis. A lot may have been done or said about Lorde’s poems, but to the knowledge of this researcher, there is absolutely no evidence of the aspect of pragmatics in this regard. Poems are supposed to be studied and interpreted using suitable apparatuses. Lorde’s poems have rich pragmatics implications and potentialities that can be better understood when subjected to a deep contextual analysis. The problem which this research recognizes, therefore, is that Lorde’s poems have not been studied and interpreted using pragmatics principles. The need to solve this problem has led the researcher to embark on the study of this poem based on the theory of Conversational Implicature.

#### ***Objectives of the Study***

The general objective of this study is to undertake a pragmatics interpretation of Lorde’s poem based on the principles of conversational implicature. In specific terms, the study is designed to examine the degree to which AudreLorde’s selected poem violates or adheres to the Maxims of Quantity, Quality, Manner and Relation. It is also designed to provide possible interpretation of selected poem based on the violation of Grice’s Cooperative Principles.

### **Literature Review**

A pragmatics account of literature makes it clear that in literary communication we not only have a literary text, but also the emotive effects of literary interpretation which include the needs, wishes, desires, likings and feelings of the author. Pragmatics, as we know it, is that level of linguistic analysis which studies meaning in context. Yule (as cited by Osisanwo, 2003, p. 55), asserts that pragmatics is “concerned with the study of meaning as communicated by a speaker (or writer) and interpreted by the listener (or reader).” When one talks about pragmatics, one is simply talking about meaning beyond the linguistic data, that is to say, that pragmatics takes care of the implied meaning of an utterance which could only be inferred within the context. The pragmatics of literary communication deals with the kinds of problems, such as the kinds of actions accomplished by the production of the literary text (i.e. the poem), the appropriate conditions of those actions, and the relationships between the actions and their contexts (Van Dijk, 1981,13-16). A text induces its interpreter to construct an image, or maybe a set of alternative images. While the image construction and image revision are going on, the interpreter also tries to figure out what the creator of the text is doing — what the nature of the communication situation is all about. For any successful interpretation, then, the reader has to draw up a set of inferences from where the contextual implication can be derived. Understanding and interpreting poetry requires understanding and appreciating of historical and social conditions and ideological factors under which the writers find themselves. Therefore, the pragmatics impact of the poem embraces the totality of the poem, combined with its emotional, intellectual and imaginative appeal (Indede, 2009, p. 107).

Different scholars and critics of literary works have introduced important notions which either oppose or consent with the theory of pragmatics. Among these critics is Emmanuel Ngara who considers literary works as communicative utterances produced by the author and received by the reader (or hearer), especially when the poem is read aloud. He clearly maintains that a poem is not like everyday speech in that it is patterned in order to give its communicative effects a greater impact. He goes further to say that the impact of a poem could be derived from the totality of the poem, from the weight of its message combined with its emotional, intellectual and imaginative appeal (p. 14-15). These views intelligibly coincide with Van Dijk’s (1981, 246-247) who observes that not only are the structures of literary texts important, but also their functions as well as their conditions, their production, processing and reception.

H. P Grice was the first scholar to make a distinction between what the speaker says and what he implies. The idea of “say” is closely tied to the words actually uttered and their ordinary meanings, but more so it includes all the references and predictions that result from that utterance, and whatever force, direct or indirect, it might have (Martinich, 2008, 508). It is important to note that most of the poems displayed by the composers are metaphorically expressed. Metaphorical meaning is therefore not explicit in utterance. In line with this, John Searle (1969, p. 502) differentiates speaker’s meaning when he utters words from sentence and

expression meanings. For the poet to communicate using metaphorical, ironical, and allegorical sentiments, there must be principles according to which he is able to have more than one meaning, or something different from what he says, whereby the reader using them can understand what he or she means.

This paper is designed to comprehend the pragmatics of the poetry of AudreLorde. The study, therefore, employs the Cooperative Principle developed by Grice whose Conversational Implicature is central to the discussion. Even though Grice's fundamental explanations deal with natural conversations, one should not neglect the fact that the general display of his approach to discourse gives room for the analysis of literary texts.

In her essay entitled "A Pragma-Stylistic Analysis of Robert Frost's Poem 'the Road Not Taken,'" DyahRochmawati attempts an analysis of Robert Frost's poem, *the Road Not Taken* from the perspective of pragmatics and stylistics. He asserts that a pragmatics account of literature assumes that in literary communication we do not only have a text, but also the emotive effects of literary interpretation involving needs, wishes, desires, likings and feelings of the author by using Grice's Cooperation Principle. Rochmawati's analysis does not include any pragmatics analysis of AudreLorde's poetry, and so creates a gap that needs to be filled.

Florence Indede (2009) in her article entitled "The Pragmatics of Kiswahili Literary Political Discourse" attempt a pragmatics analysis of Kiswahili literary political discourse using Grice's Cooperative Principle. She bases her analysis on the following poetic texts: *Chembe cha Moyo* by AlaminMazrui, *Sautiya Dhiki* by Abdilatif Abdala and *Jiho la Ndani* by Said Ahmed Mohamed. She maintains that her article employs the Cooperative Principle developed by Grice whose Conversational Implicature is central to her discussion. She argues that the interpretation of meaning requires high level of application of the Cooperative Principle by both the reader and the author. Indede avers that the poetic dialogic understanding of the author's theme or message involves recognizing his rationale for using an utterance in context. Indede's analysis, as in Rochmawati's, provides a robust pragmatics analysis of selected Kiswahili political discourse poetry, but once again no reference to diaspora poetry in general nor to AudreLorde's poetry in particular. Hence, there is an existing lacuna that my study will address.

Rachel A Dudley (2006, p.16-39) follows suit in her equally illuminating article ("Confronting the Concept of Intersectionality: The Legacy of AudreLorde and Contemporary Feminist Organizations,") by asserting that AudreLorde is one of many women to criticize second wave feminism for overlooking issues of intersectionality. In specific terms, she critically examines the ways in which Lorde introduced intersectionality into feminist discourse and how feminist organizations embrace this concept today. The question Dudley poses is this: have feminist organizations confronted the concept of intersectionality within their work; in other words, do they account for the multidimensionality of women's lives while fighting for economic, political and social equality; and do they see inter-sectionality as a central tenet of feminist organizing. All these questions, argues Dudley, bring us closer to an understanding of how concepts deemed important by a small group can

become permanently relevant within feminism and by extension within society.

Robina Josephine Khalid (2008, p.3-4) in her essay (“Demilitarizing Disease: Ambivalent Warfare and AudreLorde’s ‘*The Cancer Journals*,”) presents literary criticism for the 1980 nonfiction work *The Cancer Journals* by AudreLorde and offers a discussion of the power and difficulty surrounding the issue of breast cancer for women in general and AudreLorde in particular. She describes in detail how the disease ravages the body and Lorde’s physical and psychological struggle against it. Khalid focuses on Lorde’s nonfiction work, *The Cancer Journals*. There is absolutely no reference to pragmatics.

Consuelo Rivera-Fuentes, a Chilean poet, activist, and lecturer (in “*Sister Outsider: An Enduring Vision: Embracing Myself, My Sister and the ‘Other,’*”) reflects on and reacts to AudreLorde’s critique of racism within lesbian communities. Her purpose is to honour and rescue Lorde’s wonderful insight into the power of words when uttered and shared by women, as well as her ideas about differences and connections that exist between black and white feminisms. Grounded in her own experience of alienation and racism in the European context of Women’s Studies, Rivera-Fuentes then asserts that Lorde’s insistence on a ‘sisterhood’ embraces the ‘other’ and ourselves at the same time.

Pracheta Bakshi (2014, 8-13) (in “AudreLorde’s Exploration of Her Multiple Selves in Her Biomythography *Zami: A New Spelling of My Name*”) argues that Eurocentrism, or to be specific, Eurocentric feminism has always disregarded the female experience of the “Other”— be it the socio-political context or the philosophical undercurrent or the mythological projections of African. Therefore, Bakshi asserts that AudreLorde in her life writing has radically endeavoured to explore her multiple selves, her radical female subjectivity, insisting that the African Orisha, i.e. the androgynous, ambiguous, trickster, mythological figure is re-invoked in her writings, especially in her poems and her “Biomythography.” Bakshi then concludes by saying that Lorde has successfully established her Afro-centric female identity by discarding the Graeco-Roman mythological tradition as a totalizing telos.

Eric SipyinyuNjeng ((2007, 23-36) (in “Lesbian Poetics and Poetry of AudreLorde”) makes an ontological diagnosis of lesbian experience. Using AudreLorde as a prime example, Njeng argues that for Lorde, lesbianism is natural, liberating, political and ultimately creative. Lesbianism is natural because, for AudreLorde, it springs from the primal desire for the mother. Viewing heterosexuality as oppressive, lesbianism frees the woman from the inexorable strictures of patriarchy. Politically speaking, Njeng contends that even heterosexual women can and do resort to lesbian acts when they are asphyxiated with patriarchy.

### **Methodology**

In this work, pragmatics principles, specifically, Grice’s Cooperative Principle which include the four Maxims, have been applied to the study of AudreLorde’s selected poem. The method involves the analysis of Lorde’s poem using Grice’s theory of Conversational Implicature to see how the maxims could be applied to a reading of meaning in the two poem.

### **Design of the study**

The study is a pragmatics analysis of AudreLorde's poem. The design the researcher employs is analytic survey. Analytic survey or what is known as cross-sectional study involves the testing out of two hypotheses. The first is ascertaining if Lorde in this poem violates the four maxims of Grice; and the second involves whether she adheres in this poem to the four maxims of Grice. The target population or the sampling group comprises the poem, "Power."

### **Population for the Study**

According to Nworgu (2006, p. 94), a population refers to the "limits within which the research findings are applicable." In other words, a population has to do with the elements to which the results or the outcomes of investigation are generalizable. The population for this study is, therefore, AudreLorde's poem under this study.

### **Sampling**

Sampling is the selection of some members or elements from the population for actual investigation. This selection is necessitated by the impracticability of studying the entire population in most cases (Ohaja, 2003, p. 20). In this work, the "Power" is selected since all the poems of Lorde could not be handled in a study of this nature.

The selection is based on the fact that this poem invariably cuts across the major sensitive areas of societal life such as race, politics, education, economy and religion. The researcher makes use of documented poems of AudreLorde, especially those that concern race, politics, religion, education and economy. Also used are some published and unpublished materials on the activities of public and private organizations. Library materials are extensively explored for detailed information on conversational implicature and its application to text analysis. The researcher also makes use of internet for currency, modernization and global standard.

### **Analysis**

It is important to note that AudreLorde employs her poetic prose to the expression of her feelings of anger and fury over unfortunate social events. She expresses her outrage and disgust at blatant racism in America, to the extent that the death of a black child does not seem to move an unrepentant nation. So she uses her poem, especially, to vocalize her almost uncontrollable anger at a system she perceives to be unjust, a system where black death and black mortality does not seem to outrage the white community. But Lorde refuses to be silenced; instead, she clamours to be heard by searching for the power within her as an African American woman warrior poet to make people hear and think about racial injustice and the criminal propensities of racists and bigots. The poem "Power," as in all Lorde's poems, has two levels of meaning: the literal and the non-literal. The storyline concerns the brutal murder of Clifford Glover, a ten-year-old African American boy from Queens, New York, shot to death by a white police officer who was

subsequently acquitted by a predominantly white jury. Queens, New York is notorious for multiple racial riots, and in the annals of American racial antagonism, Queens like Selma is noted for a theatre where black death is recorded in high number. The second, the non-literal, concerns Lorde's reactions and feelings of outrage and fury and disgust over this unjust incident. What Lorde does in this poem is to entangle or intersect this racial injustice with her own anger and her quest for justice for little Clifford.

In the second stanza of the poem, Lorde reflects on her feelings and emotions, using a cluster of striking images to address this violent tragedy: The third stanza tells the story of Clifford Glover's death and portrays the sheer brutality and insensitivity exhibited by the accused white police officer.

In the fourth stanza, Lorde references the actual trial of the white officer and the jury that granted him acquittal. What angers Lorde the most is not just the dastardly killing, not even the fact that the jury thought the officer was not guilty, but the atrocious, sickening realization that the police officer was acquitted. Lorde is fuming in stanza four because of this egregious miscarriage of justice. Lorde suggests that acquittal in this case is a foregone conclusion, almost a *fait accompli*, given the asymmetrical demographics of the jury—ninety-nine percent white and only one percent African American. So in effect, in an oblique sense, Lorde is indicting the American criminal justice system or jurisprudence, a system in which the victim of a crime, depending on his/her skin colour, is victimized yet again. In the fifth and final stanza, the poet ex-rays her violently torn feelings, apparently unassuageable, about the terrible injustice meted out to the poor boy whose only crime is his race and skin colour.

Audre Lorde strongly suggests that poets like her, as well as all artists, want to be heard and seen, seen doing something concrete and meaningful that would impact positively on fellow human beings. She avers that each poet/artist has a meaningful point to make, whatever that point may be. The artist creator has created for a specific purpose, and many times, Lorde suggests, it is to speak out against wrongs and tragedies caused by human hatred. While rhetoric is only the art of writing and speaking effectively, poetry is the art of speaking emotionally and freely. Accordingly, in the first stanza, Audre Lorde powerfully expresses her natural woman instinct by insisting that children and their safety must come first.

In the second stanza, especially in the first two lines, Lorde creates a horrific nightmare filled with bloody imagery of “. . . a dead child. . .” and “. . . a desert of raw gunshot wounds. . .” Our attention is summarily riveted by Lorde's infinitely harsh images, and are gripped with a terrible shock, the shock hitting them right in the gut. ‘Desert’ is a metaphor that conjures up her battered feeling, a feeling surrounded by a society boiling in the tumult of racial injustices and civil rights protestations. The desert symbolizes a barren society incapable of sustaining life with its nauseating white male dominance controlling all ad nauseam “. . . as it sinks into the whiteness of the desert where I am lost . . .” In lines ten and eleven, Lorde seems to feel unseen, invisible, in this barren and cold city, especially since she indicts a city where no citizen (including blacks) stood up and fought for this death of an innocent child.

Shuddering at this incriminating silence, the poet quickly develops a thirst, a thirst, that is, for justice to prevail, and hoping for the bare-faced murderer to pay for his crime of that fateful day. The first two lines in stanza two create a horrific nightmare filled with bloody imagery of “. . . a dead child. . .” and “. . . a desert of raw gunshot wounds. . .” Lorde’s harsh images grab our attention with such a shock that she seems to hit us right in the gut at the beginning of this stanza. In line one she does not mean she is literally trapped on such an awful desert. This appears to be a metaphor for her feeling surrounded by a society, which at the time was dealing with Civil Rights issues and racial injustices. The desert represents a barren society incapable of sustaining life with its white male dominance controlling all. “. . . as it sinks into the whiteness of the desert where I am lost. . .” In lines 10 and 11 she seems to feel invisible in this barren and cold city especially since she feels no one stood up and fought for this death of an innocent child. Her thirst that she expresses in line nine is also not meant literally but more non-literally or metaphorically. Her thirst is for justice to prevail and for the murderer to pay for his heinous act of that on one fateful day. In line 13 Lorde describes another form of power which is important to this piece since she titles it “Power.” She talks of “. . . trying to make power out of hatred and destruction.” This is not the type of power she is trying to obtain herself, but the power that is created and lives in men like the officer that took the boy’s life in this piece. This line is about the abuse of power and political corruption. The last line in the second stanza says “. . . only the sun will bleach his bones quicker.” This may represent the political corruption seen in this case in Queens, New York and that reference to bleaching could hint towards the racial problem that was at the root of this incident. While in the line before she wanted to heal my dying boy with kisses. . .” it appears that ending this whole travesty with some justice would have been the loving and just thing to do. The kisses represent the love and compassion Lorde felt for this poor child. This shows the audience the loving natural mother instincts inside the poet. The third stanza is in more narrative form. Line one tells the story of the shooting of the ten-year-old African-American boy by the policeman in Queens. In the next line the officer is standing over the boy and Lorde interestingly describes him standing in “. . . childish blood. . .” This choice of language helps strike that humanitarian chord inside that the poet is looking to touch. Again, artists tend to want to express meaning and get an emotional reaction from what is being read. Line two in the third stanza reminds the audience of who the victim was, a child. Lorde does not use much punctuation in her first two stanzas but in the third she does. Her choice in punctuation seems to accentuate her anger and disgust at the policeman’s insensitive and racist remarks. This makes them appear final and factual. She also makes certain that the audience knows that there were tapes to prove of these horrible monstrosities, “a voice said “Die you little motherfucker” and there are tapes to prove that. . .”

Stanza four is still in narrative form this time talking more of the trial of the policeman. The first two lines tell the reader of the man’s identity and of his being acquitted of all the charges. The next two lines are about the men who serve on the jury. There were “. . . 11 white men. . .” who were convinced that the 37 year old

policeman did nothing wrong and “. . . justice had been done. . .” This shows how unfair the trial was and that no justice was found for the young boy, since the entire jury was dominated by white males except for one other individual. In the rest of this stanza, Lorde talks of the one African-American woman on the jury of Clifford Glover’s trial. Here she touches on the power of her role in the world and how easily one woman let “. . . white male approval. . . take over her “. . . first real power. . .” by not standing her ground for justice for this dead and unjustly murdered boy. She uses a powerful image to express her fury at the one woman on the jury who let how centuries of oppression by white men condition her womanhood to forsake her own nature as a woman, needless to say an African-American woman, to adhere to her natural intuition to protect and seek the truth for a child. In line ten Lorde paints an interesting image “. . . and lined with cement. . .” This represents the natural mother in the woman that both the perpetrator and those on the jury try to terminate to achieve their racist agenda. The last stanza returns to Lorde’s emotional fury over this horrible loss. In line one she talks about how she has “. . . not been able to touch the destruction within me. . .” The destruction may represent her own hatred for the corruptibility of America’s race politics. Line four of this stanza is extremely important; we read “. . . my power too will run corrupt as poisonous mold. . .” This suggests Lorde’s own fears about falling prey to racial corruption due to this loss of faith in humanity and innocence. She shows the audience what could happen if her own corruption takes hold in the world of men and women. In the last seven lines of the last stanza, Lorde paints a picture of violent revenge for justice against all the wrongs she has known. The last two lines are extremely interesting. A Greek chorus will sing, like they did during Greek tragedies in response to the play’s action: “. . . poor thing. She never hurt a soul. What beasts they are. . .” At first it would appear that the sympathy is meant for the 85-year-old white woman who was raped, beaten senseless, and then set on fire by Audre Lorde. But it may also be for Audre Lorde herself, because she, perhaps, claims she is driven to such a horrible racial revenge by a white-male dominated society. Perhaps, both deserve the tragic chant of sympathy from the gods if such a thing were to have happened.

“Power” is a poem with a meaningful purpose by its author. It poetically tells the story of racial injustice and brutal sacrifice of an innocent boy’s last chance at equality which is cut down by a corrupt white power structure. Lorde tells the story of a tragic death of Mr. Glover, employing graphic and dramatic imagery to capture the raw emotional feeling of loss due to primal ignorance.

#### *4.1 Grice’s Maxims of Quantity and Quality in Audre Lorde’s “Power”*

Grice’s Cooperative Principle posits that the basic underlying assumptions we make when we speak to one another is that we are trying to cooperate with one another to construct meaningful conversations. These assumptions are known as the Cooperative Principle. As stated in H. P. Grice’s “Logic and Conversation,” Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged. In other words, we as speakers try to contribute meaningful, productive utterances to further the conversation. It then follows that, as listeners, we assume that our

conversational partners are doing the same. Grice came up with the following four maxims of conversation: the Maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relations and Manner. Each of these Maxims is divided into sub-maxims. The first two maxims to be applied to the analysis of selected poems of AudreLorde are the Maxims of Quantity and Quality.

**Maxim of Quantity:**

Sub-maxims • Make your contribution as informative as required. (Don't say too much or too little. • Make the strongest statement you can.

**Maxim of Quality:** Sub-maxims • Do not say what you believe to be false. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Under the Maxim of Quantity, the researcher or analyst attempts to discover the extent to which the poet maximizes the information as it relates to the subject matter. In otherwords, the researcher is interested in finding out if adequate information is supplied to the reader through the rhetoric of the verse, and thereby is bound to question the illocutionary act of the poem. The researcher is also interested in ascertaining questions of speaker's intentionality, such as ascertaining the poet's intention to amuse, to awaken, to advise or to provoke thoughts. Another interestof the researcher-analyst is to ascertain if the poet has either adhered to these maxims or violated them intentionally, ignorantly or carelessly. In the poem "Power," Audre Lord builds up an intense emotional power and seeks to arouse the same emotional power in the reader. The effect is an overkill of emotive power beyond what is needed. So in terms of the Maxim of Quantity, it is obvious that Audre Lorde violates this maxim by saying too much about the incident. Instead of restricting herself to the American landscape, she gives off the impression that the American landscape is like a desert devoid of sympathy and empathy, devoid of people who feel emotionally, filled with people who have a heart of stone.

The touch of "destruction in me" in the last stanza, all conjure up an emotional cataclysm that warrants this outburst of expression creating an impression of an overkill. She could have restricted herself to informing us of what happened. Instead, she packs that information with too much emotion, too much information that leaves the reader at an emotional breaking point. That a small boy had been killed is tragic enough and we all grieve for him but that does not warrant the poet creating the impression that we are living in a desert, that people's heart are made of stone. But the truth is that we are not living in a desert and that our hearts are not made of stone, that the killing of a child in such a tragic manner could have evoked simple emotional response in us as human beings. But AudreLorde is not content with that, instead, she wants to create an emotional explosive in all of us, so that we can feel for this boy. Thus, the hyperbole created by this comparison suggests that the poet has given too much information, thereby intentionally violating the Maxim of Quantity.

With respect to the Maxim of Quality which says: do not say what you believe to be false and do not say that for which you lack evidence, there is ample

evidence in the poem that AudreLorde adheres to the Maxim of Quality. First, there is sufficient evidence to justify that what she says really happened, happened the way that it did.

For instance, from the poem, the evidence that this is a young boy that was killed by a racially zealous police officer is clear. It is also true that the police officer is a racist by virtue of the racial slur that he uttered before killing the boy:

The policeman who shot down a 10-year-old in Queens  
stood over the boy with his cop shoes in childish blood  
and a voice said "Die you little motherfucker" and  
there are tapes to prove that. At his trial  
this policeman said in his own defense  
"I didn't notice the size or nothing else  
only the color." And there are tapes to prove that too.

Based on these two instances, it is evident that AudreLorde has not said anything for which she lacks adequate evidence. In the process of law, one of the strongest points of evidence is video evidence and AudreLorde provides that video evidence to justify her statements. Therefore, nothing is concocted, nothing falsified. Lorde speaks the truth as the truth is told through the incident of the killing of Clifford Glover, a black teenager.

#### **4.2 Grice's Maxims of Relation and Manner in "Power"**

On first perusing the poem, the first stanza has a jarring effect on the internal logic. The first question the reader is disposed to pose is what is the relationship between poetry and rhetoric, on the one hand, and the story line of the poem (the killing of a black boy by a white police officer, on the other?).

After pondering the question, the reader comes to the conclusion that the attempt by the speaker to link the two is unsuccessful. In that regard, it is clear that the speaker's attempt to link poetry and rhetoric is a diversion from the tragedy of the story she is about to communicate to the reader. The speaker is a poet and her reaction is that of a poet responding to a terrible tragedy, but that has nothing to do with the incident. The poet is responding as a black woman living in the United States and witnessing all the racial crimes committed by the police, and whether or not she is a poet is immaterial. The poet might be excused for introducing an irrelevancy because of her special knack as a poet, but it remains an irrelevancy all the same. What is clear is that the first stanza does not stay on the topic at hand and, therefore, violates the Maxim of Relation. The rest of the poem stays on the topic at hand, deepening the sentiment of sympathy for the poor dead child.

With respect to the Maxim of Manner, the reference to the link between poetry and rhetoric and the racial incident in the first stanza introduces an unnecessary prolixity and obscurity of expression which Grice clearly prohibits in his general rules (Maxims). Even in stanza two, where the speaker says, "I am trapped on a desert of raw gunshot wounds," there is a suspicion of ambiguity because the

verbal irony that introduces that metaphor leads to some kind of ambiguity which in Grice's view tends to violate the Maxim of Manner. Additionally, the speaker in an attempt to show the raw emotions of the moment engages in rhetoric that far exceeds the measured language which is needed to describe the tragic situation. For instance, in the last stanza, the poet forces another link between poetry and rhetoric, on the one hand, and the tragic killing of a black boy, on the other, and complicates that by a reference to "an 85-year-old white woman/who is somebody's mother." All of that, is a tedious attempt to enlarge the scope of the killing incident, thereby introducing an unnecessary dimension to the story and misses the critical element of brevity which is the cornerstone of Grice's fourth maxim (be brief/avoid unnecessary prolixity). In other words, the speaker, in an attempt to express the way she feels about the incident, sometimes loses herself in the mesh of those violently-torn feelings, and begins to spew forth other racially charged issues that apparently have no direct bearing on the immediate issue at stake.

### **Conclusion**

This study has been an attempt to read AudreLorde's selected poem as conversations between speaker and listener in terms of the speaker's intent beyond the literal level of meaning, in other words, the implied or pragmatics meaning of what the speaker says and the extent to which the listener understands the context of meaning. What the researcher is saying is that to understand Audre Lorde in her poetry, especially in the poem selected, one must go beyond the semantic or literal meaning of words, concentrating instead on the contextual level of meaning, in other words, the inference that listener and the reader construct. In Lorde's poetry, especially the one under the present study, the researcher has incorporated conversational implicature of Grice by adopting the Cooperative Principle, specifically the four Maxims which underpin the general rules we follow in conversation.

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## **Advertising as an Effective Promotional Tool for Theatre Marketing in Nigeria**

**Nancy Ernest Irek**

### **Introduction**

Theatre practice in Nigeria presently is a far cry from what it used to be in the days of Hubert Ogundede, DuroOladipo, Kola Ogunmola and their likes. Their consistent efforts brought limelight to theatre practice in Nigeria as patronage for live dramatic performance was highly popular. The art of the theatre then was a productive professional and business venture for income generation and wealth creation. Ogonna states that “indeed, this is what makes professionalism in the theatre a much needed economic imperative if theatre practitioners will have to live on their plays as productive commodities” (1). Today, the situation is different; and live stage performances are no longer patronized by art lovers and patrons. Theatre practice has dwindled abysmally, alienated and now moving near extinction due to low patronage. Writing in this regard, Ayakoloma observes that “adding to the low fortunes of live-theatre productions and poor tutelage for young playwrights, theatre practice needs to be repackaged if it has to breathe a breath of fresh air in the realm of artistic entertainment” [www.nico.gov.ng](http://www.nico.gov.ng).

Unarguably, the advent of computer has made the world a global village and this has greatly affected stage performances and arts practitioners are now at the mercy of this innovation. According to Uzundu, “the down turn may be attributed to the intrusion of mass media and technological innovations which has availed the individuals the privilege of sitting in the comfort of their houses to watch different programmes and channels of interest” (2). In a split second, individuals could be connected to the world and could have access to numerous channels of information and entertainment. Again, one of the pitfalls created by the tremendous leaps in science and technology in the postmodern era has been its impact on the theatre, particularly in the aspect of audience patronage. The advent of multimedia manifested in films as a more convenient means of purveying entertainment invariably means that theatre lovers and patrons do not necessarily need to go to the theatre to enjoy theatrical experience, when the same could be effortlessly packaged and dispersed to all the nooks and crannies of the world. While these technological advancements have on one hand made life relatively easier for these present jet age, it has on the other hand, tremendously affected stage productions and if care is not taken, live dramatic art could become a thing of the past, Yacim, indicates Therefore, there is urgent need to identify and explore the most viable means of audience engineering to woo theatre lovers back to the theatre, where it all started.

Theatre is no doubt a social institution and as such cannot happen in a vacuum, as the greatest asserts of any theatre business are its audience. What this implies is that theatre artists should change the narrative and strive to inject more pragmatic approach that could help in reviving theatre as an enterprise. Nwamuo

quoting Ayakoroma advice that “theatre artists should see the profession as a means of survival, believe that their lives depend on live-theatre practice, and commit themselves towards energizing it through entertaining and edifying productions. There is need to develop products that can meet contemporary appeal”(18.) What this implies is that there should be a contingent need for audience engineering which is the scientific and skillful designing, organizing and implementing of activities or a programme of action aimed at winning large audiences, and ensuring artistic merit of the content, their comfort and pleasure during the event. To further explain audience engineering, Nwamu asserts that it is complex, demanding and compelling because of the difficulty in dealing with human beings as a group that is dynamic and produce intended results (2). The essence is that audience engineering encourages advertising as a tool that can aid in bringing audience to the theatre. Consequently, theatre administrators or practitioners have identified a number of promotional tools in theatre marketing with advertising proving to be one of such veritable tools.

This study therefore explores advertising as a business to business communication tool necessary for creating awareness and attracting audiences to stage performances. Effective audience engineering therefore, could be achieved through aggressive advertising to harness all the classes of audience both target, regular, occasional and potential audiences to live stage productions.

### **Theoretical Anchorage**

This paper is anchored on the Uses and Gratification Theory (UGT). The Uses and Gratifications Theory of Communication was propagated by Jay Blumber and Elihu Katz in 1974. The basic tenant of this theory is that people use media to fulfill their needs. Gratification of needs is the most important role of media for humans. People become aware of most events sometimes through the media which they use for interpersonal communication as well. The theory is basically about the use of media by humans to elicit information and use that information to satisfy their needs. This theory is relevant to this study because it shows that information could be taken to the doors steps of the people thereby creating awareness on the happenings around them and also gives them the liberty to make informed decisions.

### **Advertising and Theatre Marketing**

According to Wikipedia, Online advertising, also called online marketing or Internet advertising or web advertising, is a form of marketing and advertising which uses the Internet to deliver promotional marketing messages to consumers. Advertising is an audio or visual form of marketing communication that employs an openly sponsored, non-personal message to promote or sell a product, service or ideas. Sponsors of advertising are often businesses wishing to promote their products or services. It is different from public relations in that an advertiser usually pays for and also has control over the message and period of the publicity. Advertising is equally different from personal selling in that the message is not personal and not directed to a particular individual. Advertising is paid communication by individuals, business organizations and non-Profit organizations who are somehow identified in

the advertising messages and who have to persuade members of a particular audience towards the patronage of advertised goods, services or ideas. Ebitus defines advertising as “a communication process, an image-building device or a persuasive tool used by organizations to alert and remind the public of the availability, features and other information about certain products and service in order to enable them make an informed decision” (103). He further explains that advertising is another element of marketing communications that is used for maintaining or gaining a competitive in the market-place. Most times advertising tends to appeal mainly to people’s emotions rather than to their intellects. Ben captures it as, “the art of arresting the human intelligence just long enough to get money from it” (185). In other words, advertising is a persuasive communication by organizations to strategically convince their target audience to patronize their finished products. Since people are motivated by emotional drives, it is only natural that advertisers should make such appeals.

However, Advertising is normally communicated through various mass media, including traditional media such as; Radio, Television, Newspapers, Magazines, Outdoor advertising; and New Media such as websites, emails, blogging, MySpace, Palmchat, Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter, YouTube Podcasting and a whole lot of others. Ever since social media became mass media, many business organizations and even government have naturally used it as a means of communications to build and transform their business into a social media enabled enterprise where target and potential audience connect, collaborate to get firsthand information on the proposed performance and even consciously or unconsciously champion information dissemination of your artistic products. Theatre practitioners can begin to leverage more on social media to propagate or build audience for stage shows. Unarguably, the use of social media gives better mileage than any other methods of advertising. Advertising in its intrinsic nature is a persuasive form of communication with a fundamental purpose of engineering of target audience towards coming to terms with the existence of a particular product, service or idea and consequently patronizing these products and services. Over the years, advertising has become a major marketing tool for marketers to showcase their product, services and ideas to target audience. Those who pay to place adverts use it to generate increase patronage for their products or services.

Unarguably, performance is the end product of every theatrical endeavour and as such, the product of every artistic production is expected to be consumed by either target audience, regular, occasional or potential audiences. Marketing in theatre is imperative because every production must be watched by group of audiences to ensure the completeness of the basic elements of theatre. Theatre marketing usually involves a systematic process of bringing planned theatrical events to the consciousness of its different classes of audiences, as it has become indubitable if not axiomatic in theatre circles that the entirety of the activities building up in a theatrical performance is oriented towards an audience. Since theatre cannot happen in a vacuum, it has become an utmost necessity to devise ingenious and pragmatic means

of marketing theatrical performance in an era which has been forced to compete with multimedia and its technologically driven gadgets.

### **Perspectives on Advertising and Theatre Marketing**

For theatre organizations, it is not all about creating amazing production but also ensuring that audiences attend the production. After putting in place the artistic values of the production, the next important thing is to disseminate information about the product after it has been successfully packaged through the collaborative efforts of the two sides of the theatre—the artistic and the commercial sides. Prospective audiences have to hear about the show and also obtain their tickets in order to attend. This is where publicity comes into the mix because any show, when adjudged from the most objective point of view, suggests that without much doubt publicity can serve as an effective tool for theatre marketing. Without a considerable turnout of audience members, the performance would have failed in its primary aim of having a full house, guaranteeing satisfaction and maximizing profit. In the light of this glaring reality, it follows that advertising to a very large extent cannot be divorced from the process of theatre production, but rather exist as a vital component to inform and persuade the audience towards patronizing productions.

All over the world, theatre administrators and practitioners tend to share a similar problem, which is reaching out to their intending audience. They also face the challenge to spruce this information with the needed spice to win the interest of the audiences. Most theatre companies who fail to observe this marketing ethics usually end up with poor turnout of audiences to its theatrical events. Another factor which tends to solidify the essence of advertising in theatre marketing is the identification of potential audiences. This type of audiences is regarded as such because of the feasible potentiality of getting them to become more frequent visitors of the theatre. Therefore, adequate and more convincing information should be relayed to them through marketing, using the tools of advertising such as Billboard, Flayer/Handbill, Radio, Television, social network platform and other out-door advertising methods.

To this end, advertising once again lend itself as a potent tool for reaching across to this category of audiences and converting them to a more regular theatre patrons. Round and round, advertising seems to be woven into the very fabric of theatre productions in any given context.

### **Effectiveness of Advertising in Theatre Management**

When consumers watch or listen to advertising messages, they often do not realize that these messages are a product of professional expertise which is what underscores their effectiveness. Ideally, it would amount to mere gainsaying if one were to arrogate the effectiveness of advertising to theatre marketing without substantiating this claim with cogent proof, and this proof is ultimately evident in the nature and character of advertising agencies, which happens to be the basic advertising instrument for individuals and business forms looking to impress themselves upon their target audiences.

Contextually, advertising agency is a private business peopled with highly skilled advertising specialists. The agency hires its services or ideas to sell. Characteristically, advertising agencies are mostly independent, they are not owned by the advertiser, the media or the supplier. This independence allows them as outsiders to give objective appraisal that will help the advertiser's business. Within the precinct of theatre marketing, what this implies is that due to the independence of advertising agencies, there is the high likelihood of a more objective appraisal which is a product of professional experience, and which will undoubtedly iron out the kinks hampering theatre marketing in any given context. The resultant effect will be a clear insight on what to create and design in order to market the theatre more effectively and efficiently. One obvious advantage of this independence of advertising agencies to the promotion of theatre marketing is that it eliminates the sentiments, and prejudices of theatre managers or producers, giving room for the more objective appraisal of the advertising agencies.

Agencies employ a combination of creative people and professionals who have scientific way to help promote the idea, service or products of the adviser. As mentioned earlier in this paper, advertising is a persuasive form of communication and therefore requires tact, skill and shrewdness on the part of advertisers and advertising agencies. Therefore, one of the characteristics of advertising agencies is its deployment of creative specialists in its designated endeavours. A theatre manager for instance, even with ample cognate experience will never understand the audiences in terms of their psychological drives much more than the professional agent of an advertising agency. This is so because advertising agencies are professionally well placed to understand audience preferences in order to create and design the kind of messages that would lure audience towards what the theatre has to offer. The department of creative specialists and professionals are perhaps what buttresses their efficacy in the strongest possible terms, obviously due to the cutting edge advantage these professionals bring to the table.

Agencies undertake the arrangement for and purchase space and airtime, thus providing yet another service to the clients. It also falls within the job description of an advertising agency to make logistical preparations like purchase of airtime from broadcast media and also subscription bloggers and other social media network for wider publicity. Given the nature of their job, advertising agencies naturally tend to execute this function with mathematical precision due to the audience analysis they carry out before placing adverts on air and social media; that way the advertising message get to the intended audience and potential audience too as the case may be. Out of the many departments within the agencies, two departments tend to play a very important role towards creating the kind of messages needed to promote theatre marketing. They are creative department and research department.

Creative department is the nerve center of advertising agency's production. This department houses the creative studies that translate agency's concept to reality. The creative department attracts peculiarly, creative individuals like designers, copywriters, graphic artists, visualizers, radio and Television producers, lithographer and bloggers etc. therefore the ingenuity and creativity proffered by this department

through advertising strategies serve as the much needed spine within the purview of theatre marketing.

The research department is the department that conducts due diligence and necessary enquiries into the problems in prospect facing the advertiser's goods or services. For theatre marketing, the functionality of this department connotes doing a proper diagnosis and determining the gray areas and frailties hampering effective theatre marketing. The goal is to ensure that proper treatment is given to this diagnosis.

Nwamuo opines that "market research is one of the basic elements in arts management. It is the joint, around which the other marketing decisions are made. It is vital in the commercial life of any organization and requires specialized skills to provide the needed information for effective management of the product. It is thus helpful to engage effective techniques for market research, audience analysis and product delivery. The theatre artist anxious to grow his live- theatre audience must engage in serious market research to understand the needs of his audiences"(19).

From the foregoing, it would become increasingly evident that the effectiveness advertising brings to the table is a function of the activities of the various departments in advertising department which all work seamlessly to create purposive and convincing messages for marketing purposes. In all, the essence, nature and character of advertising when adjudged from the most objective point of view suggests that it does without much doubt have makings of serving as an effective tool for theatre marketing. These are the technicalities which advertising agencies bring to the table to make advertising an effective promotional tool for theatre marketing. Besides the fact that theatre administrators may not be equipped with the technical know-how of placing adverts on the broadcast and social media, they are usually always inundated with a deluge of administrative work and therefore would have difficulty diverting attention to other concerns.

It was observed from the investigation that the inability to understand proper ways of placing advert and also the inability to priorities productions in relation to audience needs have become a big issue. For instance, the University of Calabar convocation production of 2015, "Hangmen also Die" written by Esiaba Irobi and directed by Augustine Kachukwu a Ph.D student of the Department of Theatre, Film and Carnival Studies witnessed a huge crown of audience because it was very well publicized on time through Radio Television and other social network. It attracted large audience members including university of Calabar community, students of the institution and audience from outside of the university. While Ahmed Yerima's "Otaela" which was directed by Kenneth Otu a final year Directing Major student of the Department of Theatre, Film and Carnival Studies, University of Calabar, this year, May 2018 at the same venue was a complete failure. The production was not adequately advertised and the attendance was abysmally poor.

In as much as advertising is seen as a veritable tool for marketing goods, products and services some see it from a different perspective. According to Sambe, "advertising is so much a part of our lives, criticisms are rampant some of these complaints to include its propensity for persuasion, its appeal to emotions rather than

intellect, bias, competition, undue repetitions and the use of vulgar and abusive language.

### **Conclusion**

Regardless of the ease and convenience offered by technologically aided and mediated performances. It is an irrefutable truism that nothing can ever replace the immediacy of a proper theatre experience. Therefore the onus continues to lie on theatre administrators to identify and utilize the most potent promotional tools for theatre marketing in order to sustain the hallowed essence the theatre has served from its humble beginning on classical Greece, across the different eras of its existence, down to contemporary times. A cursory appraisal of advertising and its potentials would reveal that it is a unique means of persuasion that can go a long way in facilitating theatre marketing and reaching out to the different classes of audiences of the theatre through media of mass communication both print, broadcast and social media. That way, the advertising message is placed within a timely block that will allow the message get to the intended audience.

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## **Dominance and Consciousness in Zainabu Jallo's *Onions Make Us Cry***

**Ndubuisi Nnanna**

### **Introduction:**

Discourses about slavery, especially among Africans or concerning Africa, consistently throw up images of and narratives about the Atlantic and Pacific Slave Trades that occurred between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. But slavery as an institution and a practice predates the trade in African slaves across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans to the Americas. Slavery is an ancient practice and has persisted to present times in different climes, forms, and contexts. It is a relic of history as well as a current global reality.

History is replete with narratives and evidences of people enslaved by their conquerors, colonizers, and captors. In modern times, too, several slave activities have been reported. In fact, just recently Africa, and indeed the whole world, was shocked about the incredible report of a slave syndicate in Libya, which carried on an active slave merchandise of African immigrants. The syndicate was revealed through an investigation by CNN that was broadcast on its flagship programme "Modern Day Slavery". The programme continues to document and broadcast incidences of modern slavery in the globe.

Domestic violence, also referred to as Intimate Partner Violence, has a global spread and cuts across cultural borders. But it is more prevalent in societies where a culture of silence surrounds matters of marital relations and where women lack sufficient education about their rights and motivation to defend or protect those rights. Violence could, of course, emanate from either of the partners in a marriage. But women are the principal victims of domestic slavery. The reason for this is that most traditional societies ascribe more privileged status to men in marriages and observe some form of supremacy codes that empower men to regard women not as equal partners in marriage but as auxiliary or subordinate ones. These codes are further complimented with other ones that discourage women from challenging the decisions of their male partners, at least openly. In addition, the natural attachment of women to their children creates an accommodating complex in women that makes them tolerate or accommodate dissatisfaction in marriage for fear that they might lose the companionship of their children if they should be separated from their husbands. Thus many women are prepared to suffer all kinds of dehumanization, including spousal violence, in their marriages, rather than be stigmatized for breaking the arbitrary traditional codes or separated from their children. Even among enlightened men, whose educational, religious or civil nurture may restrict from inflicting physical pain on women, there could be a tendency for resorting to emotional violence in place of physical might. In many cases such emotional torture could be even more debilitating than the physical forms. Therefore, whether violence in

marriage is physical, emotional, economic, or social, it constitutes abuse and always leads to injury and a loss of freedom, which may ultimately result in an emergence of a Master-Slave relationship between couples.

In Nigeria, as in many other African countries, domestic violence is widespread but grossly under-reported. It is only recently that many women suffering abuse have taken advantage of the internet, especially social media, to voice out the sheer torture and anguish that they experience in their marriages. The Violence Against Persons (Prohibition Act) enacted by the Nigerian parliament in 2015 protects women from spousal and other forms of violence. But it is not specifically about women and it does not seem to have reduced the spate of domestic violence in Nigeria. One reason for this is that a legal framework is hardly ever sufficient to address deep-seated cultural codes of conduct. It is necessary to complement legal efforts with some sort of advocacy and awareness as these would inculcate the attitudinal adjustments required for conformity to institutional frameworks. One avenue for effecting such advocacy and awareness is drama and theatre. However, there is a paucity of plays dealing specifically with domestic violence in Nigeria and other parts of Africa. Thus Zainabu Jallo's *Onions Make Us Cry*, a play about domestic violence in an obviously Nigerian setting, is notable.

#### **Zainabu Jallo's *Onions Make Us Cry*:**

*Onions Make Us Cry* is a story about Malinda Jandayi, a patient suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder and a homicide suspect, and Lola Gambari who doubles as her professional care-giver and partner in distress. The play explores the levels of relationship between the two women and reveals that both patient and care-giver share the same experience in marriage and are emotionally united but exhibit different consciousness about their individual conditions. The play has not received much critical attention. To the best of my knowledge, only Ezinne Igwe (2015) and Ndubuisi Nnanna (2016) have done some published critical work on it. According to Igwe, the play "... captures the intrigues, emotion, anxieties, fears and uncertainties which are birthed in domestic violence, a worldwide phenomenon which, even in our modern, civilised society, still claims lives and ruins futures" (21). Nnanna describes the play as "... a bold statement on a crucial implication of domestic violence for sexual identity" (150). In spite of the paucity of critical opinions on the play, there is a considerable volume of work on domestic violence in Nigeria. This includes Okemgbo, Omideyi and Odimegwu (2002), Fatusi and Alatise (2006), Esere, Idowu, Durosayo, and Omotosho (2009), and Abayomi (2014). These studies, however, lump together violence against women and children. The present study will examine *Onions Make Us Cry* in the context of domestic slavery. The examination will be framed by the concepts of Bifurcation of Consciousness by Dorothy E. Smith and Double Consciousness by W.E.B. Du Bois.

#### **Bifurcation of Consciousness and Double Consciousness:**

The concept of Bifurcation of Consciousness was developed by Dorothy E. Smith a Canadian sociologist and foremost Feminist Standpoint theorist. She was

born in 1926 and obtained her Bachelor's degree in Sociology from the London School of Economics in 1955. She proceeded to the University of California, Berkeley for graduate studies and completed her doctorate in Sociology in 1963. Smith then began her teaching career at the male-dominated Sociology department at Berkeley. She was concerned about the institutional frameworks, which she considered to be structured arbitrarily to encourage male supremacy. A failed marriage and the consequent need to cater for her children alone, forced Smith to move to the University of Essex, Colchester and later, to the University of British Columbia in the late 1960s. It was here that her feminist work blossomed. She pioneered many women studies courses and programs at the University of British Columbia and eventually became a professor at the Department of Sociology and Equity Studies in Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto. Smith used her many years of teaching and research in women's studies and her own personal experience as a full-time worker cum single parent to transform the discipline of Sociology and expand its institutional frontiers to accommodate the interests and perspectives of women. She is best known for her Standpoint Theory, which suggests that one's knowledge about life is affected by one's subject position in life. She emphasizes that there is a discrepancy between social scientific description and lived experience (*A Sociology* 151). Her most popular books include *A Sociology for Women* (1979), *The Everyday World as Problematic* (1987), *The Conceptual Practices of Power* (1990), *Texts, Facts, and Femininity* (1990), *Writing the Social* (1999), and *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People* (2005). These books explicate very deep and powerful ideas and concepts about the relations of power and the conceptualizations of feminist experiences and perspectives.

Dorothy Smith is best known for her standpoint concept of Consciousness. She uses the term to refer to a separation or split between the world as women actually experience it and the male-dominant view to which the society expects them to conform. She insists that this splits results in a skewed configuration of perspectives that conditions the subordinate group (women) to view the world from the perspective of the dominant group (men) who are oblivious of the worldview of the Other. According to Smith, the structure of power relations "... establishes two modes of knowing, experiencing, and acting- one located in the body and in the space that it occupies and moves into, the other passing beyond it" (*The Everyday World* 82). She insists that power relations are "... objectified forms of consciousness and organization, constituted externally to particular places and people" (*Institutional Ethnography* 227). Dorothy Smith's Bifurcation of Consciousness approximates to W.E.B. Du Bois's concept of Double Consciousness which the African-American historian, sociologist, black rights activist, and writer uses to define the condition of African slaves and ex-slaves in America. Du Bois is of the opinion that the average black in America experiences an identity dilemma as a result of the collective trauma of slavery and the stigma of racism.

William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B) Du Bois was born in 1868 in Massachusetts, United States. He attended Frisk University in 1885, University of

Berlin, for graduate work, in 1892, and went on to obtain the first Ph.D by an African-American from Harvard University in 1895. He joined the faculty of Atlanta University in 1897. It was at Frisk University that he wrote his seminal and most popular book titled *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). The book is a very powerful treatise on the condition of the black man in modern America and how the oppressions that frame slavery and race impact the American society as well as the consciousness of the average black man. According to Todd Shaw, “ In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois made an eloquent plea for understanding the plight of a newly emancipated but wholly racialized people” (22). W.E.B. Du Bois also founded and edited *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture* and the very influential National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). *Phylon* and NAACP were very powerful tools he employed to articulate the challenges of the black man in America and advocate for black rights and the need for education as an agent for the mental emancipation of the oppressed.

In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois explicates his idea of the ambivalence in the identity of the Negro. According to him:

... the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, - a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,- an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (215).

The type of incongruity in the perception of the Negro brings about a consciousness that hangs in the balance between social expectations and actual lived experience. The Negro tends to define himself and assume an identity according to the perception of the dominant (white) American who, on the average, sees him as an inferior.

Dorothy Smith's Bifurcation of Consciousness and W.E.B. Du Bois' Double Consciousness are related. Both are about structures of domination. They focus on the position of the subordinate subject in this structure and how the lopsided power relation result in a fragmented consciousness in the dominated. Both Smith and Du Bois argue that members of minority groups are oppressed by the dominant groups and made to evaluate their identity from the perspective of the oppressor. Thus they practically assume a double identity and are, therefore, alienated from themselves. The connection between the concepts of Bifurcation of Consciousness and Double Consciousness implies a relationship between the condition of oppressed women and black people in racialized America. This relationship will frame the analysis of the focus play.

**Textual Analysis:**

Zainabu Jallo's *Onions Make Us Cry* is written in Eight "Situations", each laced with very rhythmical and evocative poetry. All of the actions take place in Malinda Jandayi's hospital room and are mostly between her and Lola Gambari. Malinda is a patient suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder arising from years of domestic violence and the eventual accidental death of her husband at her hands. She is awaiting trial as a homicide suspect. Lola is a clinical psychologist and Malinda's professional caregiver.

Situation one begins with Malinda trying to identify herself in a monologue that reveals her fragmented mind. She refers to herself as a ghost surrounded by other ghost, like Lola, who joins her shortly after the scene opens. The opening discussion between the two women is centred on questions about self-identity. Lola exhibits some nervousness and discomfort around Malinda. Her professional mien cracks to reveal someone frightened to confront her own reality. The meeting between the two women is interrupted by a phone call from Ali Gambari, Lola's husband. She leaves in a hurry to meet a wedding anniversary date with him. This first Situation ends with a short complementary scene that has Lola and two doctors examining a dazed Malinda.

The interaction between Malinda and Lola continues in the Situation Two. It is the next week after their initial encounter. Lola is back from the anniversary date and the two try to catch up on the event. Lola seems to be more relaxed with Malinda. But she is still reluctant to discuss her marital relationship and parries Malinda's inquiries in that direction. Malinda complains about disturbances from the other inmates of the mental hospital and her restriction from family and other aspects of her normal life. Lola assures her that the restriction is only routine. Some argument about conformity to rules and standards ensues between the two and the segment ends on an unpleasant note, with Malinda asking Lola to leave her space.

Situation Three is very short. Here we witness a reversal of roles between Malinda and Lola. The scene opens with Malinda examining a bump on Lola's head, which the latter is reluctant to talk about. She waves it away as resulting from a slip in the bathtub. Malinda is unconvinced and probes harder. Lola wants to be evasive and attempts to hurry away. Malinda is persistent and applies physical force to keep her in spite of her loud protests.

The climax of the play occurs in Situation Four. Here Malinda and Lola engage in a frank chat and Lola's professional mask crumbles to reveal a vulnerable woman who is also suffering domestic abuse but who lacks the courage to confront her reality. As Malinda narrates her horrendous experience at the hands of her abusive husband, Lola identifies with her as she recollects her own similar experience. She storms out of the room in tears as Malinda concludes that her doctor is equally just a patient as well.

Situation Five continues the climax. Malinda and Lola meet again after a week. Malinda reminisces about the heydays of her marriage before it collapsed. She is unable to understand if the sudden transformation of her husband from a

“lamb” to a “monster” was as a result of the arrival of her babies or the frustrations that came with his political career. Finally Lola confesses the details of her own travails at the hands of her husband. She shows some evidence of her abuse to Malinda, who becomes so much inflamed with her own frustrations and Lola’s weakness that she crushes some broken glasses in her palms and bleeds. The Situation ends with a panicky Lola pleading with Malinda to stop hurting herself.

In Situation Six, Ezekiel Bajomo, Malinda’s lawyer visits and interviews her about the details of the crime she is awaiting trial for. She maintains that her husband’s death at her hands was an accident. She assures him that the accident did not result from a fight because she never fought back when he hit her. Here time is telescoped so that the better part of the interview does not take place on stage. Only the concluding part is revealed. Lola desires to regain the company of her children and when Bajomo cannot guarantee this she weeps as he exits.

In Situation Seven Lola reads out some test results to Malinda, which indicate that she is physically fine. A melancholic and near-delirious Malinda explicates the condition of oppressed women who remain in abusive marriages. Her exposition invokes several images of loss and alienation. Lola identifies more and more with her situation. This segment of the play relies heavily on the poetic medium, which is the principal mode of expression in the entire play, to deliver the message of emancipation for oppressed women.

The eighth and last situation leverages on the emotions built up in the previous one. Malinda is preparing for her trial and Lola is with her. She is now a confidant and partner in distress. We notice a transformation in Lola. She informs Malinda that she has decided to tackle her own domestic problem by threatening her husband with separation unless he was willing to engage the services of a shrink to help them deal with the challenges they were experiencing in their marriage. She expresses gratitude to Malinda for liberating her mind and Malinda is encouraged by Lola’s new-found courage. The two women part emotionally and the play ends with some fine poetry.

*Onions Make Us Cry* is replete with fine poetry. But all of that seems to serve as sweet syrup to enable the reader digest the bitterness of the play’s subject matter and themes without extreme resentment. But beneath the poetic ornaments the play comes out forcefully to reveal the horrifying experiences of women in abusive marriages and conjure strong images of slavery with all its undignifying associations.

In abusive relationships there exists a lopsided power structure with clearly dominant and submissive elements, the oppressor and the oppressed. This is obvious in the relationship between Malinda and Daniel Jandayi and in that between Lola and Ali Gambari. The husbands call the shots and the wives must submit, just like the slave to the slave master. In Situation One of the play, Lola compromises her professional ethics just to be available to Ali on their wedding anniversary dinner date so he would not be offended (p.6). Malinda seems to sum up the unbalanced power relations between the spouses in her response to Ezekiel’s question about the nature of her relationship with her late husband:

**Ezekiel:** What really were you?

**Malinda:** Green and grass, the robot and the control box, the conductor and the symphony... (37).

In addition to or deriving from this skewed power structure is extreme violence from the stronger element to the weaker one. Both Malinda and Lola are victims of violence from their respective partners. Malinda narrates her ordeal at the hands of her husband:

**Malinda:** ... Lived in a lovely white house. Turned out to be Hades.  
One after the other, I raised my babies  
With a broken tooth, bruised limbs, cracked ribs,  
countless black eyes... shifted jaw.  
All these, against the law (p.23).

Despite her concerted efforts to cover up her own similar experiences at the hands of her husband Lola too eventually confides in Malinda:

**Lola:** (*smiles nervously and brings out something wrapped in a white handkerchief and gives it to Malinda*) Take a look.

**Malinda:** (*Examining*). A hand full of hair. (Looks up at Lola) Your hair... gripping.

**Lola:** Rooted them out last day I was here. Gave me a wild migraine. Had to call in sick (p.32).

In spite of their harrowing experiences the victims of domestic violence, just like slaves, do their best to conceal their ordeals from the public domain mostly because they feel a need to conform to the standards set by society, which requires that spousal matters be kept away from the public and managed diligently and privately to ensure that the sanctity of the marriage institution is not brought to disrepute and to protect children from the consequences of a broken home. Thus the woman suffers in silence and lives within two worlds, one of reality and one of conformity. Two conditions result from this ambivalent situation: the development of a split consciousness and a feeling of alienation. In Situation Five, Malinda goes down memory lane to relive how she had to conceal her reality by negotiating between two worlds:

**Malinda:** ... The bane of being a puppet on a failing string  
I often was stone.  
DJ's venom spread faster than I could control  
A wonder it was for me to act in control "My children must never see this side of me"

I stood by my mantra; my life hung on it.

**Lola:** No confidant? Family? Or friends?

**Malinda:** All they saw was the glistening shell. A fancy one with no cracks.  
Worked hard at keeping it so... (30).

The following exchange between Malinda and Lola captures the feeling of alienation that arises from a split consciousness:

**Malinda:** ... What's a body without a soul? Do you know?

**Lola:** Dead?

**Malinda:** Robot... Zombie... dead! Pluck out my eyes Lola, the sky remains blue. D'you get it? Nothing altered. A soulless lot... that's what we've become. Only a few have got some soul left, before they realize it, the soul goblins would have devoured every single bit... the goblins, they steal from us... Everything.

**Lola:** Who are they?

**Malinda:** Who are they?

**Lola:** Malinda, who are these... soul goblins?

**Malinda:** Those who steal the sparks.

**Lola:** What sparks?

**Malinda:** Those you had in your eyes... they replaced your laughter with some superficial sound... fancy names they gave to profanities. They are baits Lola, we just keep falling. Till all our soul is evaporated. Empty vessels become us, no substance, no truth... see, cos that also, has been altered... (pp.39-40).

As already hinted above, the cumulative manifestation of domestic violence is identity crisis or a split consciousness on the part of the victim. This arises from a dual mode of knowing and experiencing the world. One mode, representing actual lived experience, is from within the victim while the other mode is imposed by the society. The victim is thus torn between exhibiting the reality of actual lived experience and the need to conform to expected standards of behaviour to avoid the trauma of social stigma. This identity crisis is what makes Malinda refer to herself and Lola as 'ghosts' in Situation One. The image of a ghost captures the situation of the abused woman in a society that expects her to condone domestic violence in conformity to socio-cultural standards that denigrate the dignity of her humanity. In Situation Two, Malinda questions the validity of these standards of behaviour:

**Malinda:** What is Normal? Who sets the standards for normal? Who defines normal? (*Silence*) Tell me Lola. What is normal behaviour?

**Lola:** Behaviour that conforms to a set standard... acceptable standards... and

**Malinda:** Who sets these standards... (pp.13-14).

Malinda's questions seem to represent the major questions posed by the author of *Onions Make Us Cry*. Who sets the standards of what is considered 'normal' behaviour in relationships? What is the validity of a standard that ignores the emotional wellbeing of one partner in what should be an association of two human persons? These questions seem to interrogate the core of cultural values and codes that tolerate domestic violence for the sake of social tranquillity.

### **Conclusion:**

Zainabu Jallo's *Onions Make Us Cry* is an honest response to the shared reality of women suffering domestic violence. The author examines the actual lived

experiences of women in different circumstances and uncovers even the usually concealed ordeals of victims that suffer in silence and pretend that all is well in order to retain society's approval. She questions the arbitrary socio-cultural standards that encourage dominance and oppression in marriages, and, therefore, inadvertently encourage domestic violence.

This paper has examined the structures of power in *Onions Make Us Cry*, from the experiences of the two major characters of the play, and compared these with the experiences of enslaved persons. The conclusion here is that domestic violence approximates to modern day slavery because the victims of slavery and domestic violence share similar travails and manifest the same bifurcation of consciousness or double consciousness.

Over the years, Nigerian playwrights have appropriated the realities of the society to examine topical issues that challenge the Nigerian nation and peoples and advocate for the dignity of the human person. Only few have captured aspects of abuse in marriage. But the problem of domestic violence in Nigeria requires more than a cursory interest from dramatists. No amount of legislation will provide a solution to the problem. Only a focused advocacy that addresses the fundamental issues surrounding it and the implication of its tolerance would generate sufficient awareness and an effective call to action. This is where the roles of the playwright as an umpire and an advocate for justice come in handy.

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## **The Relationship between Personality and Self-Presentation Among Adult Samples in Nigeria**

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### **Introduction**

Self-presentation or the act of creating an impression of oneself in the minds of other people is an essential component of interpersonal expression. Impressions are especially important among university students for whom healthful interpersonal expressions imply continued belongingness or acceptance to a social group. It is difficult to imagine a social situation in which people are not trying (consciously or unconsciously) to manipulate how others perceive them (Leary, 2004; Fiske, 2004). The type of self-presentation which focuses on the expression of one's supposed perfection to others, known as perfectionistic self-presentation is the interest of this research. Perfectionistic self-presentation involves a basic need for an individual to want to appear perfect to other people and/or not display or disclose imperfections in public. Hewitt, Flett, Sherry, Parkin, Lam, et al. (2003) conceptualized perfectionistic self-presentation as three distinct, stable interpersonal dimensions. Perfectionistic self-promotion represents the tendency to proclaim and display one's perfection. Nondisplay of imperfection reflects the tendency to conceal and avoid behavioural demonstration of one's imperfection. Nondisclosure of imperfection represents a broad range of characteristics such as, evading and avoiding verbal admission of one's imperfection. Perfectionistic self-promotion appears to be active staging or presentation of one's supposed perfection that involves vigilance and sensitivity to the emotional expression of others. The nondisplay of imperfection and the nondisclosure of imperfection are both protective forms of self-presentation that involve concealing perceived shortcoming.

The perfectionistic self-presentational style encompasses promotional and concealing components that may be linked with social discord and experienced by peers as interpersonally aversive (Hewitt, et al. 2003). Persons showing high perfectionistic self-promotion frequently and pompously promote an image of perfect capability and invulnerability in pursuit of other people's admiration. They may set very high standards of behaviors for themselves in order to present an image of strength and/or dominance. In contrast, persons high in concealment tend to adopt an exclusionary communication style as is seen in nondisclosure of imperfection to guard against possible exploitation by other people. Sherry, Hewitt, Flett, Lee-Baggley and Hall (2007) argue that an exaggerated self-presentational style involves a tendency to either display an extremely false self or to be highly concerned that others will detect flaws inherent in the self. All the three facets of perfectionistic self-presentational styles – perfectionistic self-promotion, non-display of imperfection and nondisclosure of imperfection, are believed to be associated with personal and interpersonal distress. Some dimensions of the construct have even been found to be

associated with marital and relationship difficulties (Habke, Hewitt & Flett, 1999). Other studies (e.g., Besser, Flett, & Hewitt, 2010; Hewitt & Flett, 2008; Schlenker & Weigold, 1992; Sherry, Hewitt, Besser, Flett & Klein, 2006; Sorotzkin, 1985) have observed that perfectionistic self-presentation is associated with several self-related and socially-related maladaptive outcomes. Persons with extreme perfectionistic self-presentational style experience negative feelings such as, high levels of stress, feelings of helplessness and they are generally not able to cope with stress (Dunkley, Zuroff, & Blankstein, 2003).

A growing evidence base links perfectionistic self-presentation to a variety of forms of psychopathology, such as anorexia nervosa (e.g., Castro, Gila, Gual, Lahortiga, Saura & Toro, 2004), depression (e.g., Kenny-Benson & Pomerrantz, 2005), obsessive-compulsive disorder (e.g., Libby, Reynolds, Derisley & Clark, 2004) and anxiety (Flett, Green, & Hewitt, 2004; Schlenker & Leary, 1982).

Bem (1972) describes perfectionistic self-presentation as an extreme, deceptive form of self-presentation that reflects a pervasive neurotic style and represents a maladaptive form of self-presentation. Hewitt et al. (2011) argue that perfectionistic self-presentation is an extreme impression management style that is a key variable in the onset, maintenance, and exacerbation of many forms of psychopathology. In general, Hewitt, et al. maintained that the key point is that the perfectionistic self-presentation reflects a neurotic, self-protective form of self-presentation that is ineffective in facilitating a more positive view of self. The perfectionistic self-presentation is a susceptibility factor for distress that seems to be associated with poor personal control, more emotion-oriented and less problem-oriented coping strategies. The sociometer theory (Leary, Tambor, Terdal & Downs, 1995) is considered a parsimonious model that has addressed the specific patterns found in perfectionistic self-presentation. Because self-esteem provides information as to the degree of inclusion or exclusion in most social context, individuals with the perfectionistic self-presentational style try to bolster their flagging self-esteem by employing stringent measures in concealing perceived mistakes, flaws and shortcomings.

Studies on perfectionistic self-presentation (Alden, Ryder & Mellings, 2002; Hewitt, et al., 2011; Hewitt, et al, 2003; Schlenker & Leary, 1982; Sherry, et al., 2006; Sherry, et al., 2007; Tangney, 2002) regard the perfectionistic self-presentaion construct as having a close link with personality. Hewitt et al. (2003) argue (as paraphrased) that perfectionistic self-presentation is a generalized and “stable aspect of personality” (p.1304). Several theorists have argued that personality is a pattern of characteristic thoughts, feelings and behaviours that tends to distinguish one person from another, and that persist over time and situation. Trait-based researchers (e.g., Allport, 1937; Carver & Scheier, 1992; Claridge & Davis, 2003) assume that personality is stable, and that each individual’s behaviour is consistent from one situation to another. People who are unpredictable tend to show greater cross-situational inconsistency (Synder, 1987). Thus, personality may affect perfectionistic self-presentational style of a sample of Nigerian adults because specific personality traits hold predictive power that varies for positive or negative affect (DeNeve &

Cooper, 1998). Positive and negative affect may mediate the relationships of personality traits to perfectionistic self-presentation of an adult sample.

In the present research, personality focuses on the levels of dispositional attributes captured in the 'Big Five' dimensions, which all individuals possess to a certain degree (Asthana, 2011). There is a growing consensus that personality can be adequately described by five broad constructs or factors, often referred to as the 'Big Five' (Goldberg, 1993; McCrae & Costa, 1997). The Big Five is a hierarchical taxonomy in which specific traits are subsumed within five separate personality traits. Openness to experience reflects a broad range of characteristics such as unconventional values, aesthetic sensitivity, and need for variety. Persons high in conscientiousness possess task-oriented characteristics such as being dependable, responsible, and orderly. Extraversion represents the tendency to be sociable and to experience positive affect. Agreeableness represents the tendency to be interpersonally pleasant. Emotional stability represents the tendency to be emotionally even; thus, neuroticism reflects individuals who are prone to anxiety and distress. Studies exploring the relationship between Big Five personality factors and perfectionistic self-presentation (PSP) show negative relationship on neuroticism to both perfectionistic self-promotion and nondisplay of imperfection facets of the PSP (Sherry, et al. 2007), whereas the nondisclosure of imperfection facet is not known to be strongly related to any of the Big Five Personality factors (Flett, et al. 2004). The five personality traits are 24 – 45% heritable (Larsen & Buss, 2002), and the heritability is strongest for extraversion and neuroticism (McCrae & John, 1992).

### **Goals of the study**

There appears to be, from several sources, agreement that the perfectionistic self-presentation scale (PSPS) – adult version (Hewitt, et al., 2003) is a reliable and valid measure to assess data on perfectionistic self-presentation among adult population. Perfectionistic self-presentation is a pervasive characteristic that occurs in several cultures and settings (e.g., Tangney, 2002), among adults and children (e.g., Castro, et al., 2004; Hewitt, et al., 2011; Kenny-Benson & Pomerantz, 2005), and even holds for both men and women (e.g., Leary, Allen, & Terry, 2011). However, all the findings on perfectionistic self-presentation in adult have emerged through research with respondents from the Western and Asian societies (both clinical and non-clinical samples). To date (at least, to the best of our knowledge), no study on perfectionistic self-presentation has recruited participants outside the affluent Western and Asian societies. This limits the validity of inferences drawn with the Perfectionistic Self-Presentation Scale (PSPS) – adult version. The present study begins to fill this void by administering the perfectionistic self-presentation scale – adult version on Nigerian (African) adults. The administration of the PSPS outside the usual Western and Asian population is an attempt to examine the veracity that the measure can be applied in all cultures and settings. If prediction is supported by data, the claim is true and global generalization of PSPS would be supported. Otherwise the prediction would be rejected.

## **Method**

### *Participants and setting*

The participants for the study composed of 231 students of University of Nigeria, Nsukka, whose inclusion criterion was being a full-time undergraduate student of the University. The sample was selected through purposive sampling technique. The compositions of the sample are as follows: 211 (91.34%) of the sample were single, while the rest 20 (8.66%) were married; also, 201 (87.01%) of them also Christians, while the remaining 30 (12.99%) participants belonged to Islamic religion. In terms of gender, there were 105 (45.45%) men and 126 (54.55%) women. Participants' ages range between 16 – 30 years (Mean age = 22.41 years; SD = 4.17).

### *Instrument*

Two instruments were used in this study. They are the Perfectionistic Self-Presentation Scale (PSPS) –adult version and the Big Five Inventory (BFI). The Perfectionistic Self-Presentation Scale (PSPS) –adult version (Hewitt, et al, 2003) consists of 27 items. Items were constructed in reverse- and non-reverse-keyed format. Instructions were written asking respondents to rate their agreement with the statements on 7-point Likert scales. Response options are “strongly agree” scored 1; “moderately agree” scored 2; “considerately agree” scored 3; “undecided” scored 4; “considerately disagree” scored 5; “moderately disagree” scored 6; and “strongly disagree” scored 7. The PSPS – adult version is made up of 3 subscales. The first subscale is known as *perfectionistic self-promotion*. The perfectionistic self-promotion reflects the need or drive to appear to others as if one is perfect and entails characteristics such as excessive concern over presentations of self as perfect, an excessive concern with or motivations to have others see self as perfect, and unrealistically presenting one's perfection. The perfectionistic self-promotion subscale consists of 10 items. Some examples of items on the subscales are: “I try always to present a picture of perfection”, and “I don't really care about being perfectly groomed” (R). The second subscale of PSPS - *nondisplay of imperfection* reflects the need to avoid showing or demonstrating overtly any imperfection or perceived shortcoming and involves characteristics such as excessive concerns over public errors, avoidance of situation where shortcomings or “less than perfect” behaviour or performance might be revealed and elaborate attempts to hide mistakes from others. The nondisplay of imperfection subscale also consists of 10 items. Some sample items in the subscale are: “It would be awful if I made a fool of myself in front of others”, and “I do not care about making mistakes in public” (R). Nondisclosure of imperfection is the other subscale of PSPS. It reflects the need to avoid admission or disclosure of imperfection and involves characteristics such as avoidance of admitting to errors or shortcoming, not revealing verbally to others one's problems, and evasiveness in interpersonal interaction. The nondisclosure of imperfection subscale has 7 items. Sample of items on the subscale are: “I should always keep my problems to myself” and “It is okay to admit mistakes to others” (R). In all the subscales, items followed by (R) are reversed. The Perfectionistic Self-

Presentation Scale (PSPS) –adult version (Hewitt, et al, 2003) is a standardized psychological inventory to assess perfectionistic self-presentation and validated for use in Nigerian samples by the researchers. The full scale of PSPS yielded an internal consistency reliability coefficient of 0.82 and a construct validity coefficient of 0.69 (N=40). The Cronbach alphas for the three subscales of Perfectionistic Self-Presentation Scale –adult (PSPS) are: perfectionistic Self-Promotion, 0.75; nondisplay of imperfection, 0.69; and nondisclosure of imperfection, 0.36 respectively. Despite obtaining a somewhat diminished reliability estimate for one of the three dimensions of perfectionistic self-presentation, the factor analytic finding supports the independence of the facets.

The Big Five Inventory (BFI) (John, 1990) is a 44 – item inventory that measures higher order personality dimensions of openness (o), conscientiousness (c), extraversion (e), agreeableness (a), and neuroticism (n), identified with the acronym, OCEAN. The BFI is a Likert-type questionnaire that requires respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with statements people often use to describe themselves. Response options are: 1= strongly disagree; 2= disagree a little; 3= neither disagree nor agree; 4= agree a little; and 5= strongly agree. Some examples of items on the BFI are: “I see myself as someone who is talkative, “ \_\_\_\_, who starts quarrels with others”, “ \_\_\_\_, who tend to be quiet” \_\_\_\_, who remains calm in tense situations”. In scoring the BFI, a simple scoring technique in which 16 of the 44 items are scored in reverse (John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008) was adopted. John (1990) provided original mean convergence validity coefficient of .75, an internal consistency reliability coefficient of .80 and a three-month test-retest reliability coefficient of .85. The BFI was validated for use in Nigeria by Umeh (2004) with a sample of Nigerian university students. The BFI showed a moderately high internal consistency reliability estimate of Cronbach alphas of .71(openness); .70 (conscientiousness); .72 (extraversion); .65 (agreeableness); and .75 (neuroticism). Umeh (2004) also found a concurrent validity coefficient of .88 with the Ten Item Personality Inventory (TIPI) (Gosling, Rentfrow & Swann, 2003).

### **Design and Procedure**

The design for this study was cross-sectional. The big five inventory (BFI) and the perfectionistic self-presentation scale (PSPS) adult version, were administered together to undergraduate students individually in their classrooms. The participants were given adequate instruction on how to complete the questionnaires after eliciting informed consent from them. The participants actually filled and submitted informed consent forms to the principal researcher prior to participation. The ethical consideration for the study was granted by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology, University of Nigeria. The instruments were collected immediately after completion from 240 students that initially participated in the study. Nine (9) (3.75%) of the filled questionnaires were later discarded due to improper completion of the questionnaire such as, multiple selections of the response options. In the end, only responses made by 231 (96.25%) undergraduate students were used in the data analysis.

### **Data analysis**

Pearson's correlation and hierarchical multiple regressions were the statistics utilized in the data analysis. The research was aimed at predicting values on the criterion variables from multiple predictor variables – Openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism (OCEAN). Thus, hierarchical multiple regressions were preferred for its predictive relationship ability. Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, version 20) was the software used for the data analysis.

### **Results**

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics and the correlation table for the study variables. As can be observed from the table, age and religion showed no correlation to both the Big five Personality factors and to the three facets of perfectionistic self-presentation. Gender show negative correlation to openness ( $r = -0.13$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), but was not correlated to perfectionistic self-promotion, nondisplay of imperfection and nondisclosure of imperfection. Marital status was only negatively correlated to neuroticism ( $r = -0.14$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and was not correlated to the three dimensions of perfectionistic self-presentation. Within the Big five Factors, extraversion was negatively and significantly correlated to agreeableness ( $r = -0.15$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ), and conscientiousness was correlated to nondisplay of imperfection ( $r = -0.03$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Neuroticism was positively correlated to openness ( $r = 0.15$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ); it was also negatively correlated to perfectionistic self-promotion ( $r = -0.14$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and it finally correlated negatively to nondisplay of imperfection ( $r = -0.20$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). The three facets of perfectionistic self-presentation – perfectionistic self-promotion, nondisplay of imperfection and nondisclosure of imperfection, were related to each other. The perfectionistic self-promotion showed significant correlation to the other two components of perfectionistic self-presentation, the nondisplay of imperfection ( $r = 0.61$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), and the nondisclosure of imperfection ( $r = 0.36$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Also, the nondisplay of imperfection component showed significant correlation to nondisclosure of imperfection ( $r = 0.35$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ).

The results of the hierarchical multiple regression in Table 2 showed that the control variables in Model 1 – age, gender, marital status, and religion were neither related ( $p > 0.05$ ) to the five dimensions of Big Five factors nor to the three components of the perfectionistic self-presentation. Model 2 however, showed that within the Big five personality factors, that only neuroticism significantly predicted perfectionistic self-promotion ( $\beta = -0.18$ ,  $t = -2.77$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). The regression coefficient is negative, suggesting that an increase in the level of neuroticism leads to a decrease in the level of perfectionistic self-promotion. Again, the results show that of all the dimensions of the Big five factors, only conscientiousness ( $\beta = -0.16$ ,  $t = -2.49$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) and neuroticism ( $\beta = -0.21$ ,  $t = -3.21$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) significantly predicted nondisplay of imperfection. For both conscientious and neurotic personalities, the regression coefficients were negative. This suggests that as the levels of conscientiousness and neuroticism of young Nigerian adults' increases the level of nondisplay of imperfection they exhibit diminishes. The result in the last panel in

Model 2 showed that neither the control variables nor the Big five Factors were significant predictors of nondisclosure of imperfection. The modal summary of the hierarchical regression showed the predictive strengths of the five dimensions of the Big Five personality factors. The results indicated that personality accounted for 2% ( $AR^2 = 0.02$ ), 4% ( $AR^2 = 0.04$ ) and -2% ( $AR^2 = -0.02$ ) of the variances in perfectionistic self-promotion, nondisplay of imperfection, and nondisclosure of imperfection, respectively.

## **Discussion**

This study examined the degree to which the Big Five personality factors, namely: openness, conscientiousness, extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism (OCEAN) were related to the three facets of perfectionistic self-presentation - perfectionistic self-promotion, nondisplay of imperfection, and nondisclosure of imperfection. The Big Five personality factors were measured with the big five inventory (BFI) (John, 1990), while the perfectionistic self presentation was measured with the perfectionistic self-presentation scale (PSPS) – adult version (Hewitt, et al. 2003). Results of data analyses indicated that the Big Five personality factors were differentially related to the three facets of perfectionistic self-presentation. Neuroticism showed significant negative relationship to perfectionistic self-promotion. This finding is consistent with past findings from adult samples, wherein perfectionistic self-promotion showed small but significant association only with the neuroticism component of the Big Five factors (Flett, et al., 2004; Sherry, et al., 2007).

Again, two components of the Big Five factors, namely: conscientiousness and neuroticism showed significant negative relationship with the nondisplay of imperfection. This result is consistent with Hewitt et al. (2011) findings. Hewitt et al. found with respect to the nondisplay of imperfection that the facet is associated (only) with conscientiousness from the Big Five Inventory. But a review of other analyses in their study indicated that the nondisplay of imperfection has significant correlations with depression, anxiety, and marginally with anger, suggesting that nondisplay of imperfection is associated with psychological distress and maladjustment.

The results further showed that the three facets of perfectionistic self-presentation – perfectionistic self-promotion, nondisplay of imperfection and nondisclosure of imperfection, substantially related to each other. The perfectionistic self-promotion was significantly related to the nondisplay of imperfection and the nondisclosure of imperfection facets. The nondisplay of imperfection on the other hand was related to the nondisclosure of imperfection. In all the cases, the relationships were fairly moderate and positive, and are consistent with the observation made in studies with adult samples (Besser, et al., 2010; Flett, et al., 2004; Habke, et al., 1999; Hewitt, et al., 2003). In Hewitt et al. (2003) study for example, the researchers feared that the observed correlation among the three facets of perfectionistic self-presentation would pose serious problem in interpreting that the facets are actually unique and independent. However, their factor analytic findings support the independence of the facets. Also, the differential relationships the three

facets had with other variables, such as the Big Five factors suggest that the three facets assess different aspects of perfectionistic self-presentation.

### **Conclusions**

This study assessed the degree to which the Big Five personality factors were related to perfectionistic self-presentation in a sample of Nigerian young adults. The objective of the study was to investigate whether perfectionistic self-presentation is to investigate the veracity that the perfectionistic self-presentation scale (PSPS) –adult version can be used in all cultures and settings. Specifically, the study was conducted with African undergraduate students as participants to observe whether findings obtained about perfectionistic self-presentation with participants in the Western and Asian societies would resemble the findings obtained with Nigerian (Africa) participants. Analyses of data obtained in the present study seem to suggest that PSPS –adult version is indeed not bound by border. The similarity of our findings with those obtained in Western and Asian societies are unmistakably consistent. The present findings thus provide converging evidence with the studies of those of our predecessors who employed adult samples in their studies. For the avoidance of doubt, the present study focused on perfectionistic self-presentation in adult samples. The participants were undergraduate students whose mean age were twenty-two years plus. The researchers would not speculate generalizing the present results to children and/or adolescents. It is generally recognized that younger people are highly focused on how they appear to others (Castro, et al. 2004; Hewitt, et al. 2011), and because there has been limited evaluation of child's psychology in Africa, the researcher invite researchers in Africa to utilize the perfectionistic self-presentation scale (PSPS) – junior (Hewitt, et al. 2011) to study self-presentational style in children. Perhaps, it would be nice to determine whether African children and Western and Asian children would be similar in the act of creating impressions about themselves.

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## **El Anatsui and the Postmodern Controversy**

**Chinedu Ene-Orji and Joel Maiye Eseyin**

### **Introduction**

Studies on modern Nigerian art have been diverse, spanning over a century, beginning from the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Aina Onabolu officially pioneered modern art in Nigeria. These studies have been mainly broad surveys and only a few have concentrated on particular individuals and incidences, in an incisive and analytical manner. Research work has centred on individuals, groups and institutions; styles, themes and ideologies. However, not much work has been done on how influences impinge on and take a commanding hold upon artists or a group of artists in modern Nigerian art. A clear and well articulated history of modern Nigerian art has not been written, to show how these factors intertwine to form a corpus of history.

So far, the trajectory of modern art in Nigeria has been mapped from Aina Onabolu through Ben Enwonwu, the Zaria Art Society and to developments several decades later. Today, over a century from the unofficial pioneering role of Onabolu, and into a new millennium, the art historical discourse of Nigeria is still yoked in modernism. In spite of this, new and defining events have been unravelling in the Nigerian artistic environment. These events and individuals who make them happen are, however, not given serious critical attention.

Postmodernism is, however, on the ascendancy globally. From Europe to America, Asia to some aspects of Africa, it has become the art mode of choice. Although it has not gained popular acceptance in Nigeria, some artists have engaged in it. In the same breath, some Nigerian artists, art historians and critics have kicked vociferously against postmodernism for various reasons. If modernism, *natural synthesis* and other progressive developments in modern Nigerian art have been accepted under the aegis of change and artistic evolution, that is characterized by synergy between foreign and indigenous cultures, what are the factors hampering the speedy implantation of postmodernist ethos in Nigeria? If modern Nigerian artistic development has been hedged in modernism, is postmodernism not a plank by which it can cross over to a new vista of development?

Postmodernism is not a style, art movement or school. It is simply a cultural mood. Since art is a salient aspect of culture, it has evolved a postmodern interpretation. Postmodernism is today seen as a negation of modernism and recourse to past conventions and art practices. In the occident, its prehistory is still a source of controversy. Kroker and Cook postulate that the postmodern scene began in the fourth century A.D. with the Augustinian subversion of embodied power.<sup>1</sup> Christopher Reed, has pointed out that the end of modernism had been announced since modernism began.<sup>2</sup>

Postmodernism is a word that is very difficult to define. Today, it is better described as a mood, not a movement, style or school. Its meaning is better

understood if one begins with its architectural origin. It was advocated that the purity of vision of modernity should be abandoned and a new course charted based on an eclectic fusion of old styles to produce designs that are fickle yet metaphoric.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, unlike modernism that is built on principles, postmodernism can be best described as art without principles. Hence conceptual art falls within the province of postmodernism. Generally, postmodernism is a challenge to the modernist certainty about the autonomy of art.

Today, postmodernism is being lampooned as illogical and over reaching itself. A body of theory has however evolved around postmodernism. It was generated by artists and critics who practice such an art mode and is best explained by terms like appropriation, deconstruction, signification, originality, discourse and ideology.

### **The Politics of Postmodern Art in Nigeria**

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines politics as an organizational process or principle affecting, for instance, authority and status.<sup>4</sup> Eric Fernie deposes that 'politics is the means by which social means are sought.' It is an important factor responsible for artistic decisions as well as the resolve to study the results. Hence historical research is dependent on the politics of those being studied as well as the politics of the researchers themselves.<sup>5</sup> In this case the politics of the postmodern is concerned with the status of the art mode: how well it has been accepted and how it is being practiced among the artist community in Nigeria. Postmodern art, like most new things, has suffered a level of negation and opposition in the Nigerian art terrain. Like any aspect of human activity, opinions differ among participants, the arbiters and the spectators. The politics of postmodernism is however affected by these major factors such as the Problem of Provenance; Commercial non-viability; Cultural imperialism; Tutelary and academic consideration; and Lack of Understanding or Ignorance.

### **Problem of Provenance**

Modern art in Europe came about when Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque made appropriations from traditional African art that led to the birth of cubism.<sup>6</sup> Today Western art has advanced to another epoch, postmodernism; which is today described as a negation of modernism by incorporating aspects of historical modes of artistic expression.

In Nigeria, today, there is no doubt that postmodernism is considered an imported mode from the West. However, the few artists who are brave enough to embrace it are trying to localize it. The issue of provenance is still a major factor, in its implantation in Nigeria's artistic milieu. A number of art critics believe that because it is not home grown, it can never really suit local needs. And these critics and their followers, acting like the praetorian guards, who are immune to change, have refused to give it any concession. For them, change for its sake is inappropriate. But in another light, it is very easy for them to forget that virtually all aspects of our lives have been affected by change; be it religion, fashion, technology, diet, and even

education. Art as it is practiced today is essentially Western. Why are critics like Krydz Ikwemesi and Kunle Filani therefore so sensitive to the emergence of postmodern art?

Even the issue of origin is contentious. El Anatsui, the eminent sculptor, has also pointed out that postmodern art like modernism before it has an African origin. He lays claim to the fact that today, aspects of postmodernism can still be observed in the contemporary African environment and ancestral art. An example is the installation of wares in market stalls all over Africa. These wares are installed instinctively without rehearsals. The structural display of statues, sacrificial goods and accessories in shrines all over Africa can be seen also as installation art. What about body art and decorations and other aspects of performance art like masquerade displays, religious rites and various dances?

An instance of performance art and installation as a means of communication in Africa which happened in the 13<sup>th</sup> century has been rehighlighted.<sup>7</sup> Anatsui, has made this incident popular again. The story is about how Sundiata of the Mali Empire made conceptual art to depict warfare and despoliation, using a basket of guinea fowl feathers, potshards, dust and other ruffles.

Critics opposed to postmodernism are quick to point that these instances were not considered art when they happened. Ikwemesi wonders: 'Why do we tremble at the mention of postmodernism if it is really a return to history and the history thus returned to reflects much of our heritage?'<sup>8</sup> Talking about heritage, African art was predicated on the concept of 'art for life sake.' Armed with the knowledge that African sculptural pieces that are now highly prized all over the world were not made in today's concept of art, do we now discard them as artifacts, ceremonial goods and sundry items? Does this now invalidate the offerings of artists who practice postmodern art by appropriating from this vast and profound heritage, ideas, materials and processes?

The issue of going back to one's culture to borrow is not a new phenomenon in Nigerian art. Aspects of Nigerian modernism are based on this premise. It was initiated and later grounded by the members of the Zaria Art Society at the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology (NCAST) Zaria.<sup>9</sup> This was achieved through their battle cry of *Natural Synthesis* which involved a synthesis of the Western art and traditional art to get modern art. Similarly, Anatsui has always spoken about the phenomenon of *Sankofa*<sup>10</sup> which is a Twi word which literally means: 'Go back and pick.' Hence one is allowed to go back to ones history and heritage to look for and retrieve motifs, symbols, metaphors and concepts that will help one to negotiate today's life or solve creative problems. Besides, art historians are now agreed that several modernisms occurred at different times and places as distinct from that of the West.<sup>11</sup>

The provenance of postmodernism is not as important as what artists do or achieve with the mode. The Nigerian and African artists should be emboldened by the fact that vestiges of this practice are still visible in their environment. On the other hand, provenance should not be a draw back because the world is gradually becoming an entity. People borrow from anywhere to solve extant problems. What should really

be significant is that Nigerian artists woke up from their slumberous position and are now using this art mode to solve creative problems.

### **Commercial Non-Viability**

Postmodern art as it is presently constituted is meant to destroy or collapse the modernist certainty. It tries to do this by neglecting infrastructure and institutions like galleries and museums or by trying to redefine them. Postmodernist art thrives on its relationship with the environment. This artistic ethos thrives on transgressing boundaries and rejects being classified as sculpture, painting, ceramics, textiles or graphics. And because they are difficult to acquire and preserve, in terms of media and format, they do not fit into the regular collections of museums and galleries, much less personal collections. In essence, they are not commercially viable. Hence, according to Ola Olodi, historian and critic, most artists shy away from this practice in Nigeria.<sup>12</sup>

Because most artists are still struggling to afford the normal fare, they engage in art that can be sold quickly. No doubt, it costs a lot of money to engage in postmodern art at the risk of not selling. This makes it a risky venture for the average artist without support since there are no mediatory institutions that provide artists with grants, and sponsorship by corporate bodies are far and in between. Artists are left to fend for themselves. In addition to all these there are no art residencies or programmes, no projects and very few workshops, where materials will be provided free of charge in a conducive environment for artists to unleash their creative energies. As most artists are in the perpetual race to find means of livelihood, this does not give them latitude for the creation of great art.

However, the artist El Anatsui believes that in spite of the non commercial nature of postmodern offerings, artists should delve in it, because it is the art of the future. He believes that persistence will eventually make the artist proficient in the mode. By so doing great offerings will be produced. But because most artists produce art for pecuniary purposes, they bring the normal fare to the market; hence little sales are made. Artists therefore, ought to be on a new and uncharted course, struggling to explore new possibilities. This will assure a steady supply of new and interesting artworks that will ultimately stimulate the market. By so doing, artists will create a reputation for themselves.

### **Cultural Imperialism**

Despite all the possibilities that come with the practice of postmodern art, some artists are reluctant to embrace it. This is because they feel it is another western construct designed to colonize the African creative environment and to emasculate the minds of the artists. Modern European art, a derivative of African traditional art, did not have an overbearing influence on Nigerian modernism. Instead this Nigerian epoch took to borrowing from the same old traditional repertoire. Modern Nigerian art has taken nearly a century to get to where it is today. It did this by a process of appropriation and other influences. Both modern and traditional epochs have rubbed off on each other on a general scale. Nigerian art, especially the brand that is

practiced by artists domiciled in the country, cannot be sacrosanct and unyielding to change. Change is an intrinsic aspect of creativity.

Artists who have successfully engaged the postmodern mode have applied it towards solving problems that are related to Africa and her peculiar circumstances. An artist like El Anatsui has dedicated his work to the interrogation of African history: slavery, modern day emigration to the west and other contemporary issues, using clay, wood, and lately metal, all sourced from his immediate environment. Dilomprizulike also known as the junkman of Afrika, has devoted most of his works to the problems that assail the contemporary Nigerian urban dwellers. He works with discarded materials or simply put junk items.

Nigerian artists who practice postmodernist art have also been accused of bothering themselves with ephemeral ideologies and theories as well as the creative modes they have picked from their travels abroad; which are at variance with African creative sensibility. While men and women all over the world belong to different cultural backgrounds, the human spirit is the same. One is at loss why these Afrocentric critics and artists do not reject Western science and technology as well as the artist materials which are a part of Western culture. If African artists sieve the best and progressive aspects of Western artistic ethos and merge them with theirs towards evolving an art that is African and at once universal, is that an oddity?

Is it not funny that contemporary art, as it is being practiced in Nigeria, today, is being done using Western materials and methods? On the other hand, postmodernism offers Africans the opportunity to source for and use materials from their own environment other than the conventional ones, to execute their art.

By doing so, they reflect their immediate environment using local resources. It therefore means that critics of postmodern art would rather have African artists continue to stagnate in their use of orthodox or western sourced materials. Postmodernist art is an avenue for freedom; freedom of expression.

### **Tutelary and Academic Considerations**

Postmodernism has proven to be a contentious issue even within the academic circle. It has divided the community in two: those in support of postmodernist art and those in opposition to it. Those who oppose postmodernist modes of expression believe that it imparts nothing on art students. Instead it deprives art students of the opportunity to acquire rudimentary and essential skills that will make them professionally competent. For them postmodernist and conceptual art are all escapist techniques. These critics ranged against postmodernist art also view artists and art students who engage in this trend as vulnerable and eager to appropriate entirely, without reservations, any creative idea, medium or process emanating from the Occident.

Kunle Filani contends that art is a profession with a programme of pedagogical events tied to a time frame and under tutelage, using certain materials, methods and techniques and a set of theories to earn qualification as a professional.<sup>13</sup> This set of criteria is constant to any form of training, both academy and traditional art. Certain codes are also sacrosanct to the appreciation of art works; so that when an

artist begins to create works that obviate the very laws upon which art is propped, then such a practice is anti art or iconoclastic. This will ultimately lead to an implosion. He therefore prescribes that students should be taught the normal or traditional fare while under tutelage and be given the leeway or freedom to experiment only upon graduation.

The other school of thought, led by Anatsui, believes that artistic practice is universal but artists could localize their art in terms of themes and media. Anatsui contends that change is constant and should apply to art as well. That art should constantly go through a phase of reevaluation and reinvention to remain relevant in the scheme of things. He believes that students should be exposed to new ideas alongside their academic programme.<sup>14</sup>

The postmodern controversy in Nigeria really came to a head in May 2001, when Professor El Anatsui led his students to Lagos to exhibit at two venues: Mydrim Gallery and Nimbus Gallery concurrently. The works they showed were radical and new, using unorthodox media and processes. The exhibit was titled *New Energies*. Some art critics, artists and writers were shocked out of their wits, at the temerity of the artists and their controversial offerings. This sparked off a media debate where artists and critics like El Anatsui, Kunle Filani, Chika Okeke, Krydz Ikwuemesi, Ozioma Onuzulike, John Amifor and Okechukwu Uwaezuoke made their opinions known, for or against postmodern art.

### **Conclusion**

The views expressed above were influenced by individual differences. However, art is a universal phenomenon coloured by local identity, ideas and events. Art is usually characterized by its provenance in the form of media, idea, theme and technique. Production of art is also a personal experience that is guided by education, sensitivity, experience and creativity or talent that is geared towards art as a commodity for public consumption. It is normal to expect that widely read and travelled artists would appropriate ideas consciously and unconsciously in their bid to create art, since their perceptual subconscious have deepened and their audience has been broadened. It is only an insular artist that would continue in the line of his ancestors and predecessors without the injection of new idea

The world has been opened up both by the ability of people to travel widely and quickly as well as the aid of technology which makes communication easy, via the internet and other digital modes. Artists thus have a glut of visuals to choose from in constituting their art. It would be a constraining experience, tending towards a lack of creative imagination or self censorship, when an artist limits or narrows himself to the materials he is used to, in the face of many options and possibilities. As much as the world is now a global village, with the aid of digital technology, the artist must first look good from the homestead, by exploiting, exploring and employing available local resources, before venturing to the market place. All art have provenance and local captive audience. However, a successful art work usually exudes a metaphoric quality and resonates in many directions, with the capacity to

open many conceptual doors, hence giving it global resonance. The postmodernist ethos is the *open sesame* to these many doors.

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## **Old Testament Leadership and the Crisis of Power Transition in Sub-Saharan Africa**

**Favour C. Uroko, Virginus Uche, and Nelson Sunday**

### **Introduction**

The issue of shift in power permeates the very fabric of Old Testament theology. Leadership position seems to be an enticing feat, that power transition from one leader to the other often creates ethnic tension and religious bigotry in Sub-Saharan African political context. The Old Testament has exemplified leaders who transited power to their successors with sincerity and purpose, such as Moses to Joshua, Elijah to Elisha— these are biblical models of leadership who informed the leadership vision and efforts of spiritual transformation, social change and justice in the community (Harris, 1). Also, there are also examples of leaders who were not efficient in their endeavour such as Saul, Solomon, and Eli. Yalra (98) explains that, because they did not fulfil God’s command, hence their failure. There is a deuteronomistic bias in that; emphasis was laid on their failure rather than on the contributions of other persons to their failure. How these leaders of Israel gained and transferred power to their successors has a core influence on their success.

This research is unique in the sense that it would not be looking at the success or failure of these biblical characters; instead, it goes to the root of finding how this leadership power was transited from predecessors to successors. It was during the process of transition of power that the researcher believes that the wrong actions were taken either due to favouritism, nepotism or tribalism. Hence, this research examines the problems of power transition in the Old Testament. It uses the findings as yardstick towards providing solutions to Africa’s problem of transition in leadership.

Over the past few decades, the media has chronicled the calamity of African political leadership dilemma. A dilemma coupled with experiences and practices of people manipulating their way to power and afterwards refusing to vacate seat as and well due with recourse to selfish gains. The reign of Kamuzu Banda of Malawi (1963-1994), Teodoro Nguema of Equatorial Guinea (1979), Emperor Jean Bedel Bokassa of Central African Republic (1966-1976) and Sani Abacha of Nigeria (1993-1998) Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe (1980-2017) cannot be forgotten. These are few of some hundreds of sub-Saharan leaders that refused to relinquish power peacefully. They proclaimed themselves as all life presidents. Rather than relinquish power, they were prepared to shed the blood of all their citizenry. The method with which they ascend their leadership seat was through electoral manipulation. They used tribal, ethnic and religious politics to foster their selfish aims. This is why Ake and Onoge (53) lament that ethnic diversity is manipulated to stay afloat to the detriment of national cohesion. Seteolu (74) explains that politics became a contested terrain for shallow, self-centered political gains.

With regards to the methodology, the researcher utilizes the historical phenomenological method of research as well as the diachronic approach of narrative

analysis. Theoretical perspectives on the processes of power transmission from one African leader to the other abound. Consequently, the data was analysed and applied qualitatively.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Researches done by Reiss (7), Okwueze (134), Miller and Hayers (120) projected the bad leadership styles of Saul, David, Eli and other Old Testament leaders. They lay emphasis on the personality of the leader. However, the researcher felt unsatisfied with this development. This drives the researcher to come to a conclusion that the method and strategy with which the leader comes into power needs more attention. This is because it is considered to be the bane of ineffective leadership. This is cognate to Africa situation. Leaders are being branded as criminals, corrupt, inept, and so on. Much attention has not been paid to the processes with which the leader ascended the throne. It is the motive of this paper to look into this direction.

### **Old Testament leadership transitions**

In any social endeavour or environment there must be cadres of social administration. This is kept in place to ensure balance in the system. Hence, the Old Testament which is made up of a group of family twelve in numbers had these structures in place. During the institution of monarchy, Saul became the first King of Israel at the people's request against God. He was projected by the Old Testament as a failed leader. Even contemporary biblical exegete such as Zuck (117) explains that Saul "never had the character to solidify his leadership." Hence, the emphasis was placed on his personality, his actions and behaviour. Gunn (26) notes that "...Saul functions negatively, as a paradigm, an example of failure to respond properly to the demands of God, and positively, as a pointer towards a model of obedient response, of a proper relationship with God..." With regards to Hophni and Phinehas (Eli's children) the two corrupt ecclesial leaders of Israel, Anderson (5) describes thus: "The sons of Eli wanted the meat while it still had the fat on it, The sin of the young men was very great" and Ankerman (4) narrates that, "the main reason that Hophni and Phinehas do not hear their father is because YHWH has apparently stopped their ears. It is too late for them to hearken and change their ways: YHWH desires to kill them." The reason for their failure lies in the way that they rode into power.

With the case of Saul, God appointed him as a punishment to the people of Israel. They people of Israel demanded from God a King, which *apriori*, ruler ship was in the hands of Samuel. The people wanted to have a King that would save them from the ravaging enemies. Clements (398) notes that "Samuel warns Israel of the dangers inherent in the monarchy, and affirms categorically that this institution will not, by itself, provide a guarantee of salvation." The transition of power from Samuel's children to Saul was accurse by Samuel. Hence, Saul inherently failed due to an error filled transitional process. Another character in the Old Testament, Solomon, became an infective leader, due to the process that brought him into power. Adonijah his senior brother is suppose to be the crown King (I kings 1:1-27). Prophet

Nathan and Bathsheba orchestrated the process that saw Solomon taking the throne in a wrong way. Nicol, and Connel (361) cites that “Bathsheba next appears at 1 Kgs 1 where, according to Whybray, she is used by Nathan in order to defeat Adonijah’s plot to seize the throne.” Furthermore, Joab was killed by Solomon’s revenging spirit. Lamenting, Nicole (135) postulates that, in noting that Joab had supported Adonijah, Solomon had Joab assassinated for reasons other than those stated in his speech to Benaiah and thereby insinuates that the reader should question the validity of the charges laid against Joab by Solomon. Furthermore, the allegations made by David (1 Kgs 2,5-6) and Solomon (1 Kgs 2,31-33) against Joab demand that the account of his death should be read against a background provided by the earlier narratives of his killing Abner and Amasa, while consideration of these events must be complemented by an examination of other killings in which Joab is implicated. Without investigating such material, it may not be possible to secure an appropriate reading of the story of the death of Joab. The circumstances that heralded the ascension of Solomon to the throne were greeted with hate, murder, and revenge, hence, the sad nature of the end of his reign as king over Israel.

Furthermore, a good example of an effective transition was done between Moses and Joshua. Moses was about to die and Yahweh told him to anoint and admonish Joshua on effective leadership lifestyles. The transition of power from Moses to Joshua was on merit and in accordance with due process. Yahweh himself was in support of his leadership. According to Pressler (12), Joshua has already been designated Moses’ successor by four texts in Deuteronomy. God commands Moses to commission Joshua in Deuteronomy 1:38 and 3:28. In the presence of all Israel, in the midst of a solemn covenant ceremony, the commission is carried out first by Moses (Deut. 31:7-8) and then by God (Deut. 31:23). In Joshua 1:2-9, the Lord instructs Joshua to begin exercising the leadership to which he has been appointed.

### **African monarchical government**

A monarchical government is “a form of government in which total sovereignty is invested in one person, a head of state called a monarch, who holds the position until death or abdication” (Wilde, 1). In a monarchical government, the supreme power is vested on one individual known as a monarch. African monarchs carry out political, administrative and judicial functions. They have the duties of ceremonial and spiritual functions. African monarchs were successful and popular because they were believed to have a consecrated power to govern. Transition of power from one monarch to the other is done by so many means. One of which is succession. Kostiner (1) is of the view that succession usually passes from father to son or follows other arrangements within the family or the monarchical dynasty.

Lesotho is a country located in southern Africa. Her citizens are called the BaSotho people (Kingdom). In 1824, there was this monarch of hers named Moshoeshe I. He was remembered for his prowess in the promotion of unity in Lesotho. He promoted peace between the SeSotho and SeTswana speaking peoples of Lesotho. He was loved and cherished by his people (Eldredge, 45). The BaSotho kingdom emerged and consolidated in the dramatic and dangerous environment of

nineteenth-century South Africa (Eldredge, i). By 1966 and 1970, there was a shift in power. Monarchical rulership became replaced by coup and counter coup of western style government introduced by the British. The once stable BaSotho people became traumatized by foreign system of administering the people.

In addition, in pre-colonial Nigeria, traditional rulers had very high level of influence on the people. Amusa and Ofuefor (408) lucidly puts that during period of monarchical rulership in Nigeria, "The people submitted themselves and were absolutely submissive to the authority of the rulers who in turn were expected to rule for the general good and welfare of the community as a whole." Among the Yorubas of south-western Nigeria, Lawal (70) reveals that, the socio-political organization of Benin during the pre-colonial years of its history was dominated by the special position occupied by the Oba, who was the pivot around which everything revolved: the supreme, religious as well as the civil authority in the land. This special position of the Oba found expression in the physical separation of his settlement or palace (eguse Oba) and those dependent on him or connected to him by specialties from the rest of the town and people. The Oba was by tradition the fountain of honour and the giver of titles, his position being surrounded by an aura of sacrosanctity on account of his priestly functions and as a representative of the long line of ancestors who had held the reins of power over the land before him.

However, this unparalleled honour and influence were weeded by the emergence of British indirect rule into Nigeria. This system of indirect rule in Nigeria, systematically downed the power and influence of traditional Nigerian monarchs. Orewa and Adewuni (xii) observe that "although traditional members constituted a maximum of 25% of the most of the councils in the then Western Region and Lagos, The emergence of members elected on a political party basis showed the traditional rulers the green light to gradually withdraw from active participation in local government in these parts of the country."

In the south-eastern part of Nigeria, monarchical leadership had it peaceful gains; and transition from one monarch to the other was done with due process. Little wonder the unprecedented achievements that were recorded. The Igbo society as ruled by the 'Obi' was patterned on the theory of egalitarianism, and on the precept that everyone is equal. Uzoma (n.d) explains that "an egalitarian society is characterized by the adjustment of the number of valued statuses to the number of persons, or fixing or limiting of persons capable of exerting power. As many persons as can wield power, whether through personal strength, influence or authority, can do so." The female counterpart of 'Obi' was 'Omu. The Omu made sure there was social justice in the land, especially amongst her female folks. Chief Mrs. Nwagboka Egwuatu of Ogbeotu Village who died in 1890 was the last *Omu* that ever lived. Oseghale & Osiki (543) reveals that the *Omus* had their own palaces and other insignia of office such as sword, drums and fan like those of male Obis. They perform both physical and spiritual functions. They give very thought provoking advice to the *Obis*. Olasupo (119) comments that the Omuship was the Igbo gender balance in traditional governance. The advent of western form of governance relegated these offices to the background; the foreground became encapsulated with unguarded

blatant and obscene power tussle leading to the selection and installation of leaders with no foresight.

The once peaceful monarchical African leadership with its attendant peaceful transitions became substituted with western democratic government with its attendant fraudulent process in its power transitions. Furthermore, while the decolonization of many African countries led to freedom from European and other Western influences, it also left a social and political vacuum, resulting in chaos and uncertainty that led to an environment ripe for the development of destructive leadership (Kets de Vries, n.p). According to Martin (10) the bourgeoisie or the British were the main initiators of economic change which was based on exploitation.

### **Hubris Syndrome in African leadership**

Hubris is a term that connotes excessive arrogance of political power which makes leaders become over drunk with pride and misuse their powers. Hubris is synonymous to political psychiatry. Miro (136-137) says that “political psychiatry should be defined as a discipline which deals with research and knowledge about how mental disorders and political events and processes influence each other as well as how politicians use psychiatry and psychology to influence people's behaviours and to achieve their political goals. Hubris concerns rulers who abused their authority for their selfish aims and objectives.

Due to the foundational challenges that leaders in Africa emerged, there are uncountable cases of abuse, neglect and corrupt activities of leaders. Kets de Vries, Sexton, & Ellen (5) explains that “striving for power and status can endanger the kind of pro-social behaviour that is critical for survival, and hubris leads to the illusion of invincibility, which contributes to complacency, carelessness, callousness and self-destruction.” These are experiences of leadership in sub-Saharan Africa. There is obscene and blatant abused of power, cruelty in administrative processes and self enrichment. Leaders become so proud with power that they overthrow sitting governments through whatever means. For despots and tyrants, successfully overthrowing an existing government or executing a coup can give them a sense of overconfidence in their abilities; their ability to tackle and dethrone an existing regime reinforces their beliefs in their own potential. What may also contribute to hubris is people's tendency to idealize leaders (Kets de Vries, Sexton, & Ellen, 5).

For instance, in Nigeria, transition to democratic rule in 1999 was done without election of the people's choice. Obasanjo was selected and imposed on the masses. Ebegbulem (224) laments that “the transition process saw General Olusegun Obasanjo coming to power again in 1999, this time as a democratically elected President. His effort at combating corruption was fruitless as he and officials under him were corrupt. He sold government property to himself and his cronies below the cost price. His successor, Alhaji Yar “Adua(sic) was an incompetent leader who lacked the qualities of good and strong leadership”. Consequently, former president Goodluck Jonathan who was also imposed on Nigerians followed suit in the failed leadership styles of his predecessors. Little wonder the hike in corruption since the inauguration of the 5<sup>th</sup> republic in Nigeria. In the case of Uganda, Girardet (n.p)

reminds that Yoweri Museveni in February, 2016, in his fifth presidential ambition carried out thuggery and detention of political opponents. This he did just to remain in office for his fifth tenure. He has been in power since 1986. His rebel group "the Popular Resistance Army" fought against the former government in Uganda of Milton Obote. He ascends the seat of power through rebellious and guerrilla warfare. The British were solidly behind his rebel group. According to Amnesty International, Yoweri Museveni government is cloth with Soldiers committing hundreds of extrajudicial executions as they forcibly moved people, burning down homes and granaries. These failures are attestations to the fraudulent transitional processes that brought him to power.

Accumulating wealth at the detriment of national development became the slogan aim for occupying political seats in sub-Saharan Africa. This is a region that is blessed with abundant natural resources and 'cursed' with leaders. One government promises to solve the problem that decimated the leadership style of the former administration, but ends up doing worse than the previous government. Hence, more sub-Saharan countries have been "characterize with huge external debt overhang, net capital flight, disinvestments, collapse of social infrastructure, food crisis and insecurity, over-devalued national currency, pervasive poverty, unpopular, repressive and alienating economic policies (Seteolu, 70). It endorses the fact that Leadership is not a matter of position, privilege, or status, but of task and responsibility (Pressler, 12). Leaders in sub-Saharan Africa lack of courage and stamina to carry out effective or near-effective leadership due to the fact that they came to power through a disadvantaged process that lacks integrity.

### **Crisis of Political Transition in sub-Saharan Africa**

Sub-Saharan Africa contains the poorest nations of the world. It comprises of Angola, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gabon, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sudan, Togo, Uganda, and Zambia, among others. After her independence, the region has been immersed in violence, caused by tussle for power. Ezeibe (xiii) says that, decades after decolonization in Africa especially from 1990, many sub-Saharan Africa states were immersed in seeming intractable leadership crisis. The fruits of peaceful co-existence and harmony which include stability and socio-economic development have remained largely illusive in the region. This seems in high poverty and economic dearth nature of her citizens and industries respectively.

Transition from one political epoch or from one leader to the other has not been without violence in sub-Saharan Africa. This is because tribal, ethnic, religious, economic, social and environmental sentiments are brought to bear in leadership struggles. This was corroborated by Dorina (1) that political transitions have often served as triggers of violence. 2015 general election in Nigeria is a clear index where voting is orchestrated by ethnicity and religion. Muslims voted for the Muslim candidates vis a vis Christians hence General Buhari won majority votes in the Northern geo-political Zone and Goodluck in the Eastern section.

In sub-Saharan Africa, transition from one government is not vested on the people but on few individuals who manipulate them for their selfish aims. Any

political system that concentrates power in the hands of one person is susceptible to degeneration into a dictatorship (as the norm in countries in the region under study) and when a national leader becomes intoxicated with power, the consequences can be devastating. The lust for power in despots pushes them beyond respect for human rights and individual freedom (Kets de Vries, Sexton, Ellen, 195-220). The regime in power controls elections and intimidates the opposition. They enthrone incapable governments that end up siphoning the state resources. Contemporary African history is replete with experiences of visionless leaders who transform their countries from developing to underdeveloped countries. Chambers (n.p) reveals that it is instructive to note that no nation has ever achieved meaningful development socially, politically or economically without the input of an effective leadership. The way most African leaders have run their countries largely has determined the economic and human development levels of their countries. This is so because these African leaders were selected by the powers (cabals) rather than elected by the citizens. The law of nature, the natural law fights for its course.

#### **Import of Old Testament leadership to sub-Saharan Africa Politicking**

A leaf would be borrowed from the transitional processes that engulf Biblical Moses to Joshua. After the anointing of Joshua, he was advised to study the law. He was not told to go and conquer territories, but to observe the law of God so that he would not make mistake during his leadership. This was also to avoid sycophants who masquerade as advisers. According to Pressler (13) the reason why Joshua was instructed to observe the law before anything else is because “it also emphasizes that successful occupation of the land depends neither on power nor on strategy, but on faithful observance of Mosaic law. African leaders, especially those in sub-Saharan Africa do not follow lay down rules and regulations as indicated in their various home constitutions. They are quick in carrying out policies that are mostly indicting and not in tandem with the constitution of their various states. Furthermore, the success of leadership does not depend on the power of the ruler over the ruled but in the administration of justice and due process. This is possible through an understanding that a leader is a chief servant and that obedience is better than sacrifice.

#### **Recommendations**

The following recommendations would ameliorate transitional problems recorded in change of power in sub-Saharan Africa. It is believed that this would serve as workable solutions to government and agencies interested in attaining effective leadership, through proper transition process.

1. There should be open and fair electioneering processes. This would serve as a factor towards choosing the appropriate candidate whom the people feel would deliver the dividends of democracy.
2. The constitutional process of recalling an elected member of the arms of government should be made free and fair. This will make for a recall of a

- sitting leader by the people if he is considered not to be up and doing, in terms of delivering on his electoral promises.
3. Institutional structures are very weak in sub-Saharan Africa. Institutions such as electoral commissions, non-governmental organisations, among others. Electoral commissions are weak because they are in the hand of the executive. These commissions should be made independent of the executive. It should be an additional arm of government such as the executive, legislature and the judiciary.
  4. Some of the problem of placing the wrong leaders in power were believed to be orchestrated by the military. The military should as a matter of national interest distance herself from partisan politics. This would in the long run solve the problem of selecting candidates by *godfathers* rather than electing successors by the electorates. It was in this notion that Oluwole and Nicole (27) corroborates that corruption persists more in those countries that experienced military dictatorship because military juntas in those countries ruled by decrees and were rarely or never accountable, in many countries, to any institutional or constitutional authorities during and/or after their tenures in office ended.

### **Conclusion**

The problem of ineffective leadership in sub-Saharan Africa is the lack of fairness in the transition of power from a predecessor to a successor. Predecessors tend to enforce their successors even against the wishes of the masses. Sub-Saharan Africa has continued to be regarded as third world countries. Though they may be called developing countries, the problem of semantics should not be used as a deceit. There is no clear-cut difference between a third-world country and a developing country. The people should be allowed to squarely choose their leader. This would ensure that the needed development would be actualized by the elected leader. It was in this line of thought that Howell (2) feels that “God raises up and uses human leaders to accomplish his saving feels that purposes. Just as Kets de Vries, Sexton, & Ellen (18) reveals that Africa is a source of great riches and plentiful resources, but mismanagement and outright theft have left many national governments destitute, all hands should be on deck to salvage the region from this physical, emotional and economic collapse.

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## **'Third Force' as Metaphor for National Regeneration in Festus Iyayi's *Heroes***

**Chukwuka Nwachukwu Ogbu**

### **Introduction**

William McIlvanney in "The Shallowing of Scotland" states that "the opting out of society is the ultimate surrender to society just as to disown history is to give history total authority over you" (131). Creative writers particularly in Africa obviously take this McIlvanney stance. Though they do not pretend to record history they are not insulated from it since their texts are quite often situated within societal contexts. Again, they do not intend to abandon all authority to society without trying to obviate some of its currents that negate social ethos. This must be why George Orwell makes the case that "... propaganda in some form or other lurks in every book ... every work of art has a meaning and a purpose" (126).

Onukaogu and Onyerionwu submit that such works are normally raised to "a high level of social awareness that lead to widespread demonstrations against unpopular governments and cause their downfall" (26). This helps the artist who normally is restless to maintain a psychological balance since his work is a kind of medicine with its therapeutic trappings. (This probably is the case with Achebe in *A Man of the People*, Irobi in *Nwokedi* and *Cemetery Road*; and Nwabueze in *A Parliament of Vultures*). We have writers with such sensitive social needles in Okigbo, Soyinka, Nwapa, Head, el Sadaawi, Clark, Osundare, Nwabueze, Iyayi, Osofisan, Irobi, Ezeigbo, Gimba, Adichie, to name a few. All these writers are committed, one way or the other, to retarding power of whatever guise that infests social sanity with lethal virology, engages social dysfunction and corrodes the essence of African humanity.

Festus Iyayi is impelled in his writings by his humanist perception of society. Humanism promotes the survival of the human race and Iyayi chooses the Marxist precept as his vehicle for canvassing that survival. He has made very big issue of it in his writings such that Emeka Nwabueze has wondered why Iyayi was yet to be canonized (34). Wole Soyinka has pointed out the need to stultify power that engages vicious reaction, by the deployment of art through language "which does its best to appropriate such obscenity of power and fling its excesses back in its face (*The Man*, xiii). He recommends that "Language must communicate its illegitimacy in a forceful language of rejection, seeking always to make it ridiculous and contemptible, deflating its pretensions at the core" (xiv). Soyinka concedes that this language in itself or by itself cannot topple the power structure since the dismantling of an obnoxious system must be by collective design. However, the language contributes "to the psychological reconstitution of public attitudes to forms of oppression," thus scoring the point that language (art) is a form of "resistance therapy" (xiv)

As Olu Obafemi has pointed out, Iyayi's major interest is the Marxist (and we add, New Historicist) conscientization of the masses for social cohesion and the upturning of the neo-colonialist and quasi bourgeois Nigeria. (*Nigerian Writers* 67 and

72). Like Wole Soyinka, he is (Iyayi unfortunately, is dead) a non-conforming social activist, hard-hitting trade unionist and an uncompromising leftist. Like Soyinka too, he has a legendary "identification with the oppressed sectors of the society" (67), which reflects in his novels; *Heroes* being our point of focus here. While in prison, during the civil war, Soyinka mooted the idea of a "Third Force" in his bid to, recruit the country's intellectuals within and outside the country for a pressure group which would work for a total ban on the supply of arms to all parts of Nigeria; creating a third force which would utilize the ensuing military stalemate to repudiate and end both the secession of Biafra, and the genocide-consolidated dictatorship of the Army which made secession and war inevitable (Soyinka, 19).

### **Eye of the Heroes: Appropriating the Third Army**

Iyayi's appropriation of Soyinka's disquisition on the 'third force' is fine-tuned to reflect Marxist and New Historicist commitments, for Iyayi is a socialist-realist, Soyinka a capitalist-welfarist. Thus, in *Heroes*, the author gives a frontal insight into the true nature of the civil war as against what its "dogs" peddle; and this mainly through Osime Iyere, the protagonist's lenses. Julie Agbasiere in the article "African Literature and Social Commitment" notes that Iyayi and his friends in the Marxist garb like Femi Osofisan, Ben Okri, Kole Omotosho, and Niyi Osundare create characters who are stereotypes of the underdogs of society, and these are called the proletariat. These characters are "socially and politically conscious and endowed (Osime Iyere for a count) with the will to join hands with people of their class to bring about change" (79).

Thus, we notice anxiety, fear for safety as well as naïve hope and self-assuredness as the Federal Forces advance into Benin to "liberate" it from the wicked occupation of Biafran "rebel" forces. Expectedly, Mr. Ohiahi and members of his household – Ndudi and her mother show much trepidation as they fear uncalled-for reprisals because they are mid-western Igbo. On the other hand, Osime Iyere is hopeful and confident that the Federal Forces are true liberators who are not capable of the kind of evil that the Biafran forces exhibited during their own brand of "liberation".

Osime's sermonizing to Ndudi his fiancée on the decency and rightness of the federal army is immediately offset not only by the fact that they kill many more people on their entry into Benin than the retreating force did, but also that personal accounts of this atrocity by dependable and sensitive sources follow: It is Ade, Osime's colleague at the *Daily News* who first tries to nudge him out of his reverie; as he recounts a sordid witness: My landlord is a Benin man. A son of the soil. He knew some people, Ibo people. When the federal troops came, these Ibos ran to him for help. These were traders whose shops have been looted ... And this evening, the federal troops came in and want to know if he is hiding Biafrans ... And one of them says "perhaps they are up in the ceiling ... they shoot the ceiling to pieces and as the blood began to ooze, the men laugh ... then they took (the landlord) outside and shot him (*Heroes*, 15-16)

But then, you have to feel what you know to know it fully. Not until Osime takes Ohiali with Ndudi to the stadium, and witnesses the gruesome murder of nine Igbo including his landlord and future in-law, not until these soldiers seize his Pass, kick his testicles and cynically retort that “Journalists like you we have first of all shaved and then whipped before shooting” (*Heroes*, 28) does Osime fully grasp that in this war, there is no humanity. In fact, these soldiers barely stopped short of raping the weeping Ndudi. This corroborates Soyinka’s warning that war becomes real if it comes directly to us (xii).

As Elechi Amadi has pointed out, “For these men morality was irrelevant and meaningless ... the most heinous atrocities were committed by people who for some inexplicable reasons thought that the war situation was permanent” (108). So, the captain’s boast: “You must always remember that this is war. The war kills. It kills people”, that is men, women and children without exception (*Heroes*, 60), is a view of life which Iyayi canvasses to advance the central thesis of his novel: the necessity for ‘the third force,’ or the ‘fifth columnist.’ This, Osime had initially failed to grasp.

As Ndudi and her mother are left without the head of their family and bread winner, Osime relapses into lethargy and disillusioned indifference to both sides of the conflict. The dependency status of the surviving Ohialis – Ndudi and her mother, coupled with the urge to obey patriarchal custom and tradition necessitates that the bereaved take Ohiali’s corpse to Oganza and remain there until the war should end. Osime would be their guide and even guard as the two women sorely depend on him to make this trip. This underscores Iyayi’s view of the female as quite helpless and merely emotional in the event of war and its effect on humanity. Ndudi is only able to keep calm after Osime’s reassurances that he will return to marry her. Ndudi’s mother even offers Osime 200 pounds to enable him perform some necessary rites since Osime has no money commensurate with what is required. Again, the war prevents Osime and Ndudi from doing proper marriage prompting Mrs. Ohiali to ask that the couple marry fully after the war.

To this extent, it appears that Iyayi is saying that for the female, hope for succour lies in her taking refuge with the man during war. War to him then, is not a domain for the female. This theme will subsist through the work. Salome for instance, marries Brigadier Otunshi out of frustration that Osime was not ready to marry her. Again, Attracta, Ekise’s consort is disappointed that the journalist lied about his marital status and as such the prospect of marrying her has waned.

With experience, Osime screens the truth of the war from its smokescreen: In this war, bourgeois warriors, business men and women, permanent secretaries, bishops and politicians and other war profiteers lose nothing but gain everything. Proletariat warriors and the rest of the commoners lose everything, gain nothing. Thus, Bayo Ogunjimi is justified when he places Iyayi's *Heroes* in "the context of Nigeria's development dilemma" ( Onyekachi Eni,42). It is ignorance and deceit through sloganeering that goad on the commoners of both sides to kill each other whereas the war was ab initio designed against them by their real enemy –the bourgeoisie. Amuta has insightfully insisted that “... the war time society embodied the contradictions of the pre-war time era, its most conspicuous attribute was social

inequality and injustice... the effect of the war on the material life of different strata of the Nigerian society reflected this basic inequality (*Perspectives*, 88).

This atmosphere is in contrast with what obtains in Oganza where old men and women look on in bemusement that Ndudi and her mother could still rake up some tears, a rarity now that they had all exhausted theirs and are no longer able to weep at the atrocities that are now part of Oganza existence. \Again, the booze and cruse that greet Otunshi's parties contrast sharply with the starving situation of soldiers like Kesh Kesh, Kola, Patani, Kokobi, Musa, and many more. These soldiers may not partake of whisky as they are not even invited to the party. To make matters worse, Otunshi sends them to the war front barely six days to their pay day. Then, he connives with the Paymaster, Major Dantari, to perpetrate the fraud. The result is that there is, normally huge casualty figures close to pay day in which case Otunshi misappropriates the salaries of those that died. All these accord with Olaniyan's submission that the author's virtue in *Heroes* lies in his strength to ginger the down-trodden to rise up and destroy the leviathan of their oppression which comprises the bourgeoisie of both sides of the conflict. For the war is fought against the masses, not against the generals, the bureaucrats, and the businessmen of all the sides engaged in the war (44-5).

"The profiteers live well by the blood and sweat of the victims of this war. It is this crop who actually ignited the war that reap the benefits: "they are either giving the orders or selling food and weapons to the enemies to make profits" (*Heroes* 131). This is how Chief Sule Adedoyin wins the contract to supply the drugs donated by international agencies and sympathetic countries and the rest is that "Adedoyin now owns large drug stores all over the country", and "dried milk and eggs meant for starving children are sold in supermarkets in Lagos" (*Heroes* 148). Brigadier Otunshi himself sells weapons to Biafrans with which they decimate the Nigerian rank and file. Osime's new baptism thus reaches confirmation and begins to demand some action now that he is able to see through the smokescreen of campaigns from the Federal "liberation" of the Mid-west down to Oganza and then to the Onitsha head bridge sector. Osime confirms: I was made neutral by my hatred for both, that is, after the federal troops took my pass at the stadium and kicked me in my testicles, after they murdered Ndudi's father in cold blood as he ran for the river, after I saw the headless bodies of men, women and children, butchered by the Biafrans, I saw these things and I was neutralized by my hatred for the soldiers ... (*Heroes* 142)

That neutrality turns to iron resolve to do something after he has been to Oganza then to Asaba and back to Oganza, each time with a heightening of his conviction. He has watched and now understands the true nature of the war. David McCallum as Soyinka notes endangered his life during the Vietnam war to take photographs at the front, for he wanted "to capture ... some measure of that same human self destruction which so readily expresses itself in wars" (Soyinka, xiii). Ogunjimi would claim that *Heroes* is a blueprint for the propagation of the author's Marxist ideals, and it serves as a touchstone for national cohesion. Seen in this light then, *Heroes* serves as a Humanist prospectus for revolutionary struggle and this can be achieved through the methodical reification strategies of the fifth columnist,

careful enough to lie low and foment gradual trouble until the coast for attack is clear. Like McCallum, Osime sees the war from the prism of active engagement through the system of “embedding” He is stung by the level of carnage, casualties and debilitating effect of the war on gender. He agonizes: You are angry in your unbelief (that this action is perpetrated by humans) and your fear becomes a mirror of your own temporariness, of the entire vapour of your substance. You cry in your unbelief ... And then resignation sets in. you accept it and the tears stop coming ... you die a little death with each death that occurs close to you ... (*Heroes* 72)

This flashback to the Benin massacres is a reminiscent confrontation with a new set of methodical killings and rape in Oganza with which Osime is confronted, and the dehumanization attending it. When Biafran soldiers exit Oganza, they rape the hapless Ndudi; and when Nigerian soldiers seize Oganza, they equally rape the disconsolate girl, each time two soldiers are involved. Her pathetic cry “They raped me again! They raped me! They raped me again!” (*Heroes* 144), is a commentary on Iyayi’s condemnation of the female predicament during the war. This plaintive cry of Ndudi’s echoes her earlier sentiment that all soldiers are rapists and murderers. Thus, we find that the Ohiali family is the stereotype of the most adversely affected family in the war, and this highlights Iyayi’s recognition of the predicament of the young female victim in a war she did not orchestrate. Iyayi obviously engages to demonstrate the state of general disorder and cruelty that war foments: War changes everything, the lives of the fishermen, of the fish, and of the birds. In the place of fishermen there are soldiers and in the place of white sand there are the boot marks and the long trenches along the banks of the river, and now again you hear the sound of explosions as the soldiers use grenades and the fish are dead before they rise to the surface of the water (*Heroes* 79).

So, not only humans are affected adversely. There is a chaotic rhythmic cycle of ironies where man kills fish to feed self and kills self to feed fish. This is an elongation of the symbolic imagery of the tyranny of wind to corn in Osime’s garden. The point is that “it is cruel for one part of nature to treat another part of it this way. It is cruel and hard. Wind to corn. Rain to corn” (*Heroes* 6). This is nihilistic where war like wind affects not only warriors and their human victims but more alarmingly, the surrounding ether.

Having learnt that in war you are sorry for nothing, and having discovered that the true warriors are themselves the underdog, Osime decides to patronize Sergeant Audu who begs him to write the story of his ilk because,

This looks much in content and mechanism like the Soyinka prophecy concerning the outcome of the civil war: After this war, many generals will write their accounts in which they will attempt to show that they were the heroes of this war, that it was their grand strategies that won the war. The names of soldiers like Otun, Emmanuel, Ikeshi, and Yemi will never be mentioned. The soldiers pay for the unity of this country with their lives ... Always the officers are the heroes (*Heroes*, 86).

There will be victors of course, but not the sacrificing masses of Biafra or the rest of the nation. Being glutted and satiated with the expected bonus of war the elitist pyramid will elide in the natural mechanism of satiation, the fart, will suck in new elitist sectors, creating self-consolidating, regurgitative, lumpen Mafiadom of the military, the old politicians and business enterprise (181)

Soynika this will be possible because the strain of war will be too much for the rest of the people to challenge the criminal war profiteers “when they begin to ride the nation to death” (181). Iyayi uses the fiercest and the most disastrous sector of the war to pinpoint the callous and criminal disposition of the bourgeois Nigerian high command; and to denounce their ineptitude and hypocrisy. Brigadier Otunshi flags off the Niger bridge campaign only to sally to Lagos with a retinue of his high command leaving the soldiers in the lurch when the war got fiercest. The Nigerian soldiers are routed, and thoroughly humiliated with 200 dead, with 50 Biafrans in tow. And though 250 soldiers die in the battle, Otunshi murders some 187 prisoners of war said to be Biafrans, and forty two Nigerian soldiers under the pretext that they are deserters. Juxtapose this with the deliberate abscondence by Otunshi and his senior officers, coupled with the fact that it is few days to pay day when, as sergeant Kesh laments, the war gets hottest and all sorts of needful logistics are withdrawn from the soldiers, then you tend to realize like Osime that the war is truly between the capitalist strong and the proletariat weak.

In fact, Iyayi ties the issue of survival to the binary opposition of the weak and the strong, the dogs of war and the underdogs, the bourgeoisie and the proletariats. He does not accuse the atrocious rank and file, all males of callousness against their female counterparts like we are likely to find in female war writing. Rather, he blames the evil on class. When Ndudi is repeatedly raped, Iyayi’s mouthpiece Osime sublimates the crime:

I had assumed that the callousness and the viciousness and the wildness and the brutality were natural to the men, that the men in uniform were natural rapists even in times of peace. All that is wrong ... people are decent deep down and want to remain decent all their lives. But a bitter and spiteful war comes along and turns ordinary decent men into rapists, into animals ... (*Heroes* 245).

For Iyayi, it is the war that does damage to the men and reduces them to warped, depraved un-persons; while making the women helpless victims. And the war itself is not their war, it is a war against them by the rich and strong of both Nigeria and Biafra. It is an outcome of the struggle between Gowon and Ojukwu who hoodwink and trap the poor and weak to kill each other. The soldiers kill each other, and rape each other’s women in ignorance of their real enemies. Although the soldiers rape, loot, burn houses and shoot civilians they are doing the biddings of the officers. But they end up having low opinion of themselves and hardly can distinguish right from wrong; The officers wait in the background. And in the evenings, the women are brought to their quarters and they take these women and

treat them as a defeated, captured people. They do terrible things to them ... At the end of the month, they claim salaries of dead soldiers ... (*Heroes*,182)

Again, Iyayi shows that class interest in the war is a swindle where the poor are roped in against themselves by the strong: You tell the Ibo (sic) man that the Hausa man is after his life, then you tell the Hausa man the same thing. You tell the Yoruba man that if only the Ibos (sic) left they would have jobs, the trade would be theirs. You tell the Hausa man that the Ibos have been having secret meetings to get them wiped out ... you arrange to have a Hausa man killed. That starts the pogrom. Behind the pogrom ... are the rich (*Heroes*, 168).

This is like where the officers betray their men and get promoted to the bargain but the hard-working rank and file get shot for desertion, or even for wounds they sustain during campaigns. For Iyayi, the cannon fodders of this survival game cannot survive in the circumstance. Thus, he engages a third force engineered by a fifth columnist, Osime, to reinvent a national ethos that will be people prone and upturn the existing order. Osime cannot remain neutral for “when you see women and children who have nothing to do with the war being killed ... something gives inside you. You lose your neutrality” (*Heroes*, 170).

Osime’s tactics as the fifth columnist of the third army is subtle, and polemical. This is where Iyayi accepts Foucault’s New Historicism that power and implicitly survival is involved in discourse (Kaplan and Anderson, 178). Osime is the holder of discourse here and he owns meaning. It is with his own reification slant that he enlists successfully, sergeants Kesh Kesh and Oliha as the first recruits of the third army. His method is rooted in pedagogy and enlightenment. He deconstructs the subsisting truth by ingraining Salvationist truths in the minds of Patani, Kokobi, Otun, Olu, Kolawole, Audu, Oliha, Musa, and Kesh Kesh. Iyayi seeks to dismantle the ethnic closures erected to ensnare the ordinary Nigerian to work for his enemy. He seeks to destroy false hegemonies and enthrone a culture of populist outlook in national life: man and woman and their children will live in a better Nigeria when they recognize that true enemies are not engendered along tribal lines. Soyinka is Iyayi’s purveyor in this regard:

I believe that the stage of ethnic battleliness has been surpassed. There is a nationwide recognition of the deprived and the exploiters, of the oppressed and their oppressors, of the cynical and the derided. The average Nigerian is aware of this. Even the sycophantic *Daily Times* was impelled to concede (the truth) ( xvi).

Osime’s partisan resolve to recognize and conscientize the soldiers enables him to make a commensurate resolve to console his fiancée, Ndudi and reassure her of his fidelity to their marriage plans despite the odds of her rape and other concomitants of war. This is because he recognizes that all the victims have a common enemy. His third army is on the side of the working Igbo, Hausa, and Yoruba. It is the side of the Nigerian man and woman. It is a side strategized to dethrone capitalism, a decapitating community of greed, insensate war profiteering,

war-mongering and callous butchery. This side may be engaged today to compel the organizers of the current Fulani Herdsmen menace, the hawks in high places of mal-administration to quit the stage and leave the prostrate nation to gasp for tinctures of relief.

This agrees with Wole Soyinka's most recent call in the wake of the killing of innocent villagers in Benue State January, 2018 for the Nigerian youths to wake up and seize the gauntlet as it were, since the society is theirs and only they can salvage it (Soyinka, 11) This recent call underscores Soyinka's consistent and unrepentant advocacy for reactionary Nigerians to seize the space, Ghana-fashion, and erect structures worthy of the name and mien of the Nigerian project. Though Iyayi has died, this paper is convinced that he would have frontally engaged these social menaces that threaten the very foundation of our national and collective burden of terrorism, IPOB threats and the dare-devilry of the Fulani herdsmen.

### **An Army Without a Mother?**

But then, Iyayi's space for the female in his third force is quite doubtful, at best, it is ambivalent. He seems too preoccupied with men's war and class struggle to delineate any good percentage of women's angle. This is surprising for the concept he espouses embodies advocacy for the oppressed and women claim to be the oppressed gender. Does Iyayi subsume women in the personality of men? Could it be that the Marxist – Leninist philosophy that is central to his ideological construction antagonizes a New Historicist mitigation of social constructs and its admission of new truths? If Iyayi subsumes and implicates women in male truth he only tyrannizes discourse and promotes what the feminists decry. Both theories fit, not necessarily in materialist orientation but in "retelling", which involves historiography and reification. Both are deconstructionist, opening up closures and tearing the iron curtain of logo centric discourse. Iyayi has no discursive inhibitions with regard to his preferred ideological adumbration. This is disturbing. The more disturbing because he wrote this work in the mid 1980s when the debate on the gender question was quite heated. The general assumption though, is that war is male centred. Obviously, Iyayi is equally of this persuasion.

Decrying Gowon's insensitivity as a reification tool, Osime persuades his soldier friends: "... he (Gowon) gets married at a time when men and women in whole villages are being slaughtered" (*Heroes* 183). Again, in another of his reminiscences, Osime asks: "haven't thousands of fine women and men, hundreds of thousands of young men and women already been killed in this war?" (*Heroes* 239). Beyond the interior reference to universal victims of war, Iyayi is categorical on the gender favoured in the novel to prosecute his agenda - men. This is because he depicts this vision from the prism of active combat which in any case is the provenance of men. This point is aptly scored by Iyayi's mouthpiece, Osime. He tells Attracta and Chilaka: When I say that a man must be restless, I don't mean that he must flirt ... there are other things to which a man aspires. A man aspires to peace, for instance. If we were satisfied with this state of war, we would let the war drag on forever. (*Heroes* 139).

Then the clincher: women fail to grow because they are easily satisfied whereas men are naturally restless. Again, we find that journalists Ekise and Jato go to risk their lives and report the war, while their wives are distantly safe at home. And while Jato finally dies, Osime contemplates Jato's wife's portrait and regrets that this decent though not beautiful woman is widowed in her youth. Sergeant Kesh Kesh has, like the cat with the nine lives, escaped death so far but his wife Samantha and their four children have not set eyes on him for three years now.

### **Conclusion:**

In this paper, we critically examined the imperatives of war with regard to its causes, effects, and the survival strategies of both dogs and underdogs of war. The paper reckons that war and other social heaves normally affect the down-trodden much more adversely than they do the rich and powerful. It observed, on the converse, that the Nigerian Civil War, just like most, if not all other security-threatening heaves of the Nigerian State, such as the Boko Haram terrorism, internecine riots and the Fulani cattle herdsman's' criminal killing of innocent people in various parts of the country was engineered by the rich and powerful of both sides of the conflict. The study underpinned the helplessness of the lowly in society as represented by Ndudi, sergeant Kesh Kesh, Otun, Olu, Kokobi, and even Ndudi's parents, showing that this state of anomy is taken advantage of by the likes of Brigadier Otunshi, the Paymaster-General, the mercantile Adedoyin and the rest of the tribe of profiteers none of whom is poor or powerless. The paper equally investigated whether the patterns of bestiality among the rank and file soldiers who after all, are the fighting forces, could be checked along the lines of which force took control at what time. The finding in this connection is that soldiers on both sides of the conflict intensify violence against the victims at their mercy. This means that the underdogs of war are highly endangered in a war situation irrespective of the side in control. The paper also established that the powerful on both sides of the conflict seem to be in some kind of tacit, unspoken alliance or at least, agreement to protect their ilk while treating the poor as cannon fodders.

The study found that through the system of "embedding", our eye in the novel, Osime Iyere, successfully sees through the operations of the war to be able to show us the real victors and victims of the war – the Generals on both sides and their civilian class of war profiteers versus the rest of the society who account for nothing else other than the jetsam and flotsam, of the social enterprise. By insightful extension, the study is able to surmise, reasonably, that even the current spate of insurrection and insensate killings in Nigeria is a product of the greed and ambition of the powerful which is directed at the poor, as usual.

Through the deployment of the New Historicism and Marxist-Leninist imperatives of literary exegesis, the paper advocates, like Iyayi and Soyinka before him, for the revisiting of the idea of the engagement of the fifth columnist who should subtly network with the rest of the larger society for the purpose of forming a frontal bastion of power that must break the backbone of insensate power which is self-centred and full of inauspicious but legitimized anarchy. Udentia O. Udentia submits

that Iyayi's *Heroes* particularly, is grounded in the mechanics of revolutionary thought, and although the revolution has not yet occurred, the possibilities of its coming have never looked brighter (21). The paper is certain that this clarion call has gone far too hoary without heed and now demands as of duty, that negative power be curtailed, retarded and gradually killed to give vent to a social system that impels the altruistic to reorder the social ethos and earn in the process, commendation on account of its transactional nature.

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## **Electoral Violence and the Recap of 2003 General Elections in Nigeria**

**Affiong Stella Emmanuel Akpan**

### **Background to the Study**

Some people may be fascinated in politics and may get excited in political activities like elections. Others may be fascinated with politics because they care about the issues and their consequences for people in their own communities or around the world. On the other hand, there are those who hate politics, either because it sets groups and individuals against each other, or because it involves abuse of power, deceit, manipulation, treachery, and violence. Yet, there are those who are indifferent to politics, who, perhaps, find it boring because it has little or nothing to do with the things that matter most to them. Thus, people react to politics with a mixture of these sentiments, which may change with time and events. Interestingly, elections are fundamental to this process. Nnoli (1990:41), observes:

election is an important element of modern representative government. It is so closely tied to the growth and development of democratic political order that it is now generally held to be the single most important indicator of the presence or absence of democratic government. The importance attached to elections by regimes that span the whole ideological spectrum from the extreme right to the extreme left shows how far the modern state has become tied to the symbolic impact of this phenomenon.

Regrettably, as Nnoli (1990:43) further notes:

the history of elections in Nigeria has shown that the masses cannot look forward to them as a significant force in changing the material conditions of their existence. Apart from crumbs which politicians throw out as bribes to the electorates at election time, the masses of the people have gone through one election after another since 1923 without noticing any significant change for the better in their material conditions. Whatever change may have taken place cannot be traced to the electoral process. Apart from this apparent irrelevance of elections to the improvement of the socio-economic well-being of the vast majority of Nigerians, elections have also brought untold hardship to the people. The violence and thuggery which are always associated with these elections have caused havoc to the lives and property of the people.

Consequently, Ezeani (2004:144) in support of the above view stated that “elections in Nigeria have been marred by the ugly incidence of electoral malpractice and violence and hence cannot be relied upon as a veritable means of installing the kind of leaders they want”. In addition, Nnoli (1990:44) asserts that:

the general electoral atmosphere of intimidation, victimization, abuse, hostility, and denial of the right of opponents to free speech and assembly increase the insecurity of the population. The moral values of the country are corrupted by the blatant disregard

of cherished rules, norms and regulations by political competitors obsessed with winning power at all costs. Under conditions in which the politicians regard elections as warfare and in which all is fair that brings victory, pervasive indiscipline is inescapable and the clarion call for the moral regeneration of the country can only fall on deaf ears.

Anifowose,(2006: xii – xiii) provides an illuminating historical background to this unfortunate phenomenon when he asserts that:

since the collapse of Balewa's regime in January, 1966 and the enthronement of military authoritarianism that terminated in May, 1999, the resort to violence by individuals and groups within the Nigerian polity as manifestation of general disillusionment, frustration, anger and the perceptions of deprivation, inequality and injustice, had continued unabated...and Nigeria has witnessed numerous violent outbursts such as socio-economic, electoral, political intra and inter ethnic, ethnic militia and religious pogroms. Among these are the pogroms involving the brutal massacre of the Ibos in the North in 1966, the Nigerian civil war of 1967 – 70, the Kano riot of 1981, the electoral violence in Ondo and Oyo states in 1983, as well as the June 12, 1993 Presidential election violence.

Ezeani (2004:145) in his own contribution had observed that “going by the records on electoral malpractice or violence in Nigerian elections, one can easily deduced that the political scene has become a veritable grounds for political thugs to thrive and electoral violence has become a recurrent and prevalent issue in Nigerian elections so much so that it is now closely associated with Nigerian elections”. Be that as it may, Anifowose (2006:1) further maintains that “violence or the threat of violence is a universal phenomenon. Individuals and groups throughout history, have, in one form or another, resorted to violence or its potential use as a tactic of political action. Political violence has been used by groups seeking power, by groups holding power, and by groups in the process of losing power”. The end result is frustration, and as it is often said, frustration leads to aggression which could manifest in electoral violence.

### **Politics and Democracy: An Appreciation**

In competitive politics, election has always been the legitimate way of transferring power from one regime to another through the ballot box. Through election, popular consent and participation in public affairs can be created in a complex society. Thus, elections bind the citizenry closer to the political process and contribute significantly to stability of the system. In many parts of the globe, the impression is given that elections are equivalent to democracy, thus, as observed by International Institute for Democracy and Election Administration – IIDEA (2001:216), a liberal democracy is seen as a “procedural system involving open political competition with multi-party, civil and political rights guaranteed by law, and accountability operating through and electoral relationship between citizens and their representatives”. But in the history of electoral politics in Nigeria, the vital

connection between the elected and electors necessary for a liberal democracy has been missing.

The central thesis entails that an electoral process should ensure the proper recruitment of those who will serve as leaders. Although, the competitive aspect of elections naturally creates tension in the polity, it does not necessarily need to end in violence. Our electoral processes in Africa manifest so much violence which is a reflection of our level of political maturity. In an effort to avoid this pitfall in the description of violence, Leiden and Schmitt (1968) posit that violence represents a disturbance to the political equilibrium of a state, a breakdown of its political system. Jegede (2003), Ogundiya (2003 and 2007), Jega (2001) and Elaigwu (2006) in Proceedings and Communiqué of the INEC NATIONAL FORUM (2006:4-5), have discussed electoral violence to often take place where there are political or electoral grievance, which have been ignored or have not been adequately addressed by the relevant institutions or agencies. For instance, the main problems of electoral violence do not always start during elections but well before it. It may even start during the voter registration process or within political parties. These unaddressed grievances may climax in violence during or after elections in a polity.

In the views of Alfred de Grazia in (Anifowose and Enemu, 2005:3) “politics includes the Easton (1995) defined politics as “the authoritative allocation of values in the society” the authoritative allocation of values, Easton argues, is the kind of activity we should be interested in. The first assumption is that in every society, values are desired, that is, people have different interests or objectives, and these must be allocated, or distributed by someone or something. Every society has different political system allocating values authoritatively. Arguing further, Easton observed that “a policy is authoritative when the people to whom it is intended to apply or who are affected by it consider that they must or ought to obey it. Herbert Winter and Bellows (1981:8), in support of the above view, maintained that “politics is a struggle between actors pursuing conflicting desires on issues that may result in an authoritative allocation of values”. In the view of Austin Ranny, (1958) politics is defined as “inherent governing of men”. Nnoli, O.(1986:5) observes this to mean that, “the relationship between those who govern and those who are governed or between the rule and the ruled, is central to political life”.

Democracy, according to Almond, et al (2000:27), is “a political system in which citizens enjoy a number of basic and political rights, and in which their most important political leaders are selected in free and fair elections and accountable under a rule of law”. Democracy literally means ‘government of the people, by the people, and for the people’. It is this feature of participation that generally distinguished democracy from other forms of government. William Blum(2006:133) in an article titled “What is Democracy? Liberal Institutions and Stability in Changing Societies”, basing his observation on the trend of U.S. foreign policy, asked ‘is it possible to import democracy? Answering this, he said, requires an operational definition of democracy that distinguishes its essential attributes from circumstantial one

Both of these are linked to corruption as a political tool for obtaining power. It could therefore be seen that political and economic spheres under crony capitalism are highly intertwined, so the access to power means access to property. Governed by a “winner – takes – all” mentality, competitive politics under such system knows no respect for legal or civil boundaries and is characterized by a strong inclination toward using tricky, conniving methods to obtain victory that go beyond mere slandering of opponents as occurs frequently in democracies based on the rule of law. Besides negative campaigning, competitors engage in a host of other blatantly ‘dirty’, manipulative political practices that involved provocation, fraud, and the use of administrative resources.. Consequently, crony capitalism has been perceived as an explanation for the lack of democratization and development in many countries of the world as observed by (Hutchcroft, 1998; Rose – Ackerman, 1999) all in a paper “Why was democracy lost in Russia’s Region? Lessons from Nizhnii Novgorod by Gulnaz Sharafutdinova in *ELSEVIER Communist and Post – Communist Studies* 40 (2007) 363-382

Almond, et al (2000:27) in support of the above view maintained that

Democracy is no an all – or – nothing question. No democracy is perfect nor does democracy come about overnight. It often takes time to establish democratic institutions and to have citizens recognize them and comply with the rules of the democratic process and that transitions towards democracy have been a major feature of world politics in the last 25 years. Many transitions have been relatively peaceful and many have been in violence such as Ghana under Jerry Rawlings.

In support of the above view, Human Rights Watch (2003:1) observes that: the use of violence as a political tool has been common in Nigeria both before and after election since President Olusegun Obasanjo first came to power in 1999. The 1999 elections were also marred by violence and intimidation, as well as widespread fraud and rigging.

**Elections** are generally conceived as a means of peaceful changes of leadership in societies. It is a process of actualizing representative democracy and it exposes people to the experience of competition for power through balloting. Bain (1964:162) defines election as ‘the formal process by which the electorate selects officials and determines the issues submitted to it. Robert (1995:12) sees election as “a condition of being chosen for an office by vote or choice, a selection process of choosing a person for an elected position. It is a peaceful change of leadership”. International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1972:2) has also defined election as “a form of procedure recognized by the rules of an organization whereby all or some of the members of the organization choose a smaller number of persons or one person to hold office or authority in the organization”. Election in this sense is the process or framework for selecting representatives of the people through voting. In support of the above view, Nnoli as quoted by (Ezeani, 2004:144), defines election as “the manner of choice agreed upon by a group of people which enables them to select one or few people out of many to occupy one or a number of positions of authority”.

**Electoral malpractice** according to Collins (2006:52) is “an immoral, illegal or unethical professional conduct or neglect of professional duty by electoral officers” There is no gain saying the fact that electoral malpractice is a global phenomenon, however, the magnitude of its perpetration, the major actors and the machineries of its engineering, and undesirable logical outcome of this electoral vice poses great danger to the sustainability of democracy in Nigeria. In support of the above view, Dudley (1968:12) argues that because electoral malpractice is essential in achieving electoral victory, the incentive to resort to corrupt practices is very high”

Marx (1970) argues that “the material conditions of existence of men determine their consciousness, and that such material conditions and the totality of the social relations arising there from, constitute the basis of existence and to which arise a corresponding superstructure, including politics”. It is within the purview of the above that one can understand and explain the ugly incidence of electoral malpractice in Nigeria.

Manipulation of electoral process in virtually every election conducted in the country, though perpetrated by elites to achieve their selfish motives, portends serious threat to democracy. As observed by (Adetula, 2006:24; Ibeanu, 2006:45; and Akinboye, 2006:309), within the period under review, there were severe disputations within the National Assembly and the Executive arm of government, and among the different political parties and other stakeholder. There have been controversies over the electoral law, registration of political parties, and delimitation of constituencies among other things. Another major issue of controversy over the 2003 general elections is the alleged dependence of the electoral commission on the government which is controlled by the PDP. The changes in name of the electoral commission have not brought about the required changes geared towards independence of the electoral body. Adetula (2006:33) adds that:

INEC was also bedeviled with leadership crisis and inadequate funding which adversely affected the conduct and outcomes of the elections. in each year, the grants released under each head fell short of what were approved in the Appropriation Act...grants were not received until about mid – 2002. Partial grants were released in 2002 and 2001 and none in 2002 and 2003...the net impact of the late release and funding below the levels of approved grants posed a considerable challenge to the commission’s planning and implementation efforts

Ibeanu, C. (2006:45) in support of the above, maintains that, “many of the things INEC did or did not do in the build up to the elections of 2003 created serious doubts in the minds of the electorate and contestants alike. The outcome of the elections was thus bound to be met with so much cynicism. During the 2003 general elections, politics was bedeviled with intense intra as well as inter-governmental crises and other political upheavals all in one way or the other. The Justice, Peace and Development Commission (JDPC) Report (2003: IV) gave chilling revelations regarding the role of election management bodies and other state agencies in the perpetration of electoral fraud.

### **Party Politics, Electoral Violence and Democracy**

Election in Nigeria as in most post-colonial states is characterized with a high incidence of violence. As observed by Obasi Igwe (2005:339):

Political violence is “any forceful act intended to compel a re-direction or affect the stable course of development of the political system, usually in response to natural or other emergencies, longstanding demands for change, or part of a revolutionary alteration of the system.” Political violence may or may not involve actual bloodshed, what is essential to amount to the condition is the effort to coercively carry out changes or the process of governance by means that are outside the normal, stable routine of the conventional legal machinery of the political society.

Furthermore, Obasi Igwe (2005:339) states that electoral violence as an aspect of general political violence “is the use of threat or physical act carried out by an individual or individuals within political system against another individual/s and /or property or persons and whose objectives have political significance that is tended to modify the behaviour of others in the existing arrangement of power structure”. Electoral violence may involve murder, thuggery, insults, disruption of opponents’ campaign activities, assault, abduction, arson, and assassination, among others, which occur before, during or after elections. These acts are perpetuated for the purpose of swaging the electoral results or preventing elected officials from consolidating their positions.

Epelle (2005:136), identified the following factors as being responsible for electoral violence in Nigeria: (i) imposition of candidates by a political party or the electoral officials; (ii) attempted or actual gerrymandering of electoral constituencies; (iii) stuffing of ballot boxes; exchange of stuffed boxes with genuine ones; (iv) destruction of ballot boxes or other electoral materials; (v) collation of fake voting figures and announcement of unpopular candidates as winners of elections. According to him, these electoral vices impinge on the citizens’ right to make an input into the political systems and often leave the citizen with no option to express their discontent save through violence.

### **Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses guided the study:

- H<sub>o1</sub> Desperation on the part of politicians makes them resort to election rigging and manipulation of electoral process
- H<sub>o2</sub> unregulated accesses to small fire arms by rival politicians is a major factor in electoral violence in Nigeria
- H<sub>o3</sub> the character of the Nigerian state is principally responsible for the desperate character of electoral competition in Nigerian politics.
- H<sub>o4</sub> Effective Electoral Process Awareness will help Curb Electoral Violence in Nigeria

### **Theoretical Framework**

Electoral violence by its very nature is beyond any simple causation. Attempt to understand its cause has been a major problem faced by scholars over time that most scholars even argued that the very uniqueness of each conflict defies any single theoretical explanation. However, explanation on this work, electoral violence is anchored on the Theory of Relative Deprivation, Rising- Expectations and Frustration-Aggression. The theory was originally developed by Dollard and his research associates and later expanded and modified by other scholars, including Ted Robert Gurr in 1970.

### **Tenets of the Theory**

The central premise of the Relative Deprivation, Rising-Expectations and Frustration-Aggression Theory, according to Gurr in Anifowose (2006:6), is that “aggression is always the result of frustration. Given the requisite conditions, an individual, whose basic desires are thwarted and who consequently experiences profound sense of dissatisfaction and anger is likely to react to his condition by directing aggressive behavior at what is perceived as being responsible for thwarting those desires, or at a substitute”. For Gurr, relative deprivation is a perception of thwarting circumstances. He contends that when we feel thwarted in an attempt to get something we want, we are likely to become angry, and when we become angry the most satisfying inherent response is to strike out at the source of frustration”. This in effect, means that frustration is no longer seen as the blockage of present goal-directed activity, but as anticipated frustration, engendered by discrepancies between what is realistically attainable, given the social context, and what is sought”. This latter perspective is intimately related with another version of the frustration – aggression theory called Revolution of Rising Expectations. The latter locates the genesis of violence in the feeling of dissatisfaction arising out of the comparison between what one currently enjoys and what one expects, what one thinks one ought to have or what one regards as ideal”. This notion is implicit in the words of Feierabends and Davies as quoted by (Anifowose, 2006:6-7). This theory maintains that it is hope, not despair which instigates violent political behavior. The reports by Justice, Peace and Development Commission (JDPC), the European Union observation Mission (EUEOM), Human Rights Watch, and other non- governmental election observers particularly on the 2003 elections opined that people revolted because their rights to determine who represents them has been hijacked by the dominant party in collaboration with security agents.

### **Application of the Theory to the study**

The Theory used here is considered appropriate for the analysis and understanding of the research topic on the following grounds:

1. The gerrymandering of electoral process and electoral constituencies and the whole gamut of election deprives election of its character as a competition in which all the contestants can equally aspire to win. The resultant effect is frustration and aggression on the part of the contestants.

2. The win – at – all cost character of most politicians at elections makes other competitors in the race feel frustrated and desperate as well. As a result of this experienced thwarted effort, they resort to anger.
3. The character of the Nigerian state in which the political office holder sees the office as his/her personal property and thereby converts the public funds to his/her personal aggrandizement to the detriment of the masses, most time, of the location where the resources is pooled, is a relative deprivation to the people concerned. Prebendalism is a cankerworm that seems to have eaten deep into our political system that it is now regarded as endemic. To fight this disease is not a simple task, therefore, the afflicted are more frustrated and of course, the greater the perceived frustration, the more vigorous the aggressive response.

### **Findings**

The study found that: desperation on the part of politicians lead them to engage in electoral malpractices which range from victimization, the use of thugs, and manipulation of result by the pooling agents to bribing the electoral officials as well as policemen with party supporters of various political parties attempting to influence the outcome of the election.

The nature of electoral politics which culminated into unregulated acquisition and possession of small fire arms by rival politicians positively related to electoral violence in Nigeria. This was evident in the politically motivated killings and assassinations recorded in different parts of the federation between 29 May 1999, 2001 and August 2006. Furthermore, The class character of the Nigerian State explained why Nigerian leaders want to succeed themselves in office. This attained its height as personal values, political values and constituent interests expressed in the form of imposition of candidates by a political party or the electoral officials, stuffing of ballot boxes with illegal papers, exchange of stuffed boxes with genuine ones, destruction of ballot boxes or other electoral materials, collation of fake voting figure, announcement of unpopular candidates as winners of election, and abducting and assassination of many political opponents was the order of the day as various groups such as the Security forces, INEC Officials, Political Parties, the Judiciary, and unpatriotic Nigerian citizens were used as the winning formula for the ruling party – The People’s Democratic Party (PDP), which controlled the instrumentalities of the force.

### **Discussion**

#### **H<sub>01</sub> Desperation on the part of politicians makes them resort to election rigging and manipulation of electoral process**

The nature of state power together with the real and perceived consequence of capturing and maintaining power and maintaining power constitutes a motive for the rising wave of election rigging and manipulation of electoral process in Nigeria. It is an established fact that where there exist insufficient accountability for leaders, lack of transparency in regimes, non adherence to the rule of law, absence of peaceful

means to political change and lack of respect for human rights, political control becomes excessively important and the stakes become dangerously . Ake, C. (1981) once argued that the nature of state power in Africa and the possibility of its use for exploitation and oppression have sparked off intense as competition for political power. Nnoli (1996: 117) shares this view and posits that since state power in Nigeria has become useful as an instrument of domination, oppression and exploitation, the resultant struggle for power, he maintains, has become so intense, norm less and so absorbing into warfare.

In their reply, leaders of the ruling party, the PDP, claimed that the elections were free and fair despite some lapses described by Buhari and other Presidential candidates that contested the results of the elections as bad losers who should learn how to accept defeat in good faith. But events during and after the 2003 General elections revealed that desperation over political office can make politicians engage in any means that can make them retain and consolidate power. Center for Democracy and Development in their “Briefing on Nigerian 2003 Election” pointed out that the regimes in power under the guise of consolidating democracy usually wants to have a second term and in the process adopts every means including electoral malpractices to achieve the objective.

Kunle Ajayi talking on “Security Forces, Electoral Conduct and the 2003 General Elections in Nigeria” supported the above view by observing that “election of state actors has often been problematic in many African states arising from what is at stake politically and economically as derivable benefits including dividends and privileges of political office holding. All these, therefore, make electoral transitions to assume war-like and zero-sum dimensions among electoral contestants. The stakes particularly bring to the fore the self-succession problem”. Observing further, Kunle Ajayi, maintained that “leadership succession in Nigeria has before the 2003 elections, assumed a problematic status. This is so because earlier attempts, particularly transition from civilian ruler- ship, had often resulted in serious national political crisis.

## **H<sub>02</sub> Unregulated accesses to small fire arms by rival politicians is a major factor in electoral violence in Nigeria**

Electoral malpractice in Nigeria is a cankerworm that has eaten deep into the fabrics of the nation’s political system. One of the fundamental assumptions of democracy is that the people to be governed have a say in the selection of those that govern them, those that they select man the different institutions that have been established for the purpose of governance but the 2003 elections was the opposite of this assumption. Personal values, political values and constituent interests impinged on this assumption. Theses varied interests were therefore expressed in the form of imposition of candidates by a political party or the electoral officials, stuffing of ballot boxes with illegal papers, exchange of stuffed boxes with genuine ones, destruction of ballot boxes or other electoral materials, collation of fake voting figure, announcement of unpopular candidates as winners of election, and abducting and

assassination of many political opponents. The table below presents some cases of allegedly politically motivated killings in Nigeria over the years.

**Table 1: Selected cases of allegedly politically motivated killings and assassinations in different parts of the federation between 29 May 1999, 2001 to August 2006**

<b>S/N</b>	<b>NAMES OF VICTIMS</b>	<b>DATES</b>
1	MR. Odunayo Olagbaju, a member of the Osun State House of Assembly.	December 21, 2001
2	Chief Bola Ige, late Attorney General and Minister for Justice	December 23, 2001
3	Alhaji Modabbo, an ANPP Governorship candidate in Adamawa State.	February, 2002
4	Alhaji Ahmed Pategi, Chairman, PDP Kwara State Chapter.	August 15, 2002
5	Barrister Barnabas Igwe, Chairman, Nigerian Bar Association (NBA). Anambra State Chapter.	September 01, 2002
6	Mr. Dele Arojo, a gubernatorial aspirant under the PDP.	November 25, 2002
7	Alhaji Isyaku Muhammad, National Vice President, United Nigerian Peoples Party (UNPP), North _ West.	December, 2002
8	Mr. Ogu Ibolo, an elected Local Government Chairman under the ANPP.	December, 2002
9	Chief Sembo Mimimah, an ANPP leader in Rivers State and former National Treasurer of the Party (ANPP).	December, 2002
10	Chief Paul Unongo, a governorship candidate in Benue State under the ANPP.	January, 2003
11	Alhaji Musa Kubo, speaker, Borno State House of Assembly	January, 2003
12	Senator Rolland Owie, an ANPP Governorship candidate in Edo State.	Jan. - February, 2003
13	Chief Ogonnaya Uche, Senatorial candidate under the ANPP, Imo State.	February, 2003
14	Chief Emenike, a chieftain of the ANPP in Imo State.	Feb. – March 2003.
15	Chief Livinus Nwade, Chairman, ANPP Ebonyi State.	February, 2003.
16	Senator Silvanus Ngele, an ANPP stalwart and deputy governorship candidate	February, 2003
17	Barrister Ekpenyong Ntekim, the Chairman, ANPP Akwa Ibom State.	March, 2003
18	Chief A. Gani Fawehinmi, presidential candidate of the National Conscience Party (NCP)	March 12, 2003
19	Mr. Akin Osuntokun, Director of Publicity, Obasanjo _ Atiku Campaign Organization.	March 14, 2003
20	Dr. Bukola Saraki. Then governorship candidate of the PDP	February, 2003
21	Mr. Theodore A. Agwatu, Principal Secretary to the Imo State Governor. J	February, 2003
22	Mrs. Emily Omope (also known as Thatcher), a former member of the Alliance for Democracy, AD.	March 03, 2003
23	Chief Dr. Marshal Sokrari Harry. A chieftain of the ANPP and party co-coordinator, South – South Nigeria.	March 05, 2003
24	Chief Bode Olanipekun (SAN)	March, 2003

25	Honourable Monday Ndor, a stalwart of the ANPP,	December, 2003
26	Chief Aminasoari Kala Dikibo, National Vice Chairman, PDP South _South Nigeria	February 06, 2004.
27	In Kogi State, the Chairman of the State Independent Electoral Commission, Philip Olorunnipa was killed	March 07, 2004
28	PDP candidate for the Chairmanship of Bassa Local Government of Kogi State, Luke Shigaba, was killed	March 03, 2004
29	A vehicle carrying the Benue State governor, George Akume, was attacked.	March 03, 2004
30	Hassan Alimi Olajoka was assassinated at Gbonga in Ogun State	May, 2005
31	Hajiya Saadatu, the wife of Alhaji Abubakar Rimi, former Second Republic Governor of Kano State	May, 2005
32	Engineer Funshu Williams, a PDP gubernatorial aspirant in Lagos State was murdered in his bedroom in Ikoyi	July 27, 2006
33	Dr. Auodeji Daramola, a PDP gubernatorial aspirant in Ekiti State was murdered in his bedroom at Ijan-Ekiti	August, 2006

**Source:**

Arowosegbe, O. J. (2005), Elections and the Politics of Democratic Transition in Nigeria: Lessons for the 2003 Exercise and the Anambra Saga in Madubuike, (2007: 66 – 70) and Human Rights Watch – Nigeria’s 2003 Elections: The Unacknowledged Violence [http://hrw.org/reports/2004/Nigeria\\_0604](http://hrw.org/reports/2004/Nigeria_0604); *Nigerian Forum. A Journal of Opinion on World Affairs*. Nigeria Institute of Internal Affairs page 18, Vol. 28, Nos 1-2 Jan.-Feb., 2007

**Ho3 The Character of the Nigerian state is principally responsible for the desperate character of electoral competition in Nigerian politics.**

The class character of the Nigerian State reveals that the Nigerian state, like other capitalist states is not class neutral, but immersed in constant class struggle within and between the various institutional groups that make it a reality (Nwoke and Omoweh, 2006:30)..

According to Ayoade, J A in INEC Proceedings (2006:57) money is the mother’s milk of politics as politics is a ‘saving club’; you get what you put in. But it must be noted that funding in politics carries with it undue influence such that the elected representative or government becomes a prisoner of market agents or interest groups operating on the fringes of the law. Those who make large contributions exercise substantial and undue influence as a result of their largesse.

**Ho4 Effective electoral process awareness will help curb electoral violence in Nigerian politics**

Governance has been a major challenge for Nigeria since independence in 1960. The 2003 election was a turning point in the annals of elections in Nigeria. On the positive side, it afforded Nigeria and its citizens the opportunity to break the jinx of civilian to civilian transition. However, on the negative side, it saw to the near institutionalization of electoral fraud. Irregularities such as vote buying, ballot box snatching and massive rigging, employing security forces in electoral fraud and

swapping of result took the centre stage. Electoral violence became the order of the day. Electoral violence in Nigeria has both ethnic and religious connotations. Youth who are largely unemployed are used to score violent political points either in a bid to wrestle political power or in a reaction to some form of political failure. Electoral violence has left in its wake, a culture of 'might is right and winner takes all'. Voter apathy is also a serious aftermath of citizen's total dissatisfaction with the violence that meet with them at polling booths during elections.

Political and economic considerations related to Nigeria's influence within Africa have made many international actors reluctant to criticize President Obasanjo's human rights records. Statements by the United States and the United Kingdom governments issued in the immediate aftermath of the 2003 elections typified the strength of international support for President Obasanjo and a willingness to turn a blind eye to human rights abuses. The role played by the security forces, socio-political institutions such as the judiciary, the police, and the intelligence, was mixed.

The judiciary was reported to have been manipulated by the ruling party or its members and financiers to perpetuate electoral crime in 2003. For instance, according to the News Watch report of March 15, 2004 on "Election Tribunal Saga", Members of the Election Petition Tribunal were proven to have collected bribe from members of the ruling party and incumbent to subvert the truth. Human Rights Watch documented a number of cases of human rights abuses carried out directly by members of the security forces, mostly by the police, particularly the paramilitary mobile police, acting in collusion with ruling party officials.

### **Summary**

Electoral malpractice and violence have attained an endemic dimension in almost all political systems the world over. The phenomenon is most prevalent in developing countries of the world like Nigeria and has manifested in many forms to include the use of threat of physical act by an individual or groups against another with the intent to cause death on person, within the political system. Desperation on the part of politicians leads them to engage in electoral malpractices which range from victimization, the use of thugs, and manipulation of result by the pooling agents to bribing the electoral officials as well as policemen with party supporters of various political parties attempting to influence the outcome of the election.

Unregulated acquisition and possession of small fire arms by rival politicians is positively related to electoral violence in Nigeria. This is evident in the politically motivated killings and assassinations recorded in different parts of the federation between 29 May 1999, 2001 and August 2006. The character of the Nigerian state as situated in the Theory of Prebendalism and Marxist Theory of Neo-colonial state explained why Nigerian leaders, want to succeed themselves in office. And in order to achieve this, the leadership embarks on electoral manipulations. Prior to the 2003 elections, the civilian –to – civilian transitional elections had not only been problematic and controversial but also the ensued controversies and violence accompanied with arson and casualties had always instigated military take over of

power. In 1999, Nigeria returned to formal civilian rule when Olusegun Obasanjo was elected president. In 2003, President Olusegun Obasanjo was re-elected in a PDP landslide, and his party also captured most other important political offices. After the landslide, witnessed political or party infighting, accusations and counter accusations, killing and counter killings, impeachment of governors and their deputies became the order of the day. Some of the governors who were threatened with impeachment letter sought redress in the court and were restored. During the space of eight years, the five Igbo states produced five Senate Presidents thus: Evans Enwerem - Abia state; Pius Okadiabo - Anambra state; Adolphus Nwagbara - Imo state; Anyim Pius Anyim - Ebonyi state; and Ken Nnamani - Enugu state. All these point to political imbroglio of the nation state.

### **Conclusion**

Forty seven years ago, Nigeria fought and won her independence. It is true that independence has been fought for and won but everywhere, we appear to be in an irredeemable predicament. Taking a critical look at the present political imbroglio what we are experiencing is a paradox of self-rule, democratic norms and representative government. It is democracy in crisis.

Although, conflict, crisis and violence cannot be eliminated from human society, their escalation and the unpleasant consequences in terms of fledgling democracy could however be avoided. Nigerian leaders must practice good governance. This requires imbibing the appropriate civilized attitudes which facilitate political cooperation and limit the stakes of engagement in politics.

There should be human rights and civil liberty to all citizens. We should strike a balance between respecting the will of the majority and protecting the rights of the minority. Political culture, political socialization, political stability and enforcement of rules and regulations should be established and monetization of politics should be curtailed to produce a responsible government and reap the sweet fruit of democracy.

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## **Linguistic structure of Nigerian Pidgin (*Nàìjǎ*): The influence of indigenous languages**

**Olusanmi Babarinde**

### **Introduction**

Pidgins as languages are products of languages in contact and in Nigeria, it is officially known as *Nàìjǎ* – a name adopted for Nigerian Pidgin at the National Conference on Nigerian Pidgin at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria. According to Ofulue and Esizimotor (2010), report that in 2009, the *Nàìjǎ* Language Akedemi (NLA) proposed a harmonized orthography for writing the language and also adopted *Nàìjǎ* as official name for Nigerian Pidgin, (see Ofulue and Esizimotor, 2010; Ailende, 2010). Nigerian pidgin, *Nàìjǎ*, is undoubtedly the widest and most acceptable outreach language of communication especially in any known linguistic melting point across the country that has over 500 languages with over 150million people according to 2006 national census and 170 million (July 2011 United Nations estimate). Nigerian pidgin is an English-based form of pidgin which has now transformed into creole in some sizeable parts of Nigeria especially in the oil rich Niger Delta where most of its population speak it as their first language. This is not unexpected given the fact that the Portuguese settled in this geopolitical region when they explored Nigeria. Since these people had no common language, it was easy for the Niger Deltans comprising Annang, Edo, Efik, Ibibio, Igbo, Ijaw, Itsekiri, Isoko, and Urohobo to learn the Portuguese-based pidgin. However, with the introduction of English as the official language, the Portuguese-based pidgin gradually developed into NPE by the time Nigeria had her independence from Britain in 1960.

Many scholars have expressed the controversies concerning the usages and status of NP and PE. However, most references in the literature (Agheyisi 1984, Mafeni 1971, Mufwene 2007, Orisawayi 2007, etc.) combine the two varieties and refer generally to them as Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) Elugbe and Omamor (1991) and Adegbija (20011) observe that NPE is classified as an indo-exogenous language since it links English (an exogenous language) to the numerous Nigerian indigenous languages. According to them, large portion of NPE lexicon is taken from English being its superstrate language, while its structure and function are akin to Nigeria's indigenous languages, its substrate languages. NPE is generally and reportedly believed to be the most widely spoken language varieties in Nigeria. Its speakers including those who have it as their first language L1 is around 25 million though Elugbe (1995) puts the figure below this.

Nevertheless, there are vestiges of words revealing instance of Nigeria-Portuguese contact. For example, in a sentence like *you sabi do am?* meaning 'do you know how to do it?', *sàbí* in Yoruba connotes 'to know' or 'to know how to...'. As an aspect of lexical borrowing, 'to know' in Portuguese is *saber* borrowed into Yoruba. From the monogenetic view, *sabir* was a basic word in mediterranean lingual franca that was spread to West Africa by Portuguese colonial master. This

example justifies the view of the wave theory of language contact. Its English cognate is *savvy* buttressing the indo-European genealogical grouping of English and Portuguese. Also, *pikin* comes from the Portuguese words *pequeno*, meaning ‘small’, and are generally used in all the varieties to refer to a child.

Adeyanju (1988) observes that analysis of NPE can be with respect to the linguistic properties of the pidgin language; secondly, with respect to social function of the language; thirdly, with respect to the historical linguistic processes that give shape to the language; and lastly with respect to the social processes that give birth to it. This paper therefore focuses largely on the linguistic structure of NPE from the sound level through the meaning level of language analysis.

The present attempt also touches slightly on the social function of the language. The essence of the foregoing is to further justify the status of pidgin as an independent language. The paper also attempts a validation of the preoccupation of theoretical linguistics which includes an inquiry into the rules which govern the structure of any natural human language. NPE is complex and shows some variety in form and function from one speech community to the other. Though these varieties may be mutually intelligible, they differ with respect to the indigenous language which influences their phonological, lexical and syntactic peculiarities. The data used in this research reflect the linguistic backgrounds of the Nigerian people and also show how their languages help in constituting the word stock in English-based pidgin.

Mafeni (1971:95-112) makes an insightful contribution to the question of whether there existed something to be described as Pidgin in Nigeria. In his pioneer work, he gave a sketchy grammatical description of NPE as a language to nullify the popular held opinion that the language was debased form of English. To justify this position, other scholars like Decamp (1971), Adekunle (1974), Todd (1974), Ifode (1984), Unoh (1986), Odumuh (1986), and Ekpenyong (1992) have come out with findings confirming the existence of the English-based Pidgin in Nigeria.

Gani-Ikilama (1993:51) observes that many writers have for many years done NP the injustice of using for it the orthography of English, and this practice, according to Mafeni (1971) blurs some lexical and grammatical distinctions in the language (NP) while also suggesting that it is a substandard variety of English, thus reinforcing misconception about NP. She notes that this is not really the fault of the writers. It is because there has been no standardized orthography for NP and until this is worked out, it is our view that the orthography of NP will remain unacceptable. However, only a small body of literature exists in the language.

### **Nigerian pidgin (*Nàijá*) as a Language**

In spite of overwhelming research evidence, many Nigerians still have a negative attitude to NP. They fail to see NP as a language in its own right, and they tend to regard any deviant form of English as NP. Dadzie (1990) claims that Pidgin is complete in its semantic, phonological and lexical realizations. Besides, it is sufficiently predictable to be classified as a language. Omamor (1991) says of NP that a careful consideration of the grammatical description of NPE shows beyond

reasonable doubt that the sentence of NPE cannot possibly be accounted for in term of the grammar of English. Other scholars (Marchese & Schnukal 1980, Omamor 1982, Faraclas 1984) among others attest to the fact that NPE is a language, independent of English. Present study further confirms that NPE is a language distinct from English in phonology, syntax, and semantics.

### **Slang expression and Nigerian pidgin English: similarities and differences**

Hartmann and Stork (1997) view slang as a variety of speech characterized by newly coined and rapidly changing vocabulary, used by the young or by social and professional groups for 'in-group' communication and thus tending to prevent understanding by the rest of the speech community. In other words, Slang is an in-group medium of communication for the young, for social groups, and for professional guilds. Oluikpe and Anasiudu (2006) note that slang is an elusive element in human communication because its use is transient. It springs up on daily basis and, at the same time vanishes, in some cases as the events which gave rise to their coinage are forgotten. However, just like NPE, slang expression is informal and it is a blend of the English and indigenous language. Oloruntoba, (1992:127) observes that slang presents an alternative source of words into NPE. The present study confirms this assertion based on data obtained from informants from the University of Nigeria, Nsukka where there are students from different ethnolinguistic backgrounds.

1. Kari your *òròbbò* woman from my doormot.  
Carry pos.pro fat woman pre. pos.pro door mouth  
'Take your fat woman away from my entrance'.
  2. *Lèpa* wey dey run maraton go turn skeletin fastfast.  
Slim who prog. run marathon fut. turn skeleton quickly  
'A slim person that runs a marathon race will become slimmer suddenly'.  
Idiagbon (1999) notes that the influence of Lagos state on NPE is significant. Being a south western region majorly occupied by the Yoruba people contributes to why a considerable number of Yoruba words and slangs found their ways into NPE.
- (3a) Wetin be your logo.  
What aux. pos.pro identity  
'Identify yourself/who are you?'
- (b) E *şakara* dey too much.  
3per.sg brag prog. too much  
'He likes showing off too much'.

### **Varieties of Nigerian Pidgin English**

A variant is characterized by a preponderant influence of its substrate language on the form and usage. Variations of pidgin are spoken across Nigeria. These include the Warri; Sapele; Benin; Port Harcourt; Lagos, (Ajegunle), Onitsha and Kano varieties. Obiechina (1984), version NPE variants is quite detailed and critical. He identified 5 variants, namely: Bendel, Calabar, Lagos, Kano/Maiduguri and Port Harcourt variants. Each of these variants comprises some speech communities that share same

linguistic manifestation of the language. According to him for instance, Benin variant comprises 10 varieties (Warri, Isoko, Sapele, Agbor, Itsekiri, Abraka, Effurum, Agbaraha-Oto, Urohobo, Ewu); Calabar variant has 4 varieties (Calabar, Cross River, Akwa-Ibom, Kalabari region); Kano/Maiduguri variant consists of 4 varieties (North East, North-North, North South, North West); Lagos variant has 3 varieties (south west, eastern part, south central); and Port Harcourt variant has 3 varieties (Port Harcourt, River and regional suburbs). However, the Benin variant is considered as the standard variety according to Elugbe and Omamor (1991). Bulk of the NPE stock spoken in this region is found in other regions across the country. Besides, this is the geographical region according to Gani-Ikilama (1993) the language is first discovered to have developed into creole.

### **Methodology**

The corpus-based research method was used to describe the structure of the NPE. The data used in this research reflect different linguistic backgrounds of the Nigerian people and also show how their languages help in constituting the word stock in English-based pidgin. Our respondents were selected on the basis of age (10-45) and most importantly ethno-linguistic affiliations. This was to allow us representing a cross-section of the NPE-speaking speech communities. To ensure this, tape-recordings of conversations from interview were made in within university environment where different ethnic nationalities usually converge. The age of the respondents were selected because youths represent a very vibrant group in any language.

### **Linguistic structure of Nigerian Pidgin (Naija)**

Many researchers have investigated the sound system of the NPE. Among them are Mafeni (1971), and Elugbe and Omamor (1991). However, most of them admit the scanty nature of their inquiries which are largely as a result of dearth of adequate and robust data or the fast developmental trend of the language and or the multiplicity of regional and ethnic variations. Besides, their works did not really touch on the linguistic analysis of the language and the influence of the Nigerian indigenous languages on the structure of NPE. This is the major focus of this paper.

#### **6.1 Phonological structure: the influence of indigenous languages**

Structural analysis of any language must start from the sound level where the behaviour of speech sound segments is examined. The NPE at this level has seven oral vowels /i, e, a, o, u, ε, ɔ/ as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Nigerian Pidgin English vowels

Vowel	Nigerian Pidgin	English words
I	/bit/	bit, feel, beat, fill
E	/tebul/	table, snake, bath
A	/had/	hat, heart, hard
o	/hot/	hot, hurt, pot
O	/gol/	goal, gold
U	/ful/	fool, food, full
ε	/rɛdi/	ready, ten, bed

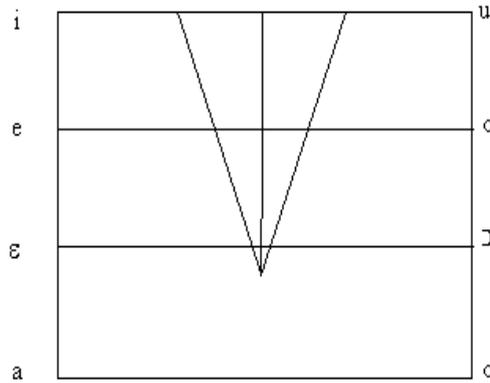
It is noteworthy that there are instances of under-differentiation where a phoneme represents more than one orthographic symbol as seen in the example of English words denoting words that have the phonemes in the NPE.

Table 2 below compares English pure vowels with vowels from ten randomly selected Nigerian languages: Ibibio, Igbo, Ijaw, Hausa, Fulfulde, Itsekiri, Nupe, Tiv, Urhobo and Yoruba. The aim according to Elugbe and Omamor (1991) is to stress the influence of these languages on the phonological system of Nigerian Pidgin English.

Table 2: English pure vowels and vowels of ten Nigerian languages

	1 i:	2 i:	3 e:	4 æ:	5 ɑ:	6 ɑ:	7 ɔ:	8 u:	9 u:	10 ʌ:	11 ɜ:	12 ə:
Ibibio	-	i	e	ɑ	-	-	-	u u	u	ʌ	ɜ	ə
Igbo	i	i	e	ɑ	-	-	-	u	u	-	-	-
Ijaw	i	i	e	ɑ	-	-	-	u	u:	-	-	-
Hausa	i	i	e	-	-	-	-	u	u:	-	-	-
Fulfulde	i	i	e	ɑ	ɑ	-	-	u	-	-	-	-
Itsekiri	i	-	e	ɑ	ɑ	-	-	u	-	-	-	-
Nupe	i	-	e	ɑ	ɑɑ	-	-	u	-	-	-	-
Tiv	i	-	e	ɑ	-	-	-	u	-	-	-	-
Urhobo	i	-	e	ɑ	-	-	-	u	-	-	-	-
Yoruba	i	-	e	ɑ	-	-	-	u	-	-	-	-

Table 3: *Cardinal Vowel Chart*



A survey of Tables 1 and 2, in line with Ifode (1984) shows that NPE has less pure vowels than English. In particular, the vowel /o/ which is found in NPE as in *on* (own), *fon* (phone), *go* (go) is an example. Elugbe, (1985) notes that the NPE vowels are describable in relation to the cardinal vowels as follows:

(4)

i	—————▶	CV1
E	—————▶	CV2
ɛ	—————▶	CV3
ɔ	—————▶	CV6
O	—————▶	CV7
U	—————▶	CV8

The foregoing according to him, confirms that the language has its own sound system with identifiable phonetic potentials, which cannot be said to be absolutely the same with English or any Nigerian language. Examination of our raw phonetic data reveals existence of diphthongs in NPE. The identifiable ones as shown in examples below are: /ai, ao, ɔɛ, au, iɛ, iɔ, ɔi/.

- (5) buy /bai/ 'to buy'  
 how /hao/ 'how?'

Some of these vary among speakers depending on their linguistic backgrounds. For example, the less anglicized articulations of /ai/, and /ɔi/ indicate /ae, ao/ and /ɔe/.

Nigerian Pidgin has about twenty-five consonant sounds:

/m, n, ŋ, ŋ<sup>w</sup>, p, b, t, d, ɸ, dʒ, k, ɡ, kp, gb, f, v, s, z, l, ʒ, ʃ, λ, j, w, h/.

Most of these sounds occur in English except /kp, gb; λ, ŋ<sup>w</sup>/. The first two /kp, gb/ occur in Nigerian languages like Ibibio, *kp ikke* 'cut', in the Igbo word, *egbe*

‘masquerade’, and Yoruba *gbogbo* ‘all’. In NPE, we have *okpa* ‘food’ and *egbe* ‘group’. The sounds /ŋ<sup>w</sup>/ and /ŋ/ according to Faraclas (1984), are realised as [ŋwin] for English *win* and [ŋaʃ] *ngash* for English ‘buttocks’.

The fact that some of the English phonemic stock are missing from the charts above reveals that all entries are transcribed to reflect the speech behaviour of the generality of Nigerians who have not been exposed to phonetics or phonetic training. The pronunciations of English words are as varied as there are different languages in Nigeria.

### **Tone**

At the supra-segmental level, NPE has pitch features of English and Nigerian languages. Being a pitch-accent language, it uses a pitch system similar to the English intonation pattern. It also exhibits three basic tones (high, low, and mid sometimes realized as downstep elsewhere) like many Nigerian languages as shown in the data. We equally observe that NPE is a stress language in addition to its tonal feature. This position according to Oyebade (1983), justifies the fact that the phonology of Nigerian Pidgin is neither absolutely English nor Nigerian language-based but a unique product of hybridisation occurring at both the segmental and supra-segmental levels. These tones could perform two major functions which are lexical and grammatical. While these functions are attestable in some languages like Igbo and Hausa, tone performs only lexical function in Yoruba and NPE. Tone patterns which are basically high, low, and mid can be manipulated by the speaker in consonance to his indigenous language. However, these tones are used contrastively in NPE as seen below;

(6ai) *bàbá* ‘old man/father’ (6bi) *fadá* ‘a catholic priest’ (6ci) *igbó* ‘marijuana’  
(aai). *bábà* ‘a barber’ (bii) *fádà* ‘a master at something’ (cii) *Ígbò* ‘a language’

### **Morphological structure: The influence of indigenous languages**

NPE does not exhibit inflection. As such there are no inflectional endings like, -*ed*, -*s*, -*ing* as typified in English. Separate markers or particles are used to denote inflections in the language as shown by the underlined words below. Word formation processes are largely reduplication and compounding; and these processes are largely influenced by indigenous Nigerian languages i.e. the substrate languages.

(7) I <u>don</u> it/chop.	‘I <u>have</u> eaten’.	(perfective tense)
A <u>bin</u> policeman	‘I <u>was</u> a policeman’.	(past tense)
Me a <u>go</u> tell dem.	‘I <u>will</u> tell them’.	(future tense)
Fia <u>de</u> kach Jon	‘John <u>is</u> afraid’.	(progressive)
Yu <u>fo</u> kom now	‘You <u>should/would</u> have come’.	(modal/ auxiliary verb)
We <u>mos</u> see the tin	‘We <u>must</u> see the thing’.	(command)
They <u>fit</u> kill am.	‘They <u>can/may, could/might</u> kill him’.	(possibility)
Di ticha <u>dem</u> go kom.	‘The teachers <u>will</u> come’.	(plural marker)
We <u>dey</u> Lagos	‘We <u>are</u> in Lagos’.	(form of verb ‘be’ i.e is/are)
Wetin <u>be</u> your palaver?	‘What <u>is</u> your problem?’	
E don <u>kpeme</u> .	‘ <u>He/she/it</u> is ruined’.	(3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. sing)



There are other examples like *naija* ‘Nigeria’, *palmy* ‘palm-wine’, *acada* ‘academic’, etc.

### **Acronyms**

Acronyms are initials of several words. Their combination usually produces a different word altogether. In NPE, acronyms are usually seen in slang-induced pidgin as shown below.

- (12a) Yu no no say na *fanta* he be, lif am. ‘Foolish Africans Never Taste Alcohol’.  
2pers.sg neg.know rel.clause nCl acronym 3pers.sg, leave per.pro  
‘You don’t know that he is reserved, leave him’.
- (b) If yu no won do i go *harp* you now. ‘Help Alhaja Remove Pant’  
clause 2pers.sg neg. want do 1pers.sg acronym 2pers.sg pres.  
‘I will strip you naked now if you prove stubborn’.
- (c) Make yu gif am enough *gulder*. ‘Girls Under Liquor Demand Extra Round’  
make 2pers.sg give ‘be’ enough acronym  
‘Make sure you satisfy her very well in bed’.

### **Syntactic structure: The influence of indigenous languages**

#### ***noun inflection***

The grammatical categories of English do not necessarily fit the patterns of Pidgin. To inflect nouns (countables) for number (plurality), certain particle or an independent plural marker *dem* is placed after the noun to depict the structure N+*dem*. *dem* means ‘3rd pers. pl. pro. ‘them’’. Nouns and pronouns are modified by placing the plural marker before the modified noun and pronoun.

- (13a) English NPE  
Teachers ‘Plural’ *tichas dem* ‘Plural’  
their teachers ‘possessive’ *dem ticha* ‘plural possessive’  
*his boy* *im boy* ‘singular possessive’
- (bi) Di draiva/drifa/driba *dem* de fait.  
the driver pl aux. fight  
‘The drivers are fighting’.
- (bii) A no si di ticha/tiṣa *dem*  
I neg. see det. teacher pl.  
‘I did not see the teachers’.

Data from informants from Warri, Port-Harcourt, Benin show that the plural formation of a noun is realised as either N+s (+*dem*), that is, that the plural of *tichas* ‘teacher’ is either *tichas/tiṣas* or *tichas/tiṣas dem*. Some informants from Niger Delta region according to Urua (2011) prefer to use the N+s variant that is akin to English while the others prefer both variants, that is: N+s and N+*dem*.

The following are some examples:

- (14a) Im *tichas/tiṣas* de kọm / Im *tichas/tiṣas dem* de kọm  
poss. teachers aux. come / poss. teachers pl. aux come  
‘His teachers are coming’.
- (b) A no si im *tichas/tiṣas* / A no si im *tichas/tiṣas dem*  
I neg. see poss. teachers / I neg. see poss. teachers pl.  
‘I did not see the teachers’.

Beside the regular nouns that derive their plurality by the attachment of {-s} morpheme, the irregular nouns too retain their English plural forms and appear with or without the particle *dẹm*. However, there is a sharp difference in the plural realization forms. While some informants use form similar to the standard English, others choose the combination of forms similar to standard English and *dẹm* as seen in the example by Urua (2011):

- (15) Im *shidrẹn* de abrọd / Ọl im *shidrẹn dẹm* de abrọd  
 All his children loc. abroad  
 ‘All his children live overseas’.

However, Ndimele (2013:1087) describes *dẹm* in the above noun phrase construction as a ‘totaliser’. According to him, it (*dẹm*) can be used to express an accompaniment, such as ‘X’ and company.

- (16a) Di gẹl *dẹm* dọn mari  
 the girl pl. perf. marry  
 ‘The girl and co are married’.  
 (b) Pita *dẹm* dọn mari  
 Peter pl. perf. marry  
 ‘Peter and co are married’.

### 6.3.2. number and case in NPE pronouns

In NPE pronouns, Ndimele (2013) notes that number, gender and case are differentiated in such a way that makes them more similar to English than in the past. The forms (examples 17) below are the standard NPE forms (Benin/Warri variant) while those in (examples 18) are the NPE forms from informants from Ibadan/Onitsha (Yoruba/Igbo) based on what they often speak today.

(17) Standard NP Pronouns

Subject	Object	Possessive
ai “I”	mi “me”	mai “my/mine”
yu “you (sg)”	yu “you”	yọ “your (sg.)”
i “he/she/it”	am “him/her/it”	im “his/hers/its”
wi “we”	wi/ọs “us”	wi/awa “our/ours”
una “you pl.”	una “you”	una “your/yours”
dẹm “they”	dẹm “them”	dẹm “their/theirs”

(18) NP Pronouns from our informants

Subject	Object	Possessive
a/a “I”	mi “me”	mai “my/mine”
yu “you (sg)”	yu “you”	yọ “your (sg.)”
i “he/it”	am “him/it”	im “his/its”
şı/shi “she”	ha “her”	ha “hers”
wi “we”	ọs “us”	wi/awa “our/ours”
una (Igbo) “you pl.”	una “you”	una “your/yours” (Igbo)
dẹm “they”	dẹm “them”	dẹm/dia “their/theirs”

*wi* and *os* are used as free variants (i.e. interchangeably) in example (17) above based on standard form. However, examination of data from respondents from Onitsha (Igbo) and Ibadan (Yoruba) reveals that majority prefers the *os* variant which is like the English ‘us’ to *wi* ‘we’. Similarly, the third person plural possessive pronoun has two variants, *dem* and *dia*. *dia* is widely used among the Yoruba and Hausa people than *dem* which is well embraced in the south east (Igbo) and south south (Niger Delta).

For further understanding, we juxtapose some utterances from both forms (standard NPE and modern NPE) in example (19) below. We observe that the forms in (19 ai, and bi) are akin to English much more than those in (19a ii, and b ii). However, NPE does not mark gender in its grammar.

- |        |                             |      |                                      |
|--------|-----------------------------|------|--------------------------------------|
| (19ai) | Standard NP                 |      | Modern NP                            |
|        | Mai mama giv <i>wi</i> moni | (ii) | Mai <i>moms</i> i giv <i>os</i> moni |
|        | My mother give we money.    |      | My mother give us money              |
|        | ‘My mother gave us money’.  |      |                                      |
- 
- |      |                                   |      |                                 |
|------|-----------------------------------|------|---------------------------------|
| (bi) | Wi don tɛl <i>dem dem</i> resot   | (ii) | Wi don tɛl <i>dem dia</i> resot |
|      | We perf. tell them their result   |      | We perf. tell them their result |
|      | ‘We have told them their result’. |      |                                 |

### ***Se in noun clauses***

Observation from the data reveals that in NPE grammar noun clauses may begin with the noun clause introducer (nci) *se*. This is about the only grammatical particle which distinguishes noun clauses from other clauses. However, these clauses manifest in one of two syntactic positions. They follow the verb of their superordinate clause when they occur in the object position or the adverbial position. Besides, a noun clause may also follow an adverbial clause introducer. Ndimele (2013) says a noun clause that does not occupy the adverbial position can be said to be the syntactic object of the verb of the clause to which it is subordinate. Following from the foregoing, noun clauses in NPE may be divided into two classes: object noun clauses and adverbial noun clauses:

#### (20) Object noun clause

E no [se dem kuk fud].  
3per.sg know [nci pro.pl.cook food]  
‘He knew they cooked food’.

#### (21) Adverbial noun clause

Dem yarn mi se ‘kuk di mit’ [se hongga don waya mi].  
3pl.P tellF 1oP nci cook det.meat [nci hungry has beat me]  
‘They told me, ‘cook the meat’ because hunger has dealt with me’.

Faraclas (1996: 34) however notes that NPE noun clause initial position *se* is optional. However, he observes that *se* is susceptible to certain contexts while it is not in others. According to him, *se* is more likely to occur before direct speech, questions, commands; before a pronoun; or when the noun clause is shifted to sentence-initial position.

**Question Formation in NPE**

Formation of Yes/No and Wh- questions as elicited from our respondents are not any different from what is in the literature. They are formed by a rising intonation on the final syllable of the statement. Example (22) shows the affirmative statement while example (23) presents the Yes/No question form of it.

- (22) Yù dè kraz.  
2per.sg prog. craze.  
'You are crazy'.  
(23) Yù dè craz?  
2per.sg. prog. craze?  
'Are you crazy?'

**wh-questions in the standard NPE**

The wh-questions in the standard variety of NPE are introduced by *Wh*-phrases as has been aptly described by Elugbe and Omamor (1991) and exemplified by the forms in (24ai,bi,and ci). However, in the modern NP variety, they are introduced by wh-words similar to those of English as exemplified by the forms in (24aii,bii,and cii).

**Standard NP**

**Modern NP**

- (24ai) *Wich* ples wi de go? (ii) *Wię* wi de go?  
Which place we prog. go  
'Where are we going?'  
(bi) *Wetin* mek dem chop di fud? (ii) *Wai* dem chop di fud?  
What make they eat the food?  
'Why did they eat the food?'

From our observation, it is obvious that modern NPE undergoing decreolizing not just in writing as earlier noted by Elugbe and Omamor (1991) but also in speech. This is observable among the undergraduates and postgraduate students in the University of Nigeria. However, this is not unexpected given the status of English as Nigeria's official language.

The Yoruba people often use the words *şé* and *àbí*, noun clause introducer, (for interrogation) while conversing in NPE. Both markers are used either at the beginning of a sentence in the pattern of English to ask yes/no question as shown in (25ai and ii) or at the end of a sentence (which is peculiar to NPE) to ask question (25bi and ii).

- (25ai) *Şé* yu dey mad? (bii) Yu dey mad, *şé*?  
quest. particle 2pers.sg. prog. mad? 2pers.sg prog. mad, question particle  
'Are you mad?' 'You are mad, right?'  
(ii) *Àbí* yu dey mad? (ii) Yu dey mad, *àbí*.  
quest.particle 2pers.sg prog. mad 2pers.sg prog. mad, quest.particle  
'You are mad, right?' 'You are mad, right?'

The Igbo people usually add the word *nna* at the sentence-initial position. This is used as a social unifying force to show belonging as shown in the sentence below:

- (26). Man, that test was very hard. becomes,  
*Nna*, that test hard no be small.

### **Serial verb construction**

Givon (2006) describes a serial verb construction as a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. NPE attests this syntactic construction as seen below.

- (27a) A *bai* shu *giv* mai broada  
1sg bought shoe give my brother  
'I bought shoes that i gave my brother'.  
(b) Jon *tek* stik *kon* hit im hed.  
John took stick hit him head  
'John hit his head with stick'.

### **The variability constructions of *fọ* 'for'**

Though the lexical category of words especially the content words are the most affected words in NPE because of their higher information content, it is however observed that *fọ*, a function word (preposition) which expresses grammatical relationships with other words within the sentence is highly used in NPE as shown in the examples below:

- (28a) Dẹm dey *fọ* di ground  
'They are *on* the ground'.  
(b) Yu live *fọ* Lagos.  
'You live *at* Lagos'.  
(c) Na *fọ* mouth e be?  
'Is it *by* bragging?'.  
(d) I put am *fọ* im moto.  
'I put it *in/inside* his vehicle'.  
(e) E good *fọ* you  
'It's good *for* you'.  
(f) Yú be president *fọ* Naija?  
'Who is the president *of* Nigeria?'  
(g) Wáká *fọ* legedis.  
'Walk *with* your legs.'

As italicised in the examples above, the preposition *fọ* has multiple semantic implications which are not ambiguous in the context of usage. *fọ* in NPE, can be used for some other prepositions such as *on*, *at*, *by*, *in/inside*, *for*, *of*, and *with*, etc. according to Mensah (2011), in the same syntactic construction. These varied syntactic uses of *fọ* in these examples further reveal the influence of indigenous

languages on NPE since these indigenous languages have some prepositional particles: (Yoruba *ni*, and *si*, Igbo *na*, Efik *ke*, etc.). Besides, *fɔ* can also function as an auxiliary and/or perfective aspect as we can see below:

- (29a) Dem *fɔ* like kom.  
'They *would* like to come'.  
(b) Yu *fɔ* tell am.  
'You *should have* told me'.

So, *for* is being creatively transformed morphosyntactically to satisfy the communicative needs of its numerous speakers.

#### ***Sentence nominalization in NPE***

Sentences are often used in NPE to connote nominal forms which are conventionally shared by NPE speakers.

- (30a) I beta pass my neighbour. '(a portable) electricity generator'  
(b) Ghana must go. 'certain kind of luggage bag'

#### **Semantics**

Lexical items are the most affected stock of linguistic forms in NPE. As such, we shall emphasise lexical semantics in the analysis. Baldwin (2007) says of lexical semantics as that which studies what individual lexical item mean, why they mean what that which they mean, how we represent all of this, and where the combined interpretation for an utterance comes from

#### ***Meaning preservation***

Notwithstanding the different varieties of NPE, the meaning expressed by a sentence rendered in different varieties is usually preserved. In other words, these varieties are meaning-preserving as seen in the examples below:

- (31). i. wi go tel yu say yu n kaki no bi lɛda.  
ii. wi go mak yu no say soja no be police.  
iii. Nna, e go no dat na meat wey dey tof na dem dey call nama.  
'We will let him know that it is not easy'.

#### ***Ambiguity***

This is one of the semantic features of NPE. An ambiguous word can be subjected to different meanings. As such, the use or context in which such ambiguous word is used often throws more light into the meaning.

- (32) Yu *no no* say ai fit do am.  
'You did not know that I can do it'  
'no' in the above example could mean either 'to know something' or, 'not.'

In other words, *no* could be interpreted to mean to know something and/or a negation.

#### ***Extension of meaning***

However, there are instances of meaning extension whereby the result of widening of the meaning of an expression by expanding the context in which it can

occur. Expressions which typify this instance are introduced as a result of infusion of slang expression into NPE. Euphemism and metaphor will be considered here.

### **Metaphor**

A metaphor is a way of speaking in which an expression, according to Oluikpe and Anasiudu (2006) connoting certain thing, quality, or action is extended to another in the form of identity instead of comparison. Metaphorical extension of the meaning of lexical items is used and understood in a related and recognised way according to Robins (1989). NPE demonstrated usage of metaphoric extension as exemplified by these sentences:

- (33a) Which kind *basket* keeper dey put for post like this?  
'Which kind of *incompetent goal keeper* is at the goal post?'
- (b) Make you gif me *404* plus one *şot* of *kaikai* to make me *download*  
'serve me *dog meat* and a glass of alcohol to enable me *defcate*'.

These highlighted forms started off as slang and gradually gained currency into the lexicon of NPE through regularity of use.

### **Euphemism**

This is used to expresses an offensive action in a mild term.

- (34a) Yu tink say you fil *chanc* me.  
'You think you can cheat me'.
- (b) Dem say im cary *exhibit* for im bag.  
'They said he had contraband/illegal item in his bag'.

### **Sense relation in NPE**

#### **synonyms**

There are instances of partial synonyms evident in NPE as shown in examples (35 and 36) below. The words cannot always replace each other in all contexts since 'sabi' can in some usage imply 'know how'. This accounts for the non-total nature of their synonymous use.

- (35a) If yu no commot for dia, yu go see *gbege*. (Warri)
- (b) If yu no commot for dia, yu go see *kasala*. (Igbo)
- (c) If yu no commot for dia, you go see *wahala*. (Arabic word loan into Yoruba)
- (d) If yu no commot for dia, yu go see *yawa* (Hausa)  
'If yu do not leave that place, yu will see trouble'.

### **Code-mixing as a feature of NPE**

Words from indigenous languages are often inserted into or mixed with NPE. This creative way of combining two grammars in one system is apparent in students' conversations. They freely code-mix any of the indigenous languages they are familiar with irrespective of the ethnic background of the speakers and irrespective of the location of the campus according to Oloruntoba (1992). It is not uncommon therefore to hear Hausas code-mixed with Yoruba or Igbo Language. Here are some examples of code mixing Hausa with English in NPE expressions.

- (37a) Make yu kom bai me *rowan sanyi*  
'Kindly buy iced water for me'.  
(b) Make we go hear *labari* for im mout.  
'Let's go and listen to what he has to say'.  
Code mixing Igbo with English in NPE
- (38a) *Chineke* no sey mai hand no dey.  
'God knows that I know nothing about it o'.  
(b) *Una* no see dat di girl di *kwa* too fine!  
'Can't you see that the girl is charmingly beautiful!'.  
Code mixing Yoruba with English in NPE
- (39a) Wetin de se<sup>l</sup>le?  
'What is happening'.  
(b) *Jq* comot for road.  
'Please, leave the road/excuse me'.

### **Significance and implications of the study for linguistic theories**

The study justifies the imitation and innateness theories of language acquisition. The linguistic ability which every normal child is naturally endowed with has been described as universal grammar. As such, children are equipped with an innate language device (LAD) which is wired with language universal. This enables children to automatically select the most efficient grammar. This language acquisition device facilitates the process of language acquisition by imitation. Even though NP is not accorded any official status by the Nigerian government, according to Urua (2011) its sociolinguistic profile is rising as it has permeated all domains of language use including the home and school. Youths frequently use the language and they have a very high level of emotional attachment to it.

From the analysis above it is apparent to see diffusion of one variant of NPE in some other areas of the country. For instance, it is easy to notice Yoruba variant (south west) of NPE in the south south. The transfer could have been done by some speakers. The correlation found between Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa, Urohobo and other Nigerian languages may have been facilitated by linguistic and geographical proximity. The foregoing buttresses the view of the wave theory of language contact.

Pedagogically for error analysis, the form and usage strategies of NPE provide useful information for the language teacher about what his students do with language outside the classroom. At least, the study shows the teacher that his students use very often some forms groups outside the classroom. These forms could be nominals, adverbials, grammatical particles. The frequent use of these linguistic forms could help the teacher predict the student's linguistic behavior. Prominent among such behaviors is overgeneralization which may be noticeable in the way the NPE speaker manipulates the grammatical rules of concord, number and tense. Oluikpe and Anasiudu (2006), assert that the implications of this pedagogical behaviour is that the NPE speaker enters the class ill-equipped to control the rule restrictions of number as they apply to the countable and uncountable nouns, subject and verb agreement, the use and non-use of the plural marker for the plural number.

### ***Implication for national language policy***

It is rather disappointing to note that despite the overwhelming evidence within Nigeria that Nigerian Pidgin is in all respects the most logical choice for a national language, it is accorded little or no recognition by Nigeria's language policy planners and administrators.

The Declaration of Linguistic Rights of 1996 also supported the rights of minorities in the use of their language so to guarantee their survival and vitality.

Therefore, we recommend that it is time Nigerian government gave full recognition to NPE in the language provisions of the national language policy since over 8million young Nigerians have it as their first language (L1). Failure to do this may mean linguistic exclusion for these teeming Nigerians. To enhance the utility and value of NPE, government must take the lead and partner with linguists to immediately develop the language, standardize its orthography and writing system, and encourage its use in both formal and informal realms so that the linguistic rights of those for whom NP is their first language (L1) can be protected, maintained and their linguistic dignity restored.

### **Summary of findings and conclusion**

From an examination of the data examined, the following findings were made: the Nigerian English-based pidgin forms its plural by the placement of an independent particle, the agentive morpheme. It was also discovered that verbs in the Nigerian English-based pidgin do not inflect to show tense, and that some indigenous Nigerian languages contribute to the word stock of the Nigerian English-based pidgin, words form adjective through the process of reduplication and nominals are formed by compounding. It was equally observed that *f<sub>o</sub>* has multiple semantic forms. Questions are formed through intonation pattern.

It is noticeable that the standard form of NPE is decreolizing with its syntactic features according to Ndimele (2013) becoming more similar to those of English especially in the language use of university graduates. It is also a fact that in spite of their being exposed to better education, these young people feel more comfortable using NP than their mother tongue languages or English.

Although the vocabulary of NP is English based, NP sounds can be quite different from those of English. Writing NPE kills much of its uniqueness because it gives the impression that the words are said exactly as English words are. For example, 'I' and 'the' in an NPE sentence like 'I can't find the book' are articulated as /a/ and /di/ respectively as seen below,

- (40) a no se di buk.  
I pers.sg. neg see det. book  
I did not see the book/

The inconsistency in NPE spelling, like in every language, is one of the major problems of this language. For example, the NPE word for the English relative pronoun 'which', has the spelling 'wey' or 'way'. For example,

- (41a) di matter wey no concern you

- det. matter rel.clause neg. concern 2pers.sg  
'the matter which does not concern you'  
or  
(b) di matter way no concern you

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## **Countering the Narratives, Crisis of Identity and Re-accessing the Myth of Representation in Selected Works of Athol Fugard and Ngugu Wa Thiong'ó**

**Cindy Anene Ezeugwu**

### **Introduction**

Some writers like Ngugi Wa Thiong'O, Athul Fugard, Amiri Baraka, Ed Bullins among others are often influenced to write about the plight of peasants, rural dwellers, plight of the blacks in foreign countries, the racially abused, the oppressed, etc, with a view to expose the socio- political, cultural, religious and economic contradictions inherent in these societies by casting a negative representation of the Black characters in their works. Oppression and racism have existed throughout time in different cultures and geographic regions and they are often considered as some of the ultimate violent acts a person can commit towards another individual of another race. Whenever the word 'racism or oppression' is uttered, blood begins to race through the body and opinions are formed and expressed. Invariably, an environment becomes a place of confinement to its members when every action undertaken in that society is legally and deliberately manipulated, consequently, such people are at the beck and call of the oppressors in these society and sometimes, irredeemable consequences awaits the 'oppressed' if they fail to abide by the rules laid down by that society. In all, the only liberty they are allowed are the desire to breathe in natural air, move about within restricted areas, find places within their means to live in, be able to exercise only the basic freedom allowed them without over stepping their bounds and the freedom to express themselves as long as it does not interfere with the already laid down guidelines, and being forced to give up their property.

Many Black characters are often associated with all manner of socio cultural vices like prostitution, drug trafficking, drunkenness, robbery, murder etc. Many of the playwrights tend to make the characters appear like societal rejects, never do wells which often leads to prejudice and racism. Some are presented as mentally inferior, physically and culturally weak, pervasive and lazy and who readily rely upon their masters for sustenance and sense of direction. In this regard, the research will investigate the extent of the oppression and how they highlight these problems within the crucible of contemporary society. The researcher contends first that these social issues abound because the Blacks are severally stereotypically portrayed as indolent by the playwrights, secondly that it is not a genetic trait in Blacks to be indolent and even if some of them are, it is because the system have not been fair to them. They are often denied their basic rights, which includes but not limited to right to fair hearing, basic education, freedom of movement, right to own property where they want to etc. All these basic denials and more often lead to tension and at the end of the day, the playwrights do little or nothing to bring these predicaments to limelight and they go further to portray the characters as gullible, puns, docile, lazy, too weak to shake off the burden of oppression and chat a positive course devoid of crime and

negative perception. The researcher is of the view that there is however, the need to counter these narratives about African characters and present their real dilemmas in African dramatic works. This is necessitated by the several pitfalls identified from the way these images are molded. The study argues that the phenomenon of being portrayed negatively is not specific to the Blacks alone as some of the narratives by Ngugi and Fugard suggests. An example is Kenyans being predominantly portrayed as rebels, on the basis that some of the characters are portrayed as guerilla fighters in the likes of Kimathi in *Trial of Dedan Kimathi*, peasants and never do wells in the likes of Kiguunda, Gicamba, Wangeci, escapists who try to assume the western culture in order to belong, in the likes of Remi in *Black Hermit* and, Kioi Wa Kanoru in *I Will Marry When I Want*, never do well in the like of Sizwe Bansi and Bantu in *Sizwe Bansi is Dead* yet one can give another assessment of the Kenyans and the South Africans and still find out that these same characters can do better but are being hindered from progressing by the bourgeoisie and the oppressive establishment.

A critical study from the communal ritualistic roots through the colonial equivalent of the Christian moralistic plays to the stirring of literary translation has shown that African drama has acquired an increasingly broader focus, thus new trends have emerged since the early 1960's and some of these are political, cultural, socio-economical, revolutionary, religious, historical, racial, and ideological. Writers like Ngugi Wa Thiong'O, Micere Mugo, Ngugi Wa Mirii and Athul Fugard, explore revolutionary themes in their quest to mirror and expose the plight of the down trodden Kenyan people and Africans at large. As Ngugi avers; "due to the externally oriented economy... the living standard was not significantly increased, nor was the country's economy developed which resulted in a hindered development in other fields" (3). The 1940's government of South Africa followed a radical policy called 'Apartheid' the world most complete system of racial segregation which called for separate institutions, jobs and residence for whites and nonwhites. From the preceding discussions, it is apparent that many African playwrights have to an extent misrepresented ways to help project Africans in positive forms.

As Emeka Nwabueze opines:

An interesting relationship exists between the South African literature and its African-American counterpart. The preposterous nature of the society, the illogicality of their moral imperatives and the consequences of these fictional depictions are major issues in both South Africa and African-America literature (3).

Nwabueze, further contends that the "fictional forms in the two societies are both thematically and stylistically interfered with, and indeed circumscribed by the dictates of the socio-political environment" (3). The Blacks in South Africa suffer in the hands of white minority, the Blacks in America suffer from the hands of white majority, while the Blacks in East Africa suffer in the hands of a few aristocratic blacks and powerful white minority.

Playwrights like Ngugi, Fugard, Baraka among others tend to portray many of their heroes in a pessimistic manner, some of their characters like Style in *Sizwe Bansi is Dead*, Sam and Willie in *Master Harold...and the Boys*, Remi in *The Black*

*Hermit*, and Kigunda, Wangeci and Gathoni in *I Will Marry When I Want* are portrayed as docile, gullible, pun, inactive, lazy, prostitute, opportunists, drunkards and people who are inherently evil. These can be seen from the way the plays are concluded and what usually becomes of the characters at the end despite all the efforts they put in place to better their lives. The researcher further contend that in the plays studied here, the playwrights try to portray the characters as trying to change their way of life to conform to the way of life of the oppressors as an escape from reality this can be seen when Kiguunda and his wife forfeited their only piece of land as loan to enable them perform a white wedding ,the request is captured thus; I want to find out if you could lend us money to meet the cost of the weeding” (86). At the African Scandinavian Writer’s conference of 1967, Ngugi states that “when we, the black intellectuals, the black bourgeoisie, got the power, we never try to bring about those policies which would be in harmony with the needs of the peasants and workers” (132). The plays under analysis expose the dark side of the predicaments of the Blacks, which have some elements of tragic undertone because many of the Black characters do not invoke a picture of positivism. The few playwrights that raise the issues of racial tension, prejudice, apartheid, and discrimination only hint at it or do so without much boldness or make any attempt to offer a way out of their predicament except the Marxist plays where at the end of the day, many of the oppressed citizens arise in protest, take up arms if the need arises and attack the establishment and their oppressors in defence of their freedom.

The study adopts the Critical Race Theory as its conceptual framework and the main nexus of this theory is that many Whites believe that their society is fair and just, and the legal system frames antidiscrimination law and doctrine with this presupposition in mind. Many critical race theorists believe that the opposite is the truth, since racism to the Whiteman is ordinary, normal, and deeply embedded in everyday life and institutions. From songs, rhymes, and nursery stories such as Snow White, to movie roles, job and school criteria, favoritism for white European ways exerts a subtle, ever-present force. As a serious method of scholarship and enquiry, whose basic tenet is interdisciplinary, the theory has spread to many disciplines one of which is the humanities. In this study, we shall approach it from a literary point of view. The main trust of critical race theory in this research is that it recognizes that racism is engrained in the fabric and system of multiracial societies as depicted in the plays that are the focus of this study. It examines the many challenges facing people of colour and frowns at one dimensional approach to the complexities of race relations. This is done with the hope of preserving the history of marginalized groups whose experiences have never been legitimized within the master/servant narrative. The research will also adopt the investigative methodology this will enhance the investigation of the motives, fears, hopes, hurts, pains and personalities and other irreducible elements of the main characters.

Coming to terms with what identity embodies, it can be explained as the entirety of how we as individuals view or perceive ourselves as unique from others. Homi Bhabha, states that it is the “Racial, cultural and ethnic identities that form part of one’s identity, and identity will change with development at a personal as well as at a

social level along with migration and acculturation” (42). African traditions and culture are not only unique, but also encompasses a variety of beliefs from across the globe, they are varied and diverse, and are in a constant state of evolution and development. The experiences of the blacks as recounted by Ngugi in *I Will Marry When I Want*, Athul Fugard in *Sizwe Banzi is Dead*, will therefore be analyzed to expose the themes of racism, oppression, identity crisis, prejudice of blacks and the modes and contents of portrayal by these playwrights. The study will also interrogate the logic that in some instances, African dramatists have tended to a large extent misrepresent the character and persona of Blacks in many of their works. Succinctly we shall attempt to approach the black characters of the plays of interest here from the province of archetype, ambiguity, dualism of purpose as orchestrated by globalization, and other contemporary realities.

### **Reassessing the Crisis of Identity in Kenya**

As Karl Marx postulates, “The dominating ideas in a given society are those of the dominating class... the proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains... they have a world to win” (72). Ngugi being a writer with enormous Marxist influence, have often asked himself about his “role as a writer and his relevance in the contemporary African society, and even more so, what would his role be in the future of Africa?” (9). He could, as a Marxist, not condone the changes which colonialism has brought to Kenya and he analyzed the situation in Marxist terms and came to the conclusion that “one class (the bourgeoisie), in the pursuing of its own selfish interests, was exploiting another (the peasants and workers) and the ‘haves’ are feeding on the ‘have-nots” (64). He hinted in his work about the struggle needed to achieve a democratic society in Kenya and the rest of Africa but how far he has gone in achieving this aim is actually yet to be seen nor the impact felt since it seemsthat he ends up creating characters that will not fight to the end in protecting themselves and their inheritance as can be seen from the characters of Kigunda who lost his inheritance in *I Will Marry When I Want*, and Remi who loses his wife In *The Black Hermit*. As Amiri Baraka posits, “as long as Black writers are obsessed with being accepted as middle class, they would never be able to speak their mind, and that would always lead to failure” (21). He dictated further on the “need to purge the new black elite ruling class and added that capitalism should be replaced by African socialism” (4). He uses the themes in his novels and his plays to conscientise the people about oppression, neo-colonialism and exploitation. Ngugi, and other Marxists like Biodun Jeyifo and Omafume Onoge among others mainly concentrate on a materialistic analysis of the Blacks and the African society and seek to bring about social change in their plays. He tries to press home his ideology and ideas on social conformity in exploring the difficulties involved in social change in a neo-colonial country in his writings and theatre. In *I Will Marry When I Want*, Kiguunda is captured as a victim of such neo-colonialism. Ngugi looks at the world through the eyes of the oppressed people and tries to get them to unite. His dramatic texts are supposed to help the blacks recover their voice from their oppressors, but at the end of each play, the expectations and hopes of the people are dashed because the

oppressed are always portrayed as always losing the battle. As Augusto Boal contends;

The theatre... emphasizes drama as a language that must be spoken, not a discourse that must be listened to. It also stresses theatre as a process that must be developed, rather than a finished product that must be consumed. The theatre... goes beyond the ordinary boundaries of theatre because it asserts that the oppressed are the subjects rather than the objects of theatre activity (35).

Boal and Ngugi uses theatre as a powerful mode of expression. Their theatre is not for entertainment or art's sake. Thus, they are in agreement with Aristophanes that "a playwright should, besides giving pleasure, also advise politically" (22). The struggle for independence in Africa led to the use of violence as a revolutionary means to break free from the clutches of the white oppressors who seized their lands and made them landless and labourers in their own lands. Typically, Africans have not been known to accept oppression and domination lying down, yet many African narratives tend to puncture these basic stance. To sustain and promote the interests of the whites to the disadvantage of Africa, the international hegemony have ensured that their agents in the likes of Kioi Wa Kanoru and Ndugire remain in power to do their biddings. This is captured from the conversation between Kioi and Ikuua; "listen mr Kioi, don't forget that business about the insecticide factory, our foreign friends wants to start...the main problem with such a factory is that it is bound to produce a lot of smelly gases...it cannot be built where important people live"(75). These agents consider and pursue policies that satisfy their interests and those of their imperialist masters even at the brink of economic collapse occasioned by "fictitious debts" ostensibly owed to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and other Western banks and financial institutions, like the London and Paris Clubs. It is against the background of the foregoing that Ngugi's plays become very important in understanding the sorry pass to which Africa has become and the need to mobilize patriotic and concerned people for a collective battle against the forces that have hijacked Africa's development. The focus on Ngugi and Fugard becomes increasingly important given the rampaging influence of imperialism on African soil, and the need for political struggle and consequent liberation of the people. James Ogude observes that; "Ngugi insists that his writing is very much part of Kenya's and by implication Africa's historiography and the theorizing of its political economy" (17).

The resistance put up by the people albeit weak, their massive struggle against the forces of law, shows that the masses can determine their fate if they are reassessed favourably. He argues that African writers should "the crisis or conflict between the emergent African bourgeoisie and the African masses" (26). From his earliest play *The Black Hermit* to his volatile *I Will Marry When I Want*, Ngugi gradually shifts his attention from the confusion of a central character beset by conflicts among his loyalties, to the community's unsuccessful and failed determination to achieve a democratic voice in the political and economic development of the nation.

### **Textual Review of *I Will Marry When I Want***

The play is set in post-colonial Kenya about a farm labourer Kiguunda, and his family, who works for a wealthy African landowner. Kiguunda brings the news that his employer Ahab Kioi wa Kanoru and his wife Jezebel will be visiting. Kĩgũũnda and his wife Wangeci, prepares for the August visitors. The makeshift nature of their accommodations reinforces the impression of the family's substandard living condition which typifies the horrifying conditions of many black people even in their homeland. During this bustling activity, the title-deed to their land falls to the floor of the hut. Kiguunda picks it up gingerly and studies it carefully before returning it to the wall. In response to Wangeci, who asks why he gazes at the title-deed, Kiguunda explains that "these [one and a half acres] are worth more to me than all the thousands that belong to Ahab Kioi wa Kanoru." (15). Their neighbours Gĩcaamba and his wife Njooki, decries the wealthy and their avarice, and how they consistently take from the poor to line their own pockets. Eventually Wangeci thinking that Kioi wants a marriage between their daughter and his son, went to his house to tell them that they have acceded to their plan. Gĩcaamba and Njooki who serve as the voice and conscience of the peasant blacks, returns and warn them about throwing in their lot with the wedding plan. Gĩcaamba posits that "Kĩoi ought to have come with a wage increase, not with an invitation to join the Christian church" (14). He says his friend's marriage is valid because it is done in the Kenyan way. Kĩgũũnda and Wangeci ignore these entreaties. When money is needed for the wedding, Kiguunda mortgages his farm, unaware that that was the plan Kioi plotted from the beginning to acquire the land. Gathoni becomes pregnant with John's baby, but he refuses to marry her and abandons her. In a fury Kiguunda threatens Kioi, and Jezebel shoots at Kiguunda. When he is unable, due to the fact that he lost his job at Kioi's farm, to pay back the loan, they foreclose on Kiguunga's only valuable possession, the plot of land. He, Wangeci and Gathoni are left desolate, depressed, without a roof over their heads. The hypocrisy of the African bourgeoisie collaborators is captured severally in the play.

### **Reassessing the Identity Crisis in South Africa**

Apartheid policy was introduced in 1948 by the Nationalist Party government and it remained the official practice until the party's fall from power. Prior to 1994, South Africa was distinguished as an apartheid state which was legally structured along the axis of 'race', resulting in gross social inequality. The Nationalist apartheid government was ideologically committed to the maintenance of racial separateness and purity, which on the one hand, privileged the dominant white population and, on the other hand, exploited and marginalized black South Africans. In the words of Nancy Clark and William Worger, "laws such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 ruled that South Africans would have different rights and privileges based on their 'race'" (139).

During the pre-1994 apartheid era, Mohamed Adhikari expresses the view that "South African racialized identities were for the most part, reified as a result of apartheid policies which institutionalized and prescribed certain identities according

to race” (48). While many seem to understand what is intrinsically meant by 'identity' it is perhaps fruitful at this point to clarify that identity is a fluid manifold construct which is both social and personal. During apartheid, 'race' emerged as the dominant form of identity in South Africa, as well as a system of social stratification. In many respects, this seemed to limit alternative identity choices available to individuals and in a way may have forced a particular identity upon them. However, despite its relatively fixed nature during apartheid, identity was somewhat fluid and liable to change. As Hendrik Steyn avers, “many white South Africans actively opposed apartheid and resisted prescribed identities”(45). Despite efforts to ensure the prolonged dominance of whites during apartheid, the anti-apartheid movement struggled for independence and equality, which came to fruition in April 1994 with the first democratic elections in South Africa. The ensuing changes heralded the formal end to that regime and ushered in a new political era in South African history. These changes have in turn had a substantial impact on South Africans, individual and group identities as well as the perceptions of power relations amongst various racial groupings. In contrast to the harsh inequality which characterized South Africa's past, the new government's vision of nationhood and citizenship has been constructed around sentiments of equality, commonality and consensus (135). Yet, despite these changes, racial categories, racism and other such relics of apartheid are still visible and undoubtedly impact on the lives and identities of many South Africans till the present. In many regards there is still an unequal balance of power in South Africa.

### **Textual Review of *Sizwe Bansi is Dead***

*Sizwe Bansi is Dead* is written by Athol Fugard and co authored by John Kani and Winston Ntshona. The play provides a view into the socio-political and racial experiences of black South Africans in the 1970s, although the type of suppression and persecution depicted in the play is present well before the 1970s and would continue into the future. The play tells the story of Style, an intelligent, capable, and talented South African township photographer. He begins the play with a tour-de-force 20-minute monologue, recounting his years as a submissive factory worker. He takes a good look at himself after spending six years at Ford Motors; he concludes that his life does not belong to him, that all he will get from Ford Motors as retirement benefit at the end of 25 years service is nothing more than a gold wrist watch.

STYLE: Your life doesn't belong to you, you've sold it for what Styles? Gold- watch in 25 years when They sign you off because you are too old for anything, any more”( 9).

He later scraped up enough money to open the tiny photographer's studio he calls "a strong room of dreams" for his people. In the course of this monologue, a man identified as Sizwe Bansi walks into the studio to take a photograph and in a complicated use of dramatic technique, acts out his story. He is a man condemned by his government to a life of poverty despite the fact that he is willing and capable of

working. The stamp in his government issued 'passbook' refuses him to get a work permit which is often the lot of the blacks, Sizwe is boxed into a corner by the obnoxious laws of the apartheid system which compels him to leave Port Elizabeth and return to his hometown of King William's Town where there are no work opportunities. This government edict will in all probability, result in the starvation of Sizwe and his family if he does not take a desperate measure. He is taken in by a man named Buntu after he is discovered in a government raid. Like Sizwe, he has also been battered by the system that he has now resigned to the fact that the blacks would find peace only when they are 'dead and buried'. Sizwe hopes that Buntu will figure out some way for him to remain in Port Elizabeth and find a job to support his family. Buntu checks Sizwe's passbook and discovers that he is three days past his due date to return home. He knows Sizwe has no chance of finding a job or remaining in Port Elizabeth with the stamps in his book. However, Sizwe discovers a passbook belonging to a dead man called Robert Zwelinzima, and adopts his identity. The adoption of this new identity ensures that Sizwe will be able to look for a job and provide for his family. He is forced to essentially 'kill' himself literally in order to preserve his life and this goes to metaphorically portray the ghostly existence of the black population of South Africa. They are told who they are, where and how to live, by a mere pass book developed and stamped by white men. Just like the blacks in South Africa are forced to give up their dignity and humanity in order to continue to exist. They are constantly treated as less than human and are certainly never given the respect they deserve. Sizwe has been forced to alter his name and identity in order to provide for his family, but the photo taken by Style preserves him forever as both Sizwe and Robert Zwelinzima. It reveals that he is indeed a human being with an identity and a history.

### **Conclusion**

The researcher while not denying the facts that the Black race just like every other race is bedeviled with issues and challenges, also hopes that the issues affecting the Blacks will be put in proper perspective and represented from the African point of view with a view to expose and positively bring those issues to the front burner. Many times, African narratives come to an end without any concrete road map or way forward for characters that represent a major race and in the words of Kabwe Kasoma, "in Africa, the theatre must go to the people rather than expect the people to come to it" (5). The only legacy African playwrights have to leave behind is the memory of the lives of the Blacks, so they should strive to give them a balanced representation in their narratives. Gerene Freeman captures it succinctly "the African life is drama, drama is life, it is interwoven through every aspect of the African experience and existence. They should show themselves to be far better people than their white "Baases, because the blacks have better value of human life and appreciates the sacredness of identity" (6). The researcher is of the opinion that the best way to achieve this, is for African playwrights to imbue more meaning into their characters, and make them strong enough to chart their own course and be able to confront their opponents on all fours, if not, they may never make head ways in their

endeavours for a favourable narrative. The selected African playwrights have tried through their works to highlight the features and issues of racism, oppression and cultural identity crisis, its representations and implications in their various dramatic works but what they have failed to highlight is the issue of the root causes that trigger these crisis. In *I Will Marry When I Want*, Kĩgũũnda's sword symbolizes his righteous anger and traditional Kenyan culture, whereas Jezebel's gun serves as a metaphor and weapon of the oppressor.

The study concludes by urging contemporary African playwrights to go beyond scratching the surface through highlighting the plights of the Blacks in their works, and try to create and portray characters of African dissent that will be able to counter the wrong narratives. They should be able to demystify and defy the 'passbook' metaphor which imposes limits on the employment and travel of Black citizens, take away their freedom and make them appear like lesser human and second class citizens in their own countries. The passbook metaphor presents the blacks as people whose entire lives are contained and trapped in a book, and with a single stamp, one white man can totally alter the future and determine the black man's fate. The characters depicted in the plays struggle to maintain their own identities and a sense of themselves as human beings under the oppressive rule. Within these circumstances however, Kiguunda, Wangeci, Gathoni, Style, Sizwe and Buntu realize that all they own is just 'themselves'. As the Ugandan poet Okot P' Bitek states "only by affirming the integrity of their own cultural identity will Africans find happiness and genuine fulfillment..." (231). He calls on African playwrights to arise and begin to readdress the issue of African portraiture in their works in order to express and address obvious African reality. Lending her voice, Liz Gunner explains that "in many parts of the underdeveloped world, theatre should be used as a medium of education, problem solving, dialogue and mobilization on developmental issues such as literacy...self help projects and co-operatives" (211). Thus the representations of blacks as weaklings is not empirically supported, nonetheless, framing them negatively reveals a strong bias about them and what they stand for.

Thus, the dominant portraiture of blacks in many African discourses remains largely negative, demeaning and reactive, this study therefore offers a critical overview about this long existing stereotypical stance by playwrights of African dissent. It suggests that the image of Africans cannot be redeemed by those narratives that often cast them in the mold of never do wells. Previous studies fall short of providing positive basis to offer a balanced representation of the blacks. The critical ethos on pre, post and neo colonial critique should be reassessed and countered with a view to present nuanced representation and an unbiased literature. It is of essence to gauge rightly the extent and level of prejudice and negative portraiture of the blacks in contemporary dramatic literature which calls for urgent need to redirect these stereotype representation, and in order to achieve this, African playwrights should come to terms with the fact that oppression against the blacks still exists in some areas in Africa, and it is obvious that a gap still exists in dramatic works about them, the researcher is of the view that rewriting the narratives is recommended with a

view to effect positive changes where necessary, and one of the ways of countering these dominant narrative.

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## **Child Maltreatment in Nigerian Society in the Twenty-first Century: The Christian Perspective**

**Chioma Patricia Onuorah**

### **Introduction**

Child maltreatment is an old phenomenon. It has always been present in every human society. Child maltreatment can be in multi-dimensional forms namely beating, burning a child, aggressive flogging, inadequate dressing, starving a child, rejection, child labour, rape, sexual exploitation, and failure to show love, care and affection, among other forms of cruelty. In this 21<sup>st</sup> century, child maltreatment can be easily detected and also be meaningfully identified. Levite in Berger (1988: p.168) observed that, “child abuse and neglect are serious problems in every nations of the world.” This makes it a significant issue for policy.

Perceptions of what constitute child maltreatment have differed throughout history and in various cultures. There are practices that were accepted in the past as normal exercise of parental right or as appropriate discipline, which shows the child right from wrong. The practices that are now considered abusive are done intentionally and out of wickedness. Nigeria as a nation is not left out on issues relating to child maltreatment. In spite of new inventions in science, technology and the tremendous progress made in innovation in Nigeria in this 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Nigerian child remains mired in a vicious cycle of ignorance, poverty, malnutrition, hunger, diseases and lack of shelter, among others. The rate of child abuse has assumed a worrisome and alarming proportion in Nigeria.

In this 21<sup>st</sup> century, children need safe and stable environment. They also need nurturing relationship with the environment and the people around them to flourish. Unfortunately, the story of an average Nigerian child is that of neglect, abuse and exposure to aspects of life considered hazardous to his health and psyche. The environment denies the Nigerian child many comforts. In families where a child ought to find love and protection, the parents are either not available (separated or too busy) or incapable (too poor) that they cannot provide for the child’s basic needs (Ibe, 2001: p.13). Children are neglected, starved and perished in hunger because of unconcerned and wicked parent(s), guardian and caregiver. They are forced to engage in child labour, sexually abused and forced to perform all sorts of perverted acts. Some have been abandoned, tortured and murdered because they were branded witches. Children are humiliated and terrorized by the people who are supposed to nurture them. For such children fear remains indelible.

This paper therefore, explores what constitute child maltreatment in this 21<sup>st</sup> century and the Christian perspective to this social problem. The forms and the possible causes are disclosed. The findings revealed that the effects of child maltreatment could be hazardous with broad consequences on the health, growth, welfare and happiness of children in a given society. The causes, effects, mitigations and recommendations are also assessed.

### **Clarification of the Concepts**

According to Papalia, Olds and Feldman (2002:226), child maltreatment is “a deliberate or avoidable endangerment of a child.” Lamanna (1997:295) defined child abuse and neglect as, “the physical or mental injury, sexual abuse or negligent treatment of a child under the age of 18 by a person who is responsible for the child’s welfare under circumstances that indicate the child’s health or welfare is harmed or threatened. VanderZander” (1993:204) sees abuse as “non accidental physical attack on or injury to children by individuals caring for them; neglect is the absence of adequate social, emotional, and physical care.” Akinlami (2007:1) defined child abuse as, “the promotion of any activity, that militates against the development of the complete child.” Child maltreatment arises as a result of the parents lacking the parental skills or caregiver lacking the ability to carry out his functions or tasks well by making inadequate provision or using force to meet with the expectations. The child who is abused suffers verbal derogation and physical injuries while a neglected child suffers a lot of uncaring attitudes from the neglecter.

Doyles (1990: p.xi) views child abuse as, “the physical or emotional mistreatment and neglect of child or their sexual exploitation in circumstances for which the parents can be held responsible through acts of commission or omission.” Brieland, Costin and Atherton” (1980:449) also defined child abuse as, the infliction of physical or mental injury or the causing of deterioration of a child and shall include failing to maintain reasonable care and treatment or exploiting or overworking a child to such an extent that his health, moral or emotional well-being is endangered. Bakare (2006:29) gave deeper definition of child abuse which stated thus,

A child is said to have been abused when his natural rights are denied him. These rights include the right to be maintained or cared, the right to go to school or be educated and a right to personal dignity. When the right conditions are not in place for the benefit of the child, then his fundamental human rights could be said to have been infringe upon.

Child as defined by Okonkwo, Nwankwo and Ibhawoh (1997:74) is, “every human being below the age of 18 years.” World Health Organization (WHO) defined a child as anyone under 18 years (The Guardian, 2001:13). Parent as defined by Mish (2004:900) is “one that begets or brings forth offspring, a person who brings up and cares for another.” Parents can also be defined as a person’s father or mother (Hornby 2001:847).

### **Forms of Child Maltreatment**

**Physical Abuse** - This is an action taken to endanger a child which involves physical injury done to that child by an adult. It could also be unintended but come up as a result of over-discipline or corporal punishment that is not appropriate for the child. Under the physical abuse are fractures like skull and bone fracture, burns, bruises and abdominal injuries resulted from punching, beating, kicking and burning a child.

**Sexual Abuse** - This is any sexual behaviour that is forced upon a child, which includes sexual intercourse that may occur without orgasm and without complete penetration of the penis into the vagina. It can also be in form of manipulation, rubbing and fondling of the buttocks or of a female breast. It also involves any contact between penis and the anus, penis and mouth, the mouth and the vulva. Some sexual abuse done on children often begin at their early age when the child lacks the knowledge of what constituted the act and cannot say no to such behaviour. Sciarra and Dorsey (1990: p.30) pointed that, “sexual abuse... although it occurs when other adults are not around, is frequently planned ahead and these pedophiles may even seek employment in child care centers to gain access to the child.” Sexual abuse in this perspective is sexual activity involving a child and an adult or older person. It can also be in form of molestation, incest, rape and exploitation. Sexual exploitation according to Besharov (1990:87) include, “Allowing, encouraging or forcing a child to solicit for or engage in prostitution; engage in the filming, photographing, video-taping, posing, modelling, or performing where such acts involve exhibition of the child’s genitals or any sexual act with the child”. In various cases of sexual abuse the victims are primarily female and often very young.

Another form of sexual abuse is rape. Rape is seen as “an act of having carnal knowledge by a man of a woman forcibly and against her will, the element as emphasized by statute are; unlawful, carnal knowledge (or sexual intercourse), by force or fear, and without the consent or against the will of the female” (*Daily Sun*, 2007:37). Rape is using of force to have sex against a person’s will. Cases of rape involve using of force on the victims by the perpetrator. The perpetrators are usually much older and stronger than the victims. Incest is also regarded as a form of sexual abuse. This involves sexual relations between blood related individuals and step relatives.

**Physical Neglect** - This is the parental failure to ensure that children have adequate nourishment (food), shelter, clothing, health care, protection and supervision. Children under this condition are seen walking along the street without taking their bathe, with torn clothes and bare-footed; suffer untreated infection (like scabies, ring worm, lice, impetigo and so on). Some parents leave their children to starve – these children have low weight, stunted growth, look pale, they also beg for food, stealing food and rummaging.

**Emotional Maltreatment** – Emotional maltreatment as seen by Lefrancois (1993: p.36) is “parental behaviours that cause emotional and psychological neglect.... For example, continually shouting or ridiculing children, isolating them, depriving them of emotional contact and comfort, blaming, yelling, and other behaviours that we might classify as involving cruelty,” Emotional abuse is failing to provide guidance or being uninterested in a child’s need. It may also include rejection, degradation, and failure to provide emotional support, love and affection. Emotional maltreatment includes action or inaction that may cause behavioural, cognitive, emotional or mental disorders. Some parents unknowingly maltreat their children emotionally by

ignoring them consistently, downgrading them and failing to encourage their normal development.

### **The Possible Causes of Child Maltreatment**

Several factors have been identified as reasons behind child maltreatment in Nigeria. These include the following: economic problem, unemployment and job dissatisfaction, religion and cultural trait, broken home and divorce, poor parent/child relationship, poor academic background and parent up-bringing, large family size, single parenthood and illegitimate child, self-imposed abuse and indecent dressing, and wars and crises zones.

**Economic Problem:** Economic status is one of the major contributing factors to the incidence of child maltreatment among parents. The main economic problem here is poverty. Many families live below poverty line and suffer financial problems. In order to survive, under-aged youths who ordinarily should be in school or seen to be engaged with their studies find themselves doing one menial job or the other to make money for the family upkeep.

**Unemployed and Job Dissatisfaction:** When there is no job for a parent (especially the father), frustration and financial problem that arise as a result of that can give rise to child abuse. Hardship can create a climate for violence inside the family. Lefrancois (1990:318) observed that, Child maltreatment sometimes appeared to be a lower-class phenomenon.

**Religion and Cultural Trait:** In the Northern Nigeria, the use of children for street begging is a common sight. These child beggars (*almajiris*) revealed that parents and teachers (*mallams*) are responsible for their practice. According to Ojanuga (1990:1), “the parent of the child beggars were most often physically disabled and destitute, while *mallams* used the proceeds of the beggar children to support their schools.” These groups of beggars are not stigmatized for the act because the arms they receive are used to support their religious activities. This act of street begging exposes them to health hazards. The *almajiris* are ill-cared for and mostly destitute. They are also neglected children.

The customary belief that some children are possessed with witchcraft is very common in Akwa-Ibom State. Some children are branded witches following misfortunes that befall their families. In traditional society, a witch is seen as a dangerous being, and the cause of all ills and misfortune. Witchcraft is understood to be a symbol of evil. Those who are accused of being witches are subjected to various punishments ranging from torture, ostracism and killing. According to Theis (2010: p.1), “while witchcraft accusation against children are linked to certain cultural and religious reasons, the response to those forms of child abuse are no different than the response to those forms of violence and neglect of children.” Theis (2010:1) further revealed that, “child witchcraft accusations are part of a rising tide of child abuse, violence and neglect.

**Broken Home and Divorce:** Broken home presents a major problem on the child and has a negative impact on the child’s behavioural and emotional adjustment. In divorce, both parents tend to be inconsistent, less affectionate and lacking control of

their children. In broken homes, mothers have been described as more depressed, self-involved, erratic, less supportive and ineffectual. Fathers have been found to be unduly permissive and indulgent. These aftermaths increase the degree of abuse on the child. Another result of broken home is the uncaring attitude by both parents on their children. *Children under this family will show certain degree of behavioural problems.*

**Poor Parent/Child Relationship:** In some families, there are communication gaps between parents and their children. Some mothers do not spend time with their families especially their daughters, likewise the fathers and their sons. Victims of such poor relationship normally end up being exposed to moral dangers. They seek for such relationship they lack at home somewhere else. The girls may end up in getting unwanted pregnancies. The boys may join bad gangs or get addicted to drugs and end up being nuisance to the community.

**Poor Academic Background and Parent Upbringing:** Lack of academic progress leads to frustration and eventual drop-outs, thus negating child training effort in the home. Some parents in rural areas are not well educated and relatively poor; they are subjected to economic strain. These compel them to seek alternative sources of income to their meager salaries to make ends meet. They involve their children in hawking to augment their income. Scar, Weinberg and Levine (1986:183) agreed that, “child abuse is most likely to occur when the mother is young, poorly educated, lacks social support and mothering skills, and has a personal history of abuse and neglect.”

However, many abusive parents experienced abuse and neglect or rejection when they were children. They accepted it as a normal way in which a child must be reared. This contributes immensely to child abuse. Blackwell (1979:83) disclosed that, “the personal characteristics of the parents, especially their own childhood experiences, seem to be more crucial in the phenomenon of child abuse than the characteristics of the infant.”

**Large Family Size:** Large families (having many children) with low income sources cannot cater for their children. In this type of family, children are denied their basic rights. These affect the children and may subject them to child labour and prostitution. For instance, in a country like Nigeria where citizens procreate as they like in spite of the economic problem, child labour cannot be stopped. Pearce and Folola (1994: p.102) asserts that “A nation without a potent population policy lends its citizens to uncontrolled procreation that result in large family with excessive number of children that cannot be catered for. Such children are often denied their basic rights like quality education, proper feeding, health care and good clothing”.

**Single Parenthood and Illegitimate Child:** Unwanted pregnancy that results to a single parenthood and the belief that a child is illegitimate contributes to child abuse and neglect. Such mothers suffer unsupported single parent household and lack mothering skills. She is always in financial pressure of maintaining herself and her baby. These pose a very big problem because that child is seen as the source of stress for the family and therefore a burden. It echoes that, “an unwanted child, an unsupported single parent household and absence of other means of social support,

financial pressure and unemployment are factors contributing to child abuse and neglect.” (WHO, 1997)

***Self-imposed Abuse and Indecent Dressing:*** Children may ask for abuse consciously or unconsciously as a way to get attention. They admit that they can do anything in order to get what they want and by so doing they subject themselves to some extent of abuse. Weiser (1989:63) confirmed that, “not all little children are angelic, and not all little children want to play or do cute things on demand.” Moreover, the purpose of dressing is to cover the nakedness. When a girl puts up a particular type of dressing that exposes all the sensitive parts of her body, the tendency to incite or arouse lustful passion is very certain. This type of dressing can flame youthful passion for sexual violence such as rape and molestation.

***War and Crises Zones:*** Children are the primary victims of armed conflicts and war zones. A lot of cruel acts are done to children because of their vulnerability. Children are killed, wounded, mutilated, displaced, made orphan, imprisoned, sexually exploited, raped, reduced to slavery, pushed to force labour and child soldiers, among others. In war and conflict zones, rape is sometimes used as a tactics of war against children and women in order to torture, wound, obtain information, intimidate, or punish (Garreau, 2012).

### **The Effects of Child Maltreatment**

An understanding of the putative effects of child maltreatment has direct relevance of improving our knowledge for studying the child in the context of the family and society. These effects are invariably negative and disruptive. The effects here are divided into four headings, behavioural effects, socio-cognitive effects, psycho-emotional effects, moral-religious effects.

***Behavioural Effects:*** It is well acknowledged that a child’s interaction with the person taking care of him plays an important role in that child’s behaviour. Children who grew up in violent households and were raised with physical force have learned from role models that it is an acceptable means of dealing with family problems. When children suffer maltreatment at the hands of their parents, they are likely to engage in abusive behaviour in the future. The behaviour problems among abused children include aggression, violence and social incompetence. Children who are highly aggressive would seem likely to attract an aggressive response from a parent, because there is the tendency of behavioural reciprocity. A child who was exposed to a long life history of interpersonal violence from parent easily adopts power assertion and dominance. Wolfe (1987:110) clearly observed that,

Parents, who exercise control (in the sense of following through on their demands), while at the same time exhibiting warmth and nurturance to their children, are more likely to have children who behave in a pro-social manner and who are concerned with the effects of their behaviour on others. In contrast, studies attempting to predict children’s display of ‘conscience’ or ‘guilt’ found that power assertive (i.e. authoritarian) child rearing techniques are those that are most often associated with low scores on measures of children’s conscience.

**Socio-Cognitive Effects:** Maltreated children's difficulties in establishing effective relationship may show up in the interaction with their teachers. Child maltreatment during the early childhood has a negative effect later on school performance, social relationship adaptability, and in problem solving. For the maltreated children dealing with the trauma of maltreatment, they search for security in relationship with the adult, which can take precedence over performing competently in academic tasks. Wolfe (1987: p.112) noted that,

Parent who are unresponsive to their children's intellectual, social and emotional signals and abilities while placing high demands and expectations upon them are more likely to interfere with their children's acquisition of necessary skills for the academic setting, such as their motivation to learn, their willingness and inappropriate behaviour with peers.

Academically, maltreated children are more likely to show delay related to cognitive development than their peers. This may be due to the limited stimulation they received in their homes from their parents who are overly concerned with the child's behavioural appearances and obedience, to the detriment of the child's need to explore, attempt new challenge, and to be exposed to a variety of cognitive and social stimuli.

**Psycho-Emotional Effects:** There are serious psychological and emotional consequences from all forms of child maltreatment. Emotional abuse is regarded as the worst kind of abuse because its effect goes deeper and can seriously threaten the child's mental health. Children who suffer emotional neglect shows the sign of negative self-image and self-worth, inability to trust and confide in others, lack of affection and rejection. Emotionally maltreated children show certain behaviours like lying, stealing, emotional maladjustment and psychological distress later in life. Doyle (1990:11) noted that many adults who are the former victims of child abuse mourn the loss of their childhood. Doyle further emphasized that,

They therefore share characteristics, including depression, guilt and anger, usually associated with people who have suffered bereavement and have unresolved grief reactions .... In relation to sexual abuse, eating disorders and psychiatric problems have been noted as well as feeling of rejection, guilt, unworthiness, inability to cope with normal sexual relationship and a general distrust of helping agencies.

**Moral-Religious Effects:** Moral children are those who behave decently without parents, or someone threatening to harm them if they do not. Parental teaching methods that rely on coercion and authority may limit the child's intellectual curiosity and advancement. Abused children show some moral transgression. The child may not be so bad but the way he was maltreated may lead to his wrong choice of doing things. Maltreated children sometimes interpret parental behaviour as strong, courageous and justified models, which they grow up to emulate. Lives of the young children have been destroyed as a result of being misguided by other people.

A parent who subjects a child to hawk on the street exposes that child to moral dangers. "Evil communication corrupts good manners" (1 Corinthians 15:33). In this perspective, neglected child can easily be influenced ungodly because there is no parent or guardian to separate him from ungodly friends. It is the responsibility of parents to train their children in the way of the Lord thereby helping the child to strike a balance between the two worlds. In the process where parents fail to train their children when they are still controllable, such children will grow doing all sorts of atrocious acts, which will not only affect them but will also affect their families and the society at large.

### **The Christian Perspective on Child Maltreatment**

Children are very dependent as well as vulnerable. Child maltreatment affects the child negatively in all aspects of life. From the Christian perspective, Jesus Christ is a lover of children and is against any maltreatment of any form on them. This was clearly stated in Matthew "19: 13-15 "Some people brought children to Jesus for him to place his hands on them and to pray for them, but the disciples scolded the people. Jesus said, "Let the children come to me and do not stop them, because the kingdom of heaven belongs to such as these."

### **The Bible and Child Maltreatment/Abuse**

The word maltreatment is a bad practice of treating someone with cruelty and roughness. The Bible did not explicitly use the term child maltreatment or abuse but it warns against that, which could lead to child maltreatment. The Bible prohibits child maltreatment in its warning against improper anger as stated in Ephesians 4:25-27 "If you become angry, do not let your anger lead you into sin, and do not stay angry all day. Don't give Devil a chance". Also in Proverb 29:22, it is clearly stated that "People with quick tempers cause a lot of quarreling and trouble. Moreover, the Bible warns about making friends with hot tempered person. According to Proverb 22:24 "Don't make friends with people with hot violent tempers".

Anger can cause one to overreact. One can discipline a child based on love for the child to learn from the right but not in anger. It is obvious that some children are the victims of angry beating and physical abuse as their parents take out anger and frustration on their children. In as much as there are some form of physical discipline that may be biblically accepted, such discipline should never be administered in anger (Got Question, 2018). The bible also says something about the negative effect of anger as stated in James 1:20-21 "Man's anger does not achieve God's righteous purpose, so get rid of every filthy habit and all wicked conduct. Submit to God and accept the word that he plants in your hearts, which is able to save you".

Child discipline like spanking was never considered as abuse or maltreatment if the child deserves to be disciplined. This is because it is done out of love. It shows the child what is right from wrong. When it is a daily occurrence, it becomes deliberate and act of wickedness, and finally turns to maltreatment or abuse. On finding this, as Christians, it should be confronted. If nothing serious is done and it continues, then the case should be reported.

With the above clarifications, Christians should be able to differentiate between normal spanking and abuse. There are other passages from the bible that clearly gives advice on how parents should handle their children in terms of discipline in a more appropriate way. Proverb 19:18 stated thus "Discipline your children while they are young enough to learn. If you don't you are helping them to destroy themselves"" .Proverb 22:6 also stated "Teach a child how he should live and he will remember it all his life". Proverb 22:15 further stated "Children just naturally do silly, careless things, but good spanking will teach them how to behave". The bible also forbids psychological and emotional abuse. It warns seriously against such form of maltreatment in Ephesians 6:4 which stated thus "Parents do not treat your children in such a way as to make them angry" .In conformity with the above, Colossians 3:21 also warns "Parents do not irritate your children or they will become discouraged. Therefore harshness that involve verbal discipline, emotional manipulation, or volatile environments alienate children's mind from their parents and render their instructions and corrections useless (Got Question, 2015).

Furthermore, parents can provoke and aggravate their children by placing unreasonable requirement on them, by belittling them, or constantly finding fault, thereby producing wounds that can be as bad as or worse than physical beating (Got Questions, 2015). This is one of the reasons why children move outside their homes to seek for the emotional help they lack in their homes. One of the devastating results of such move lands them in the hands of those that will exploit, molest and abuse them sexually.

Sexual abuse, molestation and exploitation are not a new trend. It has been a plague on the society from the ancient times. The bible condemns sexual sins. Bible has records of stories on sexual abuse, rape and incest (Genesis 19:30-38; Genesis 39; 2 Samuel 13:1-20, etc.). From Christian perspective, sex is a gift from God to serve a purpose in marriage. Sexual perversion of all kinds is condemned. In the book of Timothy 2:22, Christians are warned on the importance of purity and to desist from anything that could arouse lust. Children are minors and it is not their fault for the abuse. Therefore to force sexual acts upon a child is an offence. In such act the perception is attacking the innocence of one of the world's most vulnerable persons (Got Question, 2015).

The Church as the body of Christ has the responsibility of caring for both the spiritual and social needs of man. From the Christian perspective, child maltreatment or abuse of any type is evil. It is clearly stated in many passages of the Bible that any form of child maltreatment or abuse are abhorrent to God. Christians should try as much as they can to use a godly approach in reprimanding their children on right from wrong.

Christianity is a religion of love. Love conquers everything. It is important to show love and concern to our fellow humans especially children. Christians should also bear in mind what is in Mark 9:42 which stated thus "If anyone should cause one of these little ones to lose his faith in me, it would be better for that person to have a large millstone tied round his neck and be thrown into sea".

### **Tackling the Problems of Child Maltreatment**

It is unlikely that child maltreatment can be completely eliminated because physical force is widely accepted as a child rearing technique in traditional society. Since child maltreatment is a multi-factorial problem, it needs many pronged solutions. Effective community prevention and intervention strategies should be centered on protecting children.

**The Right of the Child:** The Child's Right was proclaimed by the UN General Assembly Resolution 1386 (xiv) of 20<sup>th</sup> November 1959. These rights are made for children to have a happy childhood and enjoy the good of the society. The rights as recorded by Okonkwo, Nwankwo and Ibhawoh, (1997:65-67), are summarized under the following principles.

1. The right to affection, love and understanding.
2. The right to adequate nutrition and medical care.
3. The right to free education.
4. The right to full opportunity for play and recreation.
5. The right to a name and nationality.
6. The right to special care if handicapped.
7. The right to be among the first to receive relief in time of disaster.
8. The right to be useful member of society and to develop individual abilities.
9. The right to be brought up in a spirit of peace and universal brotherhood.

The right to enjoy these rights, regardless of race, colour, sex, religion, national or social origin. Nigeria is a signatory to the Convention on the Right of the Child (CRN) since 1991, but the law still lacks implementation. The parents, members of the public, school authorities, voluntary organizations, local authorities and federal government should recognize these rights because they are made for the welfare of children.

**Enlightenment Programme:** Most of the maltreatments are not because the parents are deliberately cruel or uncaring but because they lack the knowledge that would enable them to understand the needs of their children and how to respond appropriately to them. In order to minimize the rate of child maltreatment, abuse prevention programmes should be introduced and accepted by the society. These programmes will include the need to change contemporary societal attitudes towards severe child punishment. These programmes will also include child development information where the expectations of small children will be listed. The above programmes should be made available through child management training, parent education and family support programmes. The idea that children are parental property should also be eliminated. Nigerian government under President Goodluck Jonathan constructed *Almajiri* schools in all the Northern States in Nigeria (Wike, 2013); to ensure the eradication of street begging and to retain *almajiri* people in school. Therefore there is need to encourage street beggars to go to school in order to better their future and the future of the country.

**Effective Protective Measure by Child Welfare Officers:** The response of child welfare offices go in line with Chapter one, Part one of the Charter on the Rights of Welfare of the Child. According to Okonkwo, Nwankwo and Ibhawoh (1997: pp.80-81), the article xv: (Child Labour) stated that,

Every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development. Article xvi: Protection Against Child abuse and Torture stated thus, State parties to the present charter shall take specific legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment and especially physical or mental injury or abuse, neglect or maltreatment including sexual abuse, while in the care of a parent, legal guardian or school authority or any other person who has the care of the child. Protective measures shall include effective procedures for the establishment of special monitoring units to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child, as well as other forms of prevention and for identification, reporting referral investigation, treatment, and follow-up of instances of child abuse and neglect.

The welfare office should make reliable efforts to investigate the thousands of reports they receive. The responses of child protection unit from child welfare office include the following.

1. The Intake of Report - When a report is made to the office, the office receives and screens the report.
2. Investigation - The office will provide special monitoring team to investigate the reports by collecting information, verifying the reports and determine whether the child protective intervention is needed.
3. Providing Emergency Services - These services determine whether the child requires immediate protection and implement emergency services.
4. Case Planning and Referral - Determine appropriate case plan and implement case plan through direct provisions of services or referral to other agencies that is to decide what long-term protective measures and treatment services are needed and seek the parent's consent for them.
5. Case Monitoring - Supervise the parent's care of the child and monitor the provision of treatment services when a maltreated child is left at home.
6. Case Closure - It is the closing of the case after the parents seem to be able to care properly for the child.
7. Follow-up Information - The welfare office will seek to obtain more detailed and more up-to-date information about the situation. The absence of follow-up information suggests that the report was not properly investigated or that the report was not investigated at all.

**Church Teaching and Training:** The churches should show high levels of commitment to pre-marital counselling. The agenda should include having manageable family size, good parenting skills in order to control the rate of child abuse and neglect, early parent-child attachment, teenage parenthood and sex education. The church should also organize workshops that focus on how to learn new skills and create self-employment.

Churches have established children's Bible classes, Sunday Schools and Catechism Classes where the expectations of children are being taught in line with the scripture. The expectations could help them to build positive self-esteem, make them develop self-worth, and vehemently curb pride and arrogance from them. Churches should also find ways to tackle the problem of child witch allegation.

**Sensitization of Protection and Participation Programmes by United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF):** UNICEF is assisting with massive advocacy, consultative meetings and awareness creation to governors, legislators, policy makers, civil society organizations and gate keepers to realize the right of children. UNICEF is working seriously to strengthen coordination and monitoring mechanism in all government levels for the protection of child abuse, violence and exploitation in connection with the civil society, the Nigeria Police and Nigeria Immigration Services. UNICEF facilitated the establishment of youth resource centres, to provide health promotion, skill training, recreational services, legal support and information to young people. With the above direct intervention, UNICEF built a protective environment to prevent the abuse, violence and exploitation of children throughout the country (UNICEF – Nigeria, 2017).

**War against Child Abuse by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs):** There are concerted efforts by various Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), religious bodies and other private organizations to raise awareness about trafficking and child labour. The African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) is a pan-African network that promotes child rights and child protection in Africa (ANPPCCAN, 2015). It is one of the foremost NGOs that had already begun its work before other high profile NGOs like Women Consortium of Nigerian (WOCON), Women Trafficking and Child Labour Eradication Foundation (WOTCLEF), Idia Renaissance and Well Being Foundation (WBF), gave national publicity of the scourge.

The general approach of the initiative is to fight against human trafficking, child labour and child abuse, through sensitization programmes that targeted school children through the formation of clubs where young children are thought their rights, among other things. It also targeted parents by educating them on the consequences of child labour, trafficking and child abuse. Their objectives are to eradicate women and girl trafficking; to increase positive cultural practices and eradication of harmful traditional practices against women and children; to equip the youths with information to guide them against drug abuse and drug trafficking; counselling, training and reintegration of trafficked girls and women. Their activities include mass education and enlightenment through mass media campaigns, workshops, seminars and symposia, printing of Information, Education and Communication (IEC) material for distribution of information, dissemination; public consultative forum on trafficking in women and prostitution, evaluation and monitoring of activities and establishing a model skills acquisition centres (Nightingale, 2003:p.16).

### **Recommendations**

In an effort to curb child maltreatment there is need to reassess the strategies and refocus attention to the following recommendations.

Government should create awareness towards sensitizing the public on the right of the child and the implications of child maltreatment to curtail abuse due to ignorance and to device modalities for punishing those involved in the reported cases of child abuse to serve as deterrent to others. Government also should put in place programmes that will elicit the traditional rulers, village heads and leaders of various town unions through seminars or workshops pertaining to good parental skill and good child rearing pattern. At the same time government should educate the youths on their rights and self-worth in order to be prepared for the challenges of life and not to agree to be trafficked or participate in such vices like robbery and prostitution. Government should include sex education in the curriculum at all levels of education system, to inculcate in the lives of young people sex education to facilitate their becoming responsible adult parents.

There is need for the government and the church to take family planning education seriously, using media houses, printing of articles and fliers on the need to control their family size for improved quality of life. Religious institutions should engage in deep premarital counselling on sex education, family size, birth control, acquisition of good parenting skill and child rearing. The church should also organize inter-denomination conferences, fora, seminars and workshops focused on educating the people on the strategies for combating child trafficking, child labour and abuse, and eradicate the belief in child witch. Parents should take responsibility of protecting their children from all manner of abuses.

### **Conclusion**

Children are carrying the powerful symbols of life. They are valuable and their rights need to be protected. This problem of child maltreatment and its causes were assumed to be deeply rooted in the chronic turmoil created by socio-economic stress that pressured some predisposed individuals to react with violence. The plight of the abused and neglected is one for which the society needs to find more effective remedies. A great deal of progress has been made towards understanding the major causes of this widespread phenomenon. The problem is believed to affect children's behavioural and emotional expression, as well as their cognitive view of the world.

This paper therefore, argues that child maltreatment is growing rapidly in our society and it is a typical social problem in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Child abuse and neglect are not only the concern of children but also concern of parents and people who experience varying difficulties in their life, concerns of the general public and Christian community. Without help, maltreated children often grow up with serious problem, at great cost to themselves and to the society. Many also continue the circle of maltreatment when they have children of their own. Whatever the future holds, the challenges are, as an adult, a Christian and as a nation, there is the need to recognize and put aside the symbols we attach to children and begin to develop systems that

genuinely give children their civil rights, both in general society and our religious denominational sects.

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## **The Digital Courtyard: Nigerian Television Authority's *Tales by Moonlight* as a Medium of Pedagogy**

**Felicia Ohwovoriola**

### **Introduction**

Early childhood education often focuses on children learning through play. According to UNESCO early childhood is defined as the period from birth to eight years. These years lay the foundation for subsequent learning. Many forms and a variety of instructional approaches can be adopted and they include cooperative learning, discussions, puppetery and illustrating stories. From time immemorial folktales have thrived in every culture, based on the premise that stories are shared because people share a lot of the same experiences. The stories are sometimes dramatized when acted take on more meaning because they externalise various aspects of human life. It is a common practice to engage children in the art of storytelling and the express goal is didactic while entertaining them. The stories often have animal characters with human attributes and storytelling sessions serve a bonding experience for the children who act as listeners and the audience. Most tales provide excellent examples of the complex interplay of realism, fantasy and symbolism in literature. There are numerous themes often opposites and these include good versus evil, rich versus poor, beauty versus ugliness, wise versus foolish, age versus youth, stinginess versus generosity fairness versus unfairness. Functionalism as constituted by Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Emile Durkheim will be the touchstone of explicating the stories this essay examines. Examples have been drawn. Examples of the tales used have been drawn from text on *Tales By Moonlight*, a Nigerian Television Authority (NTA) Channel 10 Program. Its a children *drama* series created by Victoria Ezeokoli. The objective is to reinvent Nigerian tales through an electronic intervention for the sake of young viewers. The stories presented are adapted from diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria and each story is aimed at teaching lessons which represent the actualities of life. The discussion in this essay is limited to eight stories in the text. It employs the methodology of close textual reading of the tales in order to identify the pedagogical function.

In many African societies, the folktale is one of the most popular form of oral literary expression. As a literary genre the thematic interests of folktales are of various kinds. They range from animal stories, stories about human beings to fairy tales. Because of the great variety of interests which folktales present, they can be classified in different ways. According to Agyekum (2013) They may be classified into divination tales, Hunter's tales, animal tales, fables, fairy tales and explanatory or etiological tales. The tales can be narrated either by men, women or children depending either during moonlight or any where people can gather to perform them. Karin Barber (1991) cited by Akintunde Akinyemi comments on the folktale:

*Alo* are the most communal, domestic and democratic of Yoruba verbal art forms. They used to be told within the compound in the evening after work, with all the

household present. All were entitled to tell a tale if they wished, even the youngest, and all were expected to support the others' performances by supplying a chorus to the songs. The moral values which are the issue in these stories are, correspondingly, those which make for harmonious communal living. Good neighbours, loyal friends, and faithful wives are contrasted with tricksters, betrayers and deceivers. The important point is no much that the *Alo* are didactic, imparting values to the young...but that the ground and framework of every story is the values of everyday, ordinary, human world. What is tested, experimented with and sometimes imaginatively abolished is the morality of communal living, based on common decency, humanity and generosity. This is the scope and the field of the discourse of *Alo*.

Mckee (1997) is of the view that the story arts have become humanity's prime source of inspiration, as it seeks to order chaos and gain insight into life...our appetite for story is a reflection of the profound human need to grasp the patterns of living, not merely as an intellectual exercise, but within a very personal emotional experience. Folktales have become very versatile. As noted by (Cooper et al 2010) stories have been used from time immemorial. With emergence of technology and the transformation of our usage of mass media channels, music, television, radio, film and the internet became the central story tellers of our time. Furthermore, Roland Bathes (quoted in Abbot) remarks on the universality of narrative among humans:

Moreover, under this almost infinite diversity of forms, narrative is present in every age, in every place, and there are no people anywhere in the history of mankind without narrative. These narratives are a source of enjoyment of which is very often shared by men with different, even opposing, cultural backgrounds caring nothing for the division between good and bad literature. Therefore narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural; it is simply there like life itself. The *Marchen* (narrative) as observed by folklore scholars serves as a paradigm for narratives in general.

### **The Value of Folktales**

In folklore studies, there is the view that every folklore item has to have a function. Here the expectation is that every proverb, tale, folk belief or ballad must satisfy some important cultural, social, or psychological function. Folktales are not meant to be believed, they are formed up or created. This is well explained by Drachler (1968), who describes folktales as: A valid expression of creative imagination, channeled by a sophisticated assessment of man and his relation to the world in which he lives. In a similar vein Dorson (1972) opines:

The folktale embodies the highly polished, artistic story genres that have a relatively consistent, finished form...Folktales are told primarily for entertainment although they may have secondary purposes. They are believed to be fictitious, and are cited as lies by storytellers and commentators who mean that tales are the creation of human fantasy.

Psychoanalysts such as Bruno Bettelheim, folklorists such as Jack Zipes, and writers such as J.R.R. Tolkien have also noted the therapeutic effects of narrating folktales. Bettelheim is of the view that *Marchen* provide an effective educational

tool with which children can come to terms with such dilemmas and fears as anxiety over abandonment by one's parents or feelings of inadequacy. He claims that folktales externalize inner processes and that 'fairy tales' intimate that a rewarding, good life is within one's reach despite adversity-but only if one does not shy away from hazardous struggles without which one can never achieve true identity (Tolkien 1977:24). In a similar vein, Zipes has suggested that *Marchen* can disguise common human fears and conflicts through the use of metaphors. He argues that folktale plots externalize in symbolic form universal psychic conflicts such as the fears of being alone and unprotected in a dangerous world, of the loss of love, and of failure and, thus provide a rich source for metaphors of common human problems.

Barre Toelken (1996:246) is however of the view that folktales with similar plots may have different connotative meanings that 'reside not as manifest content in the item or text or in the denotation of words, but in the feelings and associations people share about the items, situations and words. Since these attitudes are usually culture specific, the deepest meanings seldom arise openly from the text but need to be extrapolated from ethnographic evidence as well as further discussion from the traditional bearers themselves'. In *Morphology of the Folktale*, Vladimir Propp (1968:60-64) notes that in most tales, the protagonist has to endure a difficult task, whether it is an ordeal by fire, riddle guessing, or a test of strength, endurance or fortitude. When the task is resolved, the hero or heroine is usually recognized and often undergoes a transfiguration, resulting in a new appearance, and or gets married, a mark of entering mature adulthood'. By the same token Max Luthi (1996:298) claims that 'the fairy tale depicts processes of development and maturation'. Likewise, Bettelheim (1977:214) has observed that folktale heroes and heroines often experience a reawakening or rebirth that 'symbolizes the reaching of a higher state of maturity and understanding. It is one of the fairy tale's ways to stimulate the wish for higher meaning in life: deeper consciousness, more self-knowledge and greater maturity'. He further claims that the essential lesson of these tales is 'that if one wishes to gain selfhood, achieve integrity, and secure one's identity, difficult development must be undergone: hardships suffered, dangers met, victories won' (278). The educative aspect or function of folktales is the moral it teaches. When tales are told to children in the African communities, these children are introduced to different social values like honesty, hard work, obedience, kindness and so on. In the words of Bascom cited in Akporobaro (2006) fables or folktales incorporating words are introduced to inculcate general attitude and principles, such as diligence and filial piety, and to ridicule laziness, rebelliousness and snobbishness. Folktales are creatively organized and rich in imaginative literary devices. The achievement of both the didactic and dramatic qualities according to Akporobaro (2012) is through a number of formal and stylistic elements notably; the element of the story told; the basic human situation set up; the characters portrayed and the 'plot' construction of the story. In support of this Finnegan (1984) writes: "One common form is a story ending up with a kind of moral, sometimes in the form of a well known proverb...In such narratives, the moral element sometimes seems to form the core of the story, so that we could appropriately term it as parable rather than a straight forward story".

Besides education and information, folktales entertain. On the latter Wande Abimbola (2004) has this to say:

Some fantastic situations are conceived and set up in such a way that they are humorous. They make the audience reel with laughter...A good storyteller often makes it part of his/her skills to intermingle serious and humorous situations, a good folktale becomes effective in the creation of laughter.

In addition, the narrator or the performer or the raconteur has an important role to play in the educative process. He or she uses various performative actions to drive home his or her point. To the Limba storyteller, according to Finnegan (2007)

A prime medium for Limba stories was words but, as I have indicated, it was emphatically not a matter of words alone. Essential to their realization were also sonic patternings, visual gestures, facial expressions, interactions with audience and in many cases singing and sometimes dancing or dance evoking movement by both narrator and other participants.

The pedagogical role of the narrator is also emphasized by (Dorson 1972): "A tale is not a dictated text with interlinear translation but a living recitation delivered to a responsive audience for such cultural purposes as reinforcement of aggressions through fantasy, pedagogical explanations of the natural world, and application of pressures for conventional behaviour".

### **Functionalism and the Folktale**

The view of the functional in folklore is parallel to Bronislaw Malinowski's position that everything in human life must have a function. On a more theoretical level, Mark Glazer (1996) in his essay on functionalism identified three kinds of functionalism which play an important role in social sciences literature on the topic. The first by Malinowski posits that it is the needs of the psychobiological human entity which is at center stage; the second by Reginald Radcliffe-Brown is a functioning of its components or structures; and the third approach to functionalism by Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss posits social cohesion through the commonality of shared mental structures of the "conscience collective". These views are significant for many folklorists. According to Glazer's observation, Malinowski was convinced that every detail of a culture, including the folktale, had a function. He and Radcliffe-Brown are viewed as the founders of modern functionalism. However, their functionalisms are dramatically different. While Radcliffe-Brown's is a structural functionalist, Malinowski's functionalism is based on human biology and psychology. For Malinowski functionalism is a metamorphosis of the seven needs of the individual nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relation, movement, and growth into the secondary needs of society. The needs of the individual are satisfied by the social structure of his culture, whose function it is to satisfy those human needs. In other words, every social institution has a need to satisfy, and so does every item in a culture. For folklorists, this means that even the smallest item one collects, such as a single folk belief, has function to perform both at the level of the individual and at the level of the society and the culture. Individual needs were incidental to Radcliffe-Brown, who regarded the system of human interactions rather

than human beings as being central in a functionalist approach to society. "Structure" refers to a system or organized parts. These parts are individual persons who participate in social life, occupying statuses within the system. The social network is made up of social relationships between individuals of a society. The individual is in turn controlled by norms or patterns. It is the function of folklore to maintain these norms and patterns. Glazer also observes that Durkheim's views on why and how society functions have also become an integral part of our intellectual heritage. In "The Division of Labor in Society" (1893), Durkheim concentrates on increased specialization of individuals as they key to social solidarity. Societies that have a great amount of specialization possess organic solidarity. Here each individual must work with others to survive. On the other hand, societies that have no differentiation of this type are held together by mechanical solidarity. Here individuals have a strong sense of sharing common experiences. However, cooperation with others is not necessary. What binds the group together is the cohesion of common experiences. Folklore is a very important part of this common experience, as every group and subgroup shares a folklore which helps cement the solidarity of the group. An aspect of this can be seen in internally undifferentiated occupational groups in contemporary culture where such groups have their own lore. Durkheim added another explication of social solidarity: that which centers around conscience collective. The meaning of this phrase in English is something like "shared awareness" or "common understanding." Society must be studied by studying social facts which are parts of the shared awareness in a society. For Durkheim social facts are what anthropologists understand to be culture. An example of this can be seen in the *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* where Durkheim claims that the totem the sacred object is a representation by which society symbolizes itself. The totem is the society rationalized through religion. Such a belief implies that a totem, like any other symbol, is a collective representation. This value is given to the representation by the society itself. This results in an epistemology that claims that individual knowledge results neither from the "mind" nor from the senses; rather, we know what we know because we learn socially devised "collective representations." In this perspective Glazer notes that all folklore materials are a function of a human need, a social and structural necessity, or a device for social cohesion. Functionalism, viewed as Malinowski's biological and psychological given, Radcliffe-Brown's interplay between the structures of society, and Durkheim and Mauss' social cohesiveness or cultural matrix provides folkloristics with a multi faceted theoretical matrix for any item in folklore. Animals and situations are often used symbolically or allegorically to perform various pedagogical roles.

### **Tales by moonlight and the digital courtyard**

In many traditional societies, narratives are done by experts and professionals. Some of these skillful narrators work in television houses. Narrators try as much as possible to manipulate the emotions and reactions of their audience. The tales are referred as moonlight tales because most of them are narrated in the evenings when people are relaxing after the day's work. Major changes in the economic life of

Nigerians have greatly affected urban dwellers. Stories are not restricted to the villages. Urbanization and the modern ways of entertainment by way of children watching television in the cities has informed the need to dramatically present the stories electronically by The Nigerian Television Authority. The latter adopts this mode to illuminate entertainment, communicate didactic and humanistic ideas, and also to encourage the development of narrative skill. The broadcast environment offers best opportunity to reach the most viewers. Abbot (2008) claims that, the narrator may be one of a number of elements-including actors and cameras-that is necessary to represent one or more events. In effect stories are renewed and adapted to the popular culture to be more relevant to the contemporary consumer. Television provides a means of reaching a large audience such as a large number of children in a school hall and the 'close-up view' made possible by television gives it an added advantage to sustaining the interest of children. The children are able to follow the performance easily and see details of action better than when they are grouped around a live artist

***Pedagogical Role of N.T.A. Tale by Moonlight***

Most stories contain some elements. They tend to have four major features: a message, a conflict characters and a plot. The eight stories in our study have been analyzed following this structure. The story is usually resolved with an ideological or moral statement that functions as the main message throughout the story.

***STORY 1: A Man, His Sons and a Cow (A Fulani Tale)***

The characters in the tale are a man, three of his sons, a farmer, a blacksmith, a great scholar and a fat cow. The plot of the story centres on the deliberate lies told by a cow which caused disaffection in a family. Strangers who harbour the boys improve their lot. The farmer in the tale is magnanimous. He teaches the first son farming methods and also gives and fulfils a pledge to send the boy back to his father. The second son is taught how to make farming implements while the third son is taught to read and write. The lies or wickedness of the cow is punished and this trait of telling lies is depicted by humans everywhere. The message of the tale is varied. There is need to investigate any allegation before drawing a conclusion. Kindness is extolled and the reward for telling blatant lies is to be treated as a castaway

***STORY 2: How Cat and Rat Became Enemies (An Urhobo Tale)***

The characters in the tale are cat and rat. The plot entails deception of the cat by the rat due to greed. The story of the rat as told in the folktale represents at different levels the actualities of life. Also, it promotes conformity of the moral code of the society. This is because lies and breach of trust are vices capable of destroying friendship.

***STORY 3: The Magic Udara Tree (An Igbo)***

Characters in the tale include Ahamefula the protagonist, his step-mother and step-brother. The subject matter involves the unkindness and discrimination of a step-mother. The songs in the tale express the predicament of Ahamefula. The story serves as a lesson for those who would not want to know how long others have suffered

before achieving a feat. The jealous boy almost loses his life through the actions of his greedy mother. Apart from jealousy which is conveyed in the story, there is also the theme of selfishness. Revenge and jealousy are portrayed as vices. Envy is denounced. The step-mother sets her son on a perilous venture in order to get fruits, just because Ahamefula has been visited with luck.

***STORY 4: The Old Man and His Sugar-Cane (A Yoruba Tale)***

Characters in the story consist of an old man, Mama Tola, Tola, Titi and Ronke. The story centres on Titi's disobedience. Effect of telling lies is indicated. The lesson here is that children should be obedient and speak the truth always.

***STORY 5: The Chief and His Subjects (A Hausa Tale)***

Characters in this tale are the chief of Kanga, his sick subjects and an old woman. The chief is unwavering with regard to dealing with his unwell subjects. The message here is that one should be kind and acts of compassion must be demonstrated by rulers towards their subjects. In addition, one good turn deserves another.

***STORY 6: The Proud Beauty (An Ijaw Tale)***

The characters in the tale are Funkazi the protagonist, Kem-tebe, a monster, and an old woman. The plot entails the arrogance of a beautiful girl who refuses every suitor in her village and ends up marrying a monster. The lesson this story serves is that children should be humble and obey their parents to prevent error in judgement.

***STORY 7: Why the Tortoise's shell looks cracked (An Ibibio Tale)***

Characters in this tale are the tortoise, King of birds, Parrot and the wife to the tortoise. The story entails the greedy act of the tortoise who outwits the birds on an outing during a famine. With this story, children are taught that greediness should not be practised in both private and public lives. The tortoise ended up with a cracked shell because of greediness. The major theme of this tale is retributive justice. A story like this will regulate children's desire to cheat or be greedy.

***STORY 8: Arit Eno's Disobedience (An Efik Tale).***

Personalities in the tale include Arit Eno the central character, her mother, a bad spirit woman, a good-spirit woman and a baby. The story involves an act of curiosity and disobedience. This particular tale is meant to instil in children some moral values such as respect for parents, tradition and custom, perseverance in times of crises and obedience to constituted authorities.

**Conclusion**

We have tried in this paper to discuss the value of the folktale in teaching children using folktales by The Nigerian Television Authority. We have shown in this paper that stories can be used to as an effective instrument for imparting knowledge in children and making them responsible and useful in their homes and schools. The virtues of life that are vital for the children's moral well being are often adopted as

themes for building up the moonlight stories. Most of the tales utilize animals as dramatic personae. In terms of themes they focus on such antisocial traits as cunning, selfishness, greed, jealousy and craftiness. Despite the fact that the setting of the stories is via the television, their performances are so vivid that children watching the program in the comfort of their homes are entertained as well as being taught. This feature of pre-recorded televised tales also saves time and energy compared with repeated live performances. It is therefore recommended that curriculum planners, educators and school administrators should incorporate elements of traditional moral educational code of conduct via the television into modern day educational curricular.

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## **E-Voting and Trial Democracy in Nigeria**

**Matthew Ikechukwu Eze and Ifeanyi E. Iwundu**

### **Introduction**

Taking a look at the word “Democracy” as a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a systematic representation usually involving periodically held free election. Abraham Lincoln described democracy as a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" (SBIIP 2015). It is clear that in Nigeria, there is a shift from this process even though there is the practice of democracy. All that the democratic nations hate are the practice in Nigeria. For instance, there were fraud and competitive rigging during the elections in Nigeria (Iwundu, 2013). The election rigging and manipulation of electoral laws have been a ban on the development of democracy in Nigeria.

A survey of the history of elections in Nigeria shows that it has been characterized by massive frauds, the intimidation and even assassination of political opponents (Ejituwu, 1997). The problem is not however limited to Nigeria. In developed nations like America for instance:

For the election of March 30, 1885 to determine the status of the state and establish a government, 2000 men were registered, but 6000 ballot papers were counted after the election with the Democrats winning and voting constitution and a governor. Conscious of the fact that the election had been ‘rigged’ by the Democrats, the Republicans also voted for constitution and a governor. The Democrats feeling impotent at the polls were prepared to use all kinds of chicanery. As one Southern Democrats boasted, ‘White and Black Republicans may out-vote us but we can out-count them’(Ejituwu 1997:45).

In any democracy, the type and kind of rigging and fraud that occur, take place in three phases. According to Duru (2005:14), the phases are before the elections, during the elections, and after the elections. Hence, results of elections come in two separate columns. One records the votes cast at polling stations, the other, the number of people killed around the time of the election, as violence is an integral part of Nigerian politics.

In spite of Nigeria leadership role in Africa Union and peace keeping efforts across the globe, its troubled history of flawed elections, have tended to water the grounds for military coups. This is an unsettling reminder that a moment of political opportunity, if not managed carefully, can also degenerate into a season of instability, coups and counter coups.

In attempt to avoid this ugly situation, democracy in Nigeria is currently passing through immense experimentations. A lot of measures have been made to keep these from happening, but it enlarges at any election, viz the option ‘A’ which was aborted by the military government who set forth the electoral programme, adopting electronic data capturing machine which was killed by bureaucracy and the

zoning system which had not worked due to party's inclinations. These imply that the electoral process has been on trial.

Among the electoral propositions in the electoral process of Nigeria, e-voting option appears to be in the first place in spite of the initial bottlenecks. In this paper, we shall examine the problems and prospects of e-voting option in Nigerian electoral process and make some recommendations for a healthy development of democracy in Nigeria.

### **The Concept of Democracy**

The word "Democracy" is from the Greek word "Democratia" meaning rule of the people. This is found from the two Greek words 'Demo' which means "people" and "Krato" which means "power" or "rule". According to Shumpter (1947) Democracy means only that the people have the opportunity of accepting or refusing the men who are to govern them. By this, democracy implies conducting elections and choosing leaders that will represent the majority. Huntington (1991), on the other hand sees democracy as: "A political system which is considered democratic because the most popular candidates are chosen through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population are qualified to vote.

Huntington, further observes that this promotes political participations of all the adult members. The full participation of the people during electioneering gives the new government a legitimate foundation to govern. Any government against this background will not enjoy legitimacy which gives every government a political support from the people because it is deemed rightful since the support emanates from the people. The American political scientist, Lary Diamond stresses that democracy consists of four key elements:

A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair election (2) The active participation of the people as citizens in politics and civil life (3) protection of human rights of all the citizens (4) A rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens. Democracy is regarded as the best form of government because its ideology promotes people's will. The people have political right to decide who should govern them in a free and fair conduct called "election".

### **Election so far in Nigeria**

Election is the process of choosing a person or a group of people for a position especially a political position by voting. For election to thrive there should be establishment of a well defined competent, relatively independent and non-partisan electoral body that will be responsible for the conduct of elections. There is need for the laws and as well as adjudicate on electoral matters. Mass media devoid of influence from the politicians should be instituted together with police force that will help supervise the conduct of an election. In other words, there should be electoral law, guiding the conduct of an election, organization of political parties, voter's registration, domination of candidates for elective public office, balloting, ballot

counting and declaration of election result as this will give credence to the success of elections.

In the Nigerian case, the truth remains that the electoral process is immensely characterized by a culture of electoral malpractices. Far from what is expected, elections are rigged in Nigeria. Observers have identified some ways by which elections were rigged in Nigeria. They include: illegal printing of voter's cards, illegal possession of ballot boxes, stuffing of ballot boxes; falsification of election result; illegal thumb, printing of ballot papers; infant voting, compilation of fictitious names of voter's list, illegal printing of forms used for collection and declaration of election results; deliberate refuse to supply election material to certain areas; announcing results in places where no elections held; unauthorized announcement of election result; harassment of candidates, agents and voter's, change of list of electoral officials, box-snatching and inflation of figures –among others.

### **The Introduction of the Electronic Smart Card Reader / E-Voting**

The federal government of Nigeria, in attempt to forestall the true practice of democracy, approved the procurement of seventeen thousand electronic smart card readers for the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC) for the verification of voter's cards. According to Iwu (2008):

Electronic voting system (EVS) is one of several forms of automated voting methods which employ computer technology devices, to improve several aspects of the election process. In most cases, it allows the conduct of elections without using the traditional ballot paper and elections without using the traditional ballot paper and box for making a choice at an election. It incorporates largely paperless voting methods prominent among which are electronic voting machines (EUM), internet voting, telephone IVR voting, digital TV voting, electronic kiosk voting etc.

In order to get the required result, the smart card readers were configured for specific polling units, a strategy it has adopted to guard against attempts by individuals to rig election. With the use of card readers, the PVCs would be useless in the hand of any individuals whose biometrics does not match that of the original owners of the PVC in a specific polling unit.

Electronic voting (e-voting) as a term is used to describe the act of voting using electronic systems to cast and count votes. The benefits beneath the application of e-voting according to Smartmatic (2014) are as follows: It is auditable, transparent, secure and accurate.; Faster results and build trust. Can increase engagement and turnout; Increases accessibility; Smartmatic: the world leader in electronic voting; Electronic voting that is completely auditable; Electronic voting that is visibly secure.

It might be necessary to x-ray some of the requirements of e-voting spelt out by Smartmatic (2014). These are the leading possibilities in the acquisition or adaptation of e-voting in any country. According to him, why e-voting needs to be acquired is censored by the fact that:

1. E-voting machines feature data storage and transmission protected with 256-bit encryption and redundancy, a term given to a system where data is held in many different locations, to make it obvious if anyone was to change it in one.
2. It provide electronic voting software and services – in effect everything a country needs to either improve any stage of a manual election, or to partially or fully automate the election process.
3. It design and engineer voting technology with the mission of ensuring that all election stakeholders should have the ability to audit an election at every stage. There is the use of the voter-verified paper audit trail (VVPAT), which has become the de facto standard in election technology solutions worldwide.
4. Every country has different needs. That’s why every electronic voting solution is designed is different. Whatever system design are meant to meet any country’s laws and requirements, it can guarantee one thing – that is, it will lead to fast and legitimate results.

**The Problems and Prospects of the e-voting options**

The table below provides problems and prospects of e-voting anywhere in the world. The analysis will help to ascertain the reliability for opting for e-voting system.

<b>Problems</b>	<b>Prospects</b>
The absence of a voter-verifiable paper audit trail (VVPAT) necessary for providing an independent external check on accuracy and also acting as a back-up system. The result of an electronic voting machine can hardly be recounted manually as in the paper system.	E-voting still retains a measure of attraction for the electoral process in Nigeria. It is strongly believed that e-voting can facilitate the process of free and fair elections in Nigeria.
The legal issues involved in electronically-generated when the result of such an election is challenged before the courts or election tribunals.	It improve access and convenience for voters, they can provide linguistic support and translate languages and display electors choices on a single screen for verification prior to vote casting.
The electronic voting system presents serious sociological problems as with any new technology. With low level of literacy and erratic power supply, the application of the electronic voting system will be venerable to scanners, manipulators and 419ers Voter assistance for the illiterate Voters and people with disability will surely violate their right to secrecy of ballot.	Electronic voting system are held to mitigate the problem of over and under voting or informal voting and are thought to address early problems associated with ballot marking devices, especially the potential ambiguity regarding an elector’s intention.

Reports of delays and challenges in the authentication of finger prints, resorting to manual for validation of voter's cards, which is a serious sign of failure of the smart card readers.	Ability to be configured to assist people with visual or physical impairment, followed closely by their ability to allow electors in remote areas to participate in an electoral event without the need to travel great distances.
Electronic voting is unfit for political elections in democracy	Intrinsic difference is the very reason why electronic voting is unfit for political elections in democracy and no technology can change this basic concepts

**Source:** *Smartmatic (2014).*

In an elaborate discussion based on the nature, characteristics of Nigeria which has been beclouded by tribalism, ethnicity, quota principles and godfathers, a focus group discussion made up of educated elites, clergy, businessmen, men, women boys and girls purposely selected to tackle the problems and prospects of e-voting in Nigerian democracy have these to say:

1. Many people and/or organizations are interested in falsifying electoral results to maintain or to get the governmental power. They can be highly motivated, well financed, sophisticated, and could be outsiders as well as insiders with full knowledge of the election system.
2. Sitting governments are in charge of guaranteeing the accuracy of electoral results and the secrecy of votes, but the social groups and the economical powers which are the base of any government have the obvious interest in falsifying electoral results and violating the secrecy of votes to preserve the power. consequences of the above basic concepts
3. If votes are really anonymous then nobody can verify that any of them is the one its (unknown!) voter actually cast.
4. Verification of electoral results cannot be based only upon anonymous votes since they could have been altered by fraud or errors and nobody could ever know it.
5. The only way to guarantee fairness of elections is that electoral procedures guarantee that each vote really represents its (unknown) elector's will
6. Fairness of elections can be guaranteed only by electoral procedure open to the active check of the people, the so called democratic control.
7. Electronic elections can't undergo proper democratic control because computer procedures are not verifiable by humans.
8. Due to the secrecy of vote, elections have no known input nor any expected output with which to compare electoral results, thus electronic electoral procedures cannot be verified by humans. This applies to electronic elections independently of any technical solution that could ever be implemented.
9. Results of any electronic vote are, due to their nature, unverifiable and no technical solution can overcome this fact.

10. To accept electronic electoral result ordinary people need to have an absolute faith in the accuracy, honesty and security of the whole electoral apparatus (people, software, hardware and networks).
11. Governments can't demonstrate that electronic voting results are correct, but Oppositions have no way to support any claim that fraud or mistakes have occurred from another point of view we can say that...
12. In e-voting computers tally up information about the way electors voted (which button they pressed or which part of the screen they touched). Such info is collected and stored in the form of anonymous intangible human-unreadable string of bytes. Votes are "counted" and results declared solely by the "electoral service" which is under the control of the Government whose term of office is about to expire.
13. Terrorism is one of the most dangerous attacks to democracies. A good goal for terrorists could be the alteration of our electoral processes because if they could delegitimize the ruling power, they would have a great victory against democracy.
14. Elections may have the wrong winner not only because of fraud, but also because of malfunctions of the technical apparatus involved in the voting.

In an attempt to come to a compromise, the groups diverged in views but affirmed that e-voting is possible in democracies. For large countries like Brazil, India and the Philippines, electronic voting and electronic counting means that people can get official election results within hours, instead of weeks. Again, this builds trust. Forward-thinking countries and election commissions are keen to explore how it can help them improve their elections. For some nations, automated elections mean that people can trust the results because it allows for a process that is so auditable, transparent and secure. Electronic voting also helps reduce human error. The electronic voting system has been called the 'best in the world' by the world's leading, independent election observer, The Carter Center (Smartmatic (2014)). The key to any success in elections is what is known as the voter-verified paper audit trail (VVPAT). The voting machines print a paper receipt every time a vote is registered electronically. This makes it easy to perform recounts and audits because one can compare the electronic count with the paper count. It becomes the *de facto* standard worldwide for transparent electronic voting.

### **Conclusion**

Whenever therefore, an attempt is made to re-conceptualize democracy, the effort ends up reaffirming that people are central to the democratic concept and practices. Democracy is therefore, essentially people-centered. Democracy can be consolidated if there exist popular participation. Participation is meaningful when the votes of these participants count but not when their votes are subverted for the interest of the few. When the majority did not participate in choosing who should represent them, it is not democracy. Where elections are rigged by few, it does not represent democracy.

The electoral process in Nigeria is really on trial. Among the experimental propositions in the electoral process of Nigeria is the e-voting option. Since it is new in Nigeria, let citizens exercise some patience and improve on the system for a better result in future. Long live Nigeria.

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## **Language Variation & Stylistics in Criminal Profiling and Authorship Attribution**

**Olusanmi Babarinde and Eyi Oko Uko**

### **Introduction**

Language changes This dynamism is first reflected as variation in the spoken and written language of groups and individuals. The most convincing modern day argument for this theoretical position was articulated by Weinrick, Labov and Herzog (1968) that all change involves variability and heterogeneity. This sparked off interest into language variation. All languages demonstrate internal variation caused by internal or external factors. Internal factors include structural and functional effects on linguistic change while external factors relate to variables that cause relative isolation of groups of speakers and writers or of individual users caused by distance from one another due to separation in time (generation), geography, social class (sex, age, ethnicity, education, occupation, income level) and the immediate social context of language use (topic, intended language listener, communicative purpose, place and time).

According to Mcmermanin (2012) the linguistic variation that results from such internal or external catalyst for change is usually described in terms of dialects and styles of speaking and writing. A dialect is a form of language that develops differently due to the geographic or social separation of one group of speakers from another. Geographic dialects are due to physical separation and social dialects are due to social distance. Variability can be observed everywhere in language, at all levels, in different dialects and different registers. In the past linguistic traditional grammar was assumed to be a fixed, unchanging system. However, different writers and speakers use this system differently. It is recognized by many scientists that language variation concerns differences that could have some social significance, such as speech behaviour of certain social groups (communities), socially meaningful aspects of individual speaker performance, etc. In other words, we can say that linguistic variation is functionally motivated, related to different purposes, influenced by different communicative tasks, produced under different circumstances.

Wolfram (2006) claims that “in traditional linguistic description the notion of variation within structural units has often been analysed as “free fluctuation,” “optional rules,” and “free variants.” Nevertheless, according to Crystal (2003), this type of variability has been determined as “an area of little importance”.

One of the essential elements in the study of linguistic variation is the notion of *linguistic variable*. It can be defined as “a structural unit that includes a set of fluctuating variants showing meaningful co-variation with an independent set of variables“(Wolfram, 2006). For Harris, Gries and Miglo (2014) Recognizing a speaker's dialect, gender, pathological conditions, native language, or socio-cultural background are skills acquired through training in different areas of linguistics, such as dialectology, acoustic/ articulatory phonetics, and sociolinguistics and is one of the

skills required by a forensic linguist. Eades (2010) In Coulthard, Johnshon, and Wright (2017), describes the role of sociolinguistics in the legal process as that of expert witnesses, through legal education, and through investigating the role of language in the perpetuation of inequality in and through the legal process.

The beginning of interest in determining authorship goes back to the late 18th century. Authorship identification is divided into two *attribution* and *verification* problems. In the authorship attribution problem, one is given examples of the writing of a number of authors and is asked to determine which of them authored given anonymous texts. In the authorship verification problem, one is given examples of the writing of a single author and is asked to determine if given texts were or were not written by this author. As a categorization problem, verification is significantly more difficult than attribution.

The authorship of some of Shakespeare's plays was questioned (E. Malone in 1787) and the first authorship verification procedures were proposed. This topic gradually began to draw attention of public and over time authorships of many other works were challenged.

The task of determining or verifying the authorship of an anonymous text based solely on internal evidence is a very old one, dating back at least to the medieval scholastics, for which the reliable attribution of a given text to a known ancient authority was essential to determining the text's veracity. More recently, the problem of authorship attribution has gained greater prominence due to new applications in forensic analysis, humanities scholarship, and electronic commerce, and the development of computational methods for addressing the problem.

In the second half of the 20th century the authorship recognition gained enough public attention to be admitted as evidence in court. The most famous work from this time is probably *Word Detective Proves the Bard wasn't Bacon* written by A. Q. Morton. A.Q. Morton was invited to several judicial hearings to act as an expert in the defence, where he refuted authorship testimony against the accused by applying quantitative methods of authorship recognition. This period can be described as the beginning of forensic linguistics.

### **Profiling**

The very idea of profiling came about from works of fiction. The first "profiler" reviewed is Dupin in Edgar Allan Poe's *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, published in 1814. The first case of profiling in a real investigation is the analysis voluntarily provided by Thomas Bond, who participated in the autopsy of Mary Jane Kelly in the case of Jack the Ripper in England in 1888. Since the criminal was never identified, the accuracy of the profile cannot be evaluated. More recently, the U.S. army called on psychoanalyst Walter Langer to trace a psychological profile of Hitler in 1943. This profile had correctly predicted, among other things, that Hitler preferred suicide to being captured. Personality tests were also administered to American soldiers, but the results of this research remain secret (Hicks and Sales, 2006).

The first request for profiling expertise by law enforcement agencies dates back to 1956 when New York psychiatrist James A. Brussels was called on to provide

a profile of the Mad Bomber (George Metesky). The profile provided by Brussels, which proved to be impressively accurate (down to the clothing worn by the suspect at the time of his arrest), contributed largely to the subsequent popularity of this approach. The FBI began to incorporate profiling into its investigation practices in the early sixties, although the Behavioural Analysis Unit was not founded at Quantico until 1978 (Egger, 1999).

In England, interest in profiling soared in the mid-eighties, viewed from a psychoanalytical and clinical psychological perspective, after David Canter contributed to the investigation leading to the arrest of the “Railway Rapists,” John Duffy and David Mulcahy (Hicks and Sales, 2006; McGrath, 2000). It was following this experience that Canter decided to establish the first university program in investigative psychology at the University of Liverpool in 1994 (Egger, 1999).

Despite the internal disagreements especially relating to profiling methods, Beauregard and Proulx, (2001) say it is generally agreed that “criminal profiling may be defined as a technique promoting the identification of a suspect’s principal characteristics of personality and behaviour, based on the elements of the crime he has committed”. According to them, criminal profiling may also be called psychological profiling, personality profiling, criminal investigative analysis or investigative psychology. Although this definition is based primarily on criminal profiling activities, the methods and approaches used are highly variable.

Profiling is used most often in cases where police have few clues that could help solve a case and are not certain what type of person committed the crime. Thus, according to Ainsworth (2001) profiling has been used especially in rape and homicide investigations, particularly with serial crime, Profiling would also be particularly indicated in serial crime, ritual crime and particular forms of psychopathological crime.

However, the goal of profiling according to Douglas, Burgess, Burgess and Ressler (2006) is not to directly identify the person responsible for the crime, but rather to predict the most probable characteristics of the criminal. Profiling is used during the investigation phase when traditional methods have failed. At this stage, profiling is especially used to connect serial crimes and identify the physical, psychological and other characteristics related to the criminal’s lifestyle. Profiling is also used during the investigation phase for the following reasons: to suggest certain pre- and post-crime behaviours the criminal is likely to exhibit; to evaluate the possibility that certain crimes evolve into more serious, violent crimes; and to suggest proactive tactics to encourage the criminal to reveal his identity. During the arrest phase, profiling is used to orient searches toward certain sectors or particular elements, to predict the criminal’s behaviour upon his arrest, or even suggest interrogation techniques that are likely to lead to confessions. There are various types of profiling which include; Behavioural profiling, psychological profiling, criminal profiling and behavioural profiling.

### **Psychological Profiling**

In 1957, the identification of George Metesky the arsonist in New York City's Mad Bomber case (which spanned 16 years) was aided by psychiatrist-criminologist James A. Brussel's staccato-style profile: "Look for a heavy man. Middle-aged Foreign born. Roman Catholic. Single. Lives with a brother or sister. When you find him chances are he'll be wearing a double-breasted suit. Buttoned."

Indeed the portrait was extraordinary in that the only variation was that Metesky lived with two single sisters. Brussel (1968) in a discussion about the psychiatrist acting as Sherlock Holmes explains that a psychiatrist usually studies a person and makes some reasonable predictions about how that person may react to a specific situation and about what he or she may do in the future. What is done in profiling according to Brussel is to reverse this process. Instead, by studying an individual's deeds one deduces what kind of a person the individual might be.

The idea of constructing a verbal picture of a murderer using psychological terms is not new. In 1960 Palmer published results of a three-year study of 51 murderers who were serving sentences in New England. Palmer's "typical murderer" was 33 years old when he committed murder. Using a gun, this typical killer murdered a male stranger during an argument. He came from a low social class and achieved little in terms of education or occupation. He had a well meaning but maladjusted mother and he experienced physical abuse and psychological frustrations during his childhood. Similarly, Rizzo (1982) studied 31 accused murderers during the course of routine referrals for psychiatric examination at a court clinic. His profile of the average murderer listed the offender as a 26-year-old male who most likely knew his victim with monetary gain the most probable motivation for the crime.

### **Criminal Profiling**

Through the techniques used today law enforcement seeks to do more than describe the typical murderer, if in fact there ever was such a person. Investigative profilers analyze information gathered from the crime scene for what it may reveal about the type of person who committed the crime.

Criminal profiling has been described as a collection of leads according to Rossi (1982), as an educated attempt to provide specific information about a certain type of suspect. Gebert (1981) has also described the profiling process as particularly useful when the criminal has demonstrated some form of psychopathology. To the FBI profilers, the criminal-profile generating process is defined as a technique for identifying the major personality and behavioural characteristics of an individual based upon an analysis of the crimes he or she has committed. The profiler's skill is in recognizing the crime scene dynamics that link various criminal personality types who commit similar crimes.

The process used by an investigative profiler in developing a criminal profile is quite similar to that used by clinicians to make a diagnosis and treatment plan: data are collected and assessed, the situation reconstructed, hypotheses formulated, a profile developed and tested, and the results reported back. Investigators traditionally have learned profiling through brainstorming, intuition, and educated guesswork.

Their expertise is the result of years of accumulated wisdom, extensive experience in the field, and familiarity with a large number of cases.

A profiler brings to the investigation the ability to make hypothetical formulations based on his or her previous experience. A formulation is defined here as a concept, that organizes, explains, or makes investigative sense out of information, and that influences the profile hypotheses. These formulations are based on clusters of information emerging from the crime scene data and from the investigator's experience in understanding criminal actions.

A basic premise of criminal profiling is that the way a person thinks (i.e., his or her patterns of thinking) directs the person's behaviour. Thus, when the investigative profiler analyses a crime scene and notes certain critical factors, he or she may be able to determine the motive and type of person who committed the crime. Under criminal profiling we have various types which include; behavioural and geographical profiling. Behavioural profiling involves gathering information or data that describes the criminal's peculiarities, habits, intent and predict the future actions of the criminal. Behavioural profiling is usually seen in cases of rape, arson and serial killings.

Locating criminals constitutes a large share of the work of investigators (Canter, 1994). Geographic clues prove to be valuable for police forces during investigations, particularly in the case of repeat offences by the same individual. According to Rossmo (2000), compiling geographic data along with information identified as useful to criminal profiling strengthens crime analysis tools.

### **Style and Stylistics**

Style is most often discussed in the context of literary studies. However the word 'style' in its most general sense of 'a way of doing things' is used in multiple contexts. The collocation range of this word enfolds almost every sphere of human activity. *The Oxford English Dictionary* has recorded as many as twenty-eight different entries under the term style. As a critical concept style has been the focus of attention for centuries and has been studied from various perspectives. Different schools of thought worked in explaining and understanding this term, which put a large number of definitions which some of them appear to be overlapping while others seem to be contradictory.

As a literary critical term, 'style' denotes a characteristic use of language. Style has been variously defined according to its orientation in the writer's personality, the impressions of the reader, an individual text, and the collective features of a genre. The discussion of stylistics as a sensitive study of style should begin with a background knowledge of some of the major notion of style in terms of literacy criticism and linguistics.

Style is a variable element of human behaviour. Common human actions like eating, singing, teaching, writing, cooking, saying goodbye, driving etc. are basic human behaviour but the way each person *moves* when performing any of these actions is what we can style. Style is behaviour acquired by everyone and is usually acquired during childhood. Every aspect of life has its own style. People have an

acquired way in which they engage in a conversation, that is their unique style. To Leech, Deuchar and Hoogenraad (1982) style denotes the variation of language according to the use it is put. That is, each individuals use of language is their own style.

The discipline of stylistics on the other hand, is the linguistic investigations into works of art. Stylistics as a branch of literary criticism emerged in continental Europe in the early twentieth century. It was found to be in conformity with the critical thought of the time. McMenamin (2010) describes *stylistics* as the study of style in a language, which he then divides into two sections: literary stylistics and linguistic stylistics. He sees literary stylistics as traditionally concerned with aesthetic and (rather problematically) linguistic conformity issues. Linguistic stylistics, on the other hand, is the analysis of observed style markers as used by groups and individuals. Such stylistic descriptions are often referred to as qualitative analysis. method of inquiry. Stylistics is the outcome of the application of objective and analytical method of inquiry in the field of literary criticism. Stylistics is most often defined as the study of style.

#### **Authorship Identification and Attribution**

McMenamin (2002) states that authorship identification is accomplished through the analysis of style in written language, which hinges on the two principles of inherent variability in language: (1) no two writers of a language write in exactly the same way; and (2) no individual writer writes the same way all the time. McMenamin goes on further to describe the practical applications of studying the underlying linguistic patterns which are used habitually by an author. He suggests that the results of the analysis may be used for determination of resemblance of questioned writings to a canon of known writings, elimination or identification of one or more suspect authors, and lastly provision of support for neither elimination nor identification.

McMenamin (2002) states that the approach to determining authorship is based on two facts. Firstly author-specific linguistic patterns are present in unique combinations in the style of every writer, and these underlying patterns are usually established enough to be empirically analysed to make identification possible. Secondly, even though a language is *owned* by its entire group of speakers, it is uniquely *used* by individuals in that group. Hubbard (1995) further explains that these features are “more like subconscious, automatic habits that develop and become typical of different individuals”, much like idiosyncratic paralinguistic features and body language.

According to Coulthard (2004) the linguist approaches the problem of questioned authorship from the theoretical position that every native speaker has their own distinct and individual version of the language they speak and write their own *idiolect* and the assumption that this *idiolect* will manifest itself through distinctive and idiosyncratic choices in texts. Even though a speaker/writer could select any word at any time, they usually make their selection from a set of preferred lexical

items. Even writers writing on the same topic can be expected to select a different set of lexico-grammatical items, even if they intend to express the same ideas

### **Identifying Style Markers**

McMenamin (2002) raises the question: “How are style markers identified?” as being the most important issue in the current research on questioned authorship. This can be broken down into two distinct questions: “How are criteria for identification motivated, and how are stylistic variables selected and justified?”

Despite the long history of authorship attribution, there is still doubt about what constitutes a reliable authorship marker and how to identify one, especially within a forensic linguistic context where short texts and small samples are the norm Grant and Baker (2001). According to Rudman (1998) there are at least a thousand style markers which exist in stylometric research. However, he has since updated that number to a figure in the millions, particularly with the aid of the computer program. McMenamin (2002) offers a very useful list of style markers, which has been employed in over eighty cases. The style markers can be categorised as character-based, word-based, sentence-based, document based, structural or syntactic.

Grant and Baker (2001) discuss the characteristics of a good style marker and how it can be identified without falling into the trap of generalising. Since authorship attribution is a classification problem, it leads to the conundrum of: “What stylistic features can discriminate between these texts by different authors?” (Grant and Baker 2001). Therefore, considering the almost impossible task of finding valid and reliable style markers that would be applicable to all writers, due to the inherent variability of language, irrespective of whether that variation is dialectal or idiolectal, it would be prudent to utilise an array of style markers which would consist of those markers which collectively account for the most variance in the text (Grant and Baker, 2001).

### **Style Markers: Punctuation and Spelling**

Chaski (2001) describes two style markers: punctuation and spelling. A few ways to analyse the use and non-use of punctuation marks are to count the frequency of use within a text, look at where the punctuation marks are used and whether the author has any idiosyncratic uses of punctuation marks. However, Chaski (2005) adds to this by stating that punctuation “has only really been successful when combined on its own with an understanding of its syntactic role in a text”. Olsson (2008) concurs by saying that analysing punctuation is successful because of what the punctuation marks are doing in a sentence. If one uses the comma as an example: it divides clauses, separates noun phrases and signals a break before or after a conjunction. Punctuation is particularly useful when dealing with short texts as it is highly probable that the number of punctuation devices will be more than any single word, and they are likely to occur in sufficient quantities to be statistically counted.

In simple punctuation approaches, the punctuation marks themselves, such as commas, colons, exclamation points, etc., are counted as being sentential, clausal, phrasal, appositive or word internal. In the syntactically classified punctuation approach, the marks are counted by the kind of boundary or edge which the

punctuation is marking. However, Grieve (2005) points out that there have been surprisingly few attribution studies based primarily on punctuation, probably due to sentence length having been rejected as an indicator of authorship. However, in modern texts, particularly those in DMC, with its creative uses of punctuation (Crystal 2011), there is “a great deal of optionality in how an author chooses to use these grammatical characters.

In the legal dispute between Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg and Paul Ceglia over Ceglia’s claim to part ownership of Facebook in July 2011, Professor Gerald McMEnamin was asked to analyse known Zuckerberg e-mails against questioned e-mails purportedly from Zuckerberg to Ceglia. McMEnamin’s report showed that he had analysed 11 style markers, and of those 11, three were spelling and two were punctuation, namely apostrophes and suspension points (ellipsis). In the questioned Zuckerberg texts, there appears to be a number of errors regarding apostrophes: *doesnt*, *parents* (meaning *parents’*), *sites* (*site’s* = contraction for *site is*) and *sites* (*site’s* = possession), whereas in the known Zuckerberg texts all contractions and possessives are used correctly. The second punctuation style marker that was analysed was suspension points. In the questioned text, there is one example of suspension points and the points are spaced (. . . *I’ve been tweaking the search engine today*), whereas in the known Zuckerberg texts there are three examples of suspension points and they are not spaced (1) (*online as quickly as I can ...*), (2) (*So let me know ...*), (3) (*boxes ... there*) (McMenamin 2011).

### **Most frequently occurring words**

Juola (2006) states that: “The simplest way to confirm or refute authorship is simply to look for something that completely settles the authorship question” such as a word which only occurs once and is quite distinctive. Shuy’s example of *devil strip* in the ransom note is an excellent example of *hapax legomena*, or a word which occurs only once in a text. In the note, the kidnapper refers to a *devil strip*, which is the grass strip between the pavement and the road. Unfortunately for the kidnapper, this word appears to be only used in Akron, Ohio, and it is relatively unheard of, even in nearby Cleveland. Since the police had only one suspect from Akron on their shortlist, he was arrested and charged (Leonard 2005). The above example highlights how an individual word can offer strong clues as to the author’s group identity. For example, if an author were to write about sitting on a *chesterfield*, then it would be assumed that the author was not only Canadian but an older Canadian (Juola 2008). However, there is a very serious concern regarding this sort of analysis, and that is that it is easy to fake. When lexical preference and commonly occurring words are used in authorship attribution, it is on the assumption that the frequencies of words in the text are a direct function of the author’s lexicon (Grieve 2005). However, it should be noted that there has been very little research conducted into lexical preference in authorship attribution.

The basic assumption is that the writer has available a certain stock of words, some of which he/she may favour more than others. If we sample a text produced by that person, we might expect the extent of his/her vocabulary to be reflected in the

sample frequency profile. If we find a single measure which is a function of all the vocabulary frequencies and which adequately characterises the sample frequency distribution we may then use that measure for comparative purposes.

However, the lexical choice of a text is influenced more by the subject matter than the author. Even though every lexical item will be a product of the author's lexicon, different subjects will require different vocabulary, and not all sections of an author's lexicon will be equally rich. For example, if an author is very knowledgeable about a subject, it stands to reason that he or she will employ a larger, and more varied lexicon than on a subject on where the author's knowledge of the subject matter is limited.

### **Cautions Regarding Style Markers**

Olsson (2008) describes two opposing views relating to style markers. On the one hand, style markers are consciously chosen by an individual and can be observed and measured. On the other hand, style markers are unconscious habits not controlled by an individual, but once discovered by a linguist, they can be observed and measured.

The main assumption underlying stylometric studies is that authors have an unconscious as well as a conscious aspect to their style. Every author's style is thought to have certain features that are independent of the author's will, and since these styles cannot be consciously manipulated by the author, they are considered to provide the most reliable data for a stylometric study. (Holmes 1997)

This dichotomy raises a number of issues: If style markers are conscious habits then it stands to reason that an individual can alter his or her use of style markers and they can even be imitated by a third party. If, on the other hand, style markers are, in fact, unconscious habits then it needs to be determined whether the style markers differ from individual to individual or used identically by all writers and speakers (Olsson, 2008). From a practical forensic position regarding the use of style markers, Olsson (2008) issues the following warning: There are several important points to be noted about style markers. First, to measure unconscious style markers meaningfully, you need a great deal of text – such as a full length novel, or hundreds of short texts. On the other hand, the fact that we can observe certain style markers tells us that they are open to imitation – unless we are able to demonstrate that there is some kind of systematic or structural link between them. (Olsson 2008)

Olsson's assertion that one needs extraordinarily long texts appears to be at odds with other researchers in the field of forensic linguistics. Chaski (2011), in discussing the case of *Ceglia v Zuckerberg* cited by McMenamin (2011) on the *Language Log* Internet forum, states: "I have also tested for minimal data requirements, and have found that 2000 words and/or 100 sentences per author affords the most robust results". However, all researchers would agree that more text is definitely preferable to less text.

### **Language Variation and Criminal Profiling**

Since various types of profiling exist without recognising the importance and role of language, and for easy comprehension, the researcher would like to use 'linguistic profiling' as a replacement for the above heading. When people or businesses receive hate mail or threat messages, the FBI and non-government forensic psychologists provide their behavioural profiling services. Until recent years, however, behavioural profiling had not taken full advantage of the analysis and assistance that linguistic profiling can provide.

To do linguistic profiling effectively, it helps greatly if the linguist's training and competence includes a strong component of language variation and change. In fact, the linguistic profiler would do well to have specialized in sociolinguistics, because it is the variability of language that offers many clues to the possible identity of an anonymous writer or speaker. Other language clues also may be evident, relating to such things as the person's political beliefs, social standing, economic status, ethnicity, and attitudes. The sole focus of linguistic profiling is to point out sociolinguistic features about suspects that their own language suggests. A practical example of linguistic profiling is given using the Unbomber Case.

### **The Unabomber Case**

Between 1978 and 1995, sixteen mailed packages containing homemade bombs killed three people and seriously injured 23 more. Up to 1986 the bombs sent in intricately whittled wooden boxes had been mailed or planted in various locations in the country. Two were sent to professors in Illinois, two to professors in California, one to Yale, one to a professor in Tennessee, one to a professor at MIT, two to airline executives, and one to a California computer store. During the following seven years, no more such bombs were sent. But the bombings resumed between 1993 and 1995 with bombs mailed to a California geneticist, a New Jersey advertising executive, and a California lumber lobbyist. Most of the bomb packages contained short notes or letters, parts or all of which survived the explosion in one shape or another.

In the fall of 1994, FBI Special Agent Sharon Smith took Professor Roger Shuy's graduate seminar in Linguistics and Law while she was working on her PhD in psychology at Georgetown University. At that point he had been consulting with security officers of various corporations and occasionally with the FBI about various threat messages, and it occurred to Agent Smith that her FBI colleagues on the Unabomber Task Force might benefit from what he had called "linguistic profiling."

At that time, the FBI already had an ongoing program using psychologically based criminal profiling, comparing the behavioural characteristics of current crime settings and types with past crimes of a similar nature, trying to determine behavioural characteristics that might help them discover or narrow down lists of suspects.

The major difference between a psychological criminal profile and a linguistic profile is that the former makes predictions based on comparisons of the apparent behavioural characteristics of the unknown perpetrator of the current crime with the known behavioural characteristics of past similar crimes. In contrast, the

findings of linguistic profiling are based entirely on currently existing and known spoken or written language evidence. Rather than relying on inferences about the suspect by comparing the bombings with past similar crimes. The Unabomber case provided some written texts that provided considerable physical language evidence--the messages he sent with the bombs, the letters he wrote to magazines and newspapers, and ultimately his long manifesto.

A linguistic profile does not claim to identify specific authors. Instead, it describes how the suspect's language matches social, economic, education level, and other information that has been identified in previous sociolinguistic research. Its purpose is to help law enforcement narrow down its list of existing suspects or to suggest directions for locating new ones. In May 1995, before the Unabomber had sent his manifesto to the newspapers, Special Agent Smith approached Professor Robert Shuy about the possibility of providing the FBI with a linguistic profile of the bomb messages and letters written by the then unknown Unabomber.

The Unabomber aside the letter had sent with his bombs had also written to several magazines and newspapers as he tried to convince them to publish his as yet unfinished manifesto. Both the Washington Post and the New York Times received a 56 page, typewritten manuscript in the mail, demanding that unless they published it, the author would "start building our next bomb," which was very clear evidence of intentionality and predisposition. The writer called for a worldwide revolution against the effects of modern society's "industrial technological system." Immediately, the newspapers turned it over to the FBI.

Earlier, this anonymous author had also written similar letters to Penthouse magazine and Scientific American, saying that he intended to plant only one more bomb if they would publish his paper in serial form or as a book. At around the same time, the San Francisco Chronicle received an anonymous letter in which the author threatened to blow up an airliner at the Los Angeles airport.

These notes, letters and manifesto constituted the language evidence available for producing linguistic profile of the suspect.

Shortly after the FBI Task Force received the manifesto, they also sent it to a large number of college professors who specialized in the history of science, hoping that the language used in the Manifesto would jog their minds to recall a particular student who might have written it. Because searching for a former student who may have written term papers about these ideas was probably not the most efficient way to identify the criminal, the professors' comments were not considered very helpful. On the other hand the lengthier language evidence that the FBI now possessed made it possible to examine the Manifesto for possible language clues to the writer--a linguistic profile. Many sociolinguistic clues for identifying characteristics of the writer were evident in these writings. For example, the author wrote about going out in the "sierra" (not used as a proper noun) after a hard day's work, little realizing that such an innocuous expression could help the FBI identify northern California as one location in his past life. On the other hand, the fact that his writings did not include other common western terms, such as "ranch," "fork" (for a branch of a stream), "range," or "mesa," led to the suspicion that his western use of "sierra" did not mark

him as a native Westerner. His use of the Northern dialect variant, "rearing children," as opposed to the Midland dialect's "raising children," offered one of the clues that he had possibly grown up in the Northern dialect area ranging from New England to the Upper Midwest.

Another clue to the Unabomber's background location was found in some of his spellings of common words that matched those being used by the Chicago Tribune during the 1940s and 1950s. During this period the Tribune's editor was spearheading a movement toward what he considered more standardized spellings of English, such as changes in the spelling of words with doubled consonants, such as "wilfully," to a single consonant, "wilfully," and the change of "clue" to "clew." Anyone who lived in the Chicago area in the 1950's would be aware of this fact.

These unconventional spellings also suggested a clue to the writer's age. If the Unabomber had grown up during the period of the Tribune's spelling reforms, he would have to have been around fifty years old at the time his mail bombs were sent, which was verified after Ted Kaczynski was captured. Other clues about his age were that Kaczynski used terms that date a writer as having grown up in the 1960s, such as his use of the expression, "Holy Robots," borrowed from Batman's assistant, Robin, in the popular 1960s Batman television program. Other 1960s fad terms found in the Unabomber's writings included "playing footsy," and "working stiff."

The Unabomber's gender references indicated that he was either ignorant of or isolated from the inclusive gender references that were beginning to be expected during the time of his writing. He used "he" and "him" where other writers were avoiding the masculine pronoun in references to both sexes. His sociological terms also gave clues to his age, such as his frequent use of "other directed" and his many references to individual "drives," which suggested his acquaintance with the sociology of the sixties, particularly that of David Riesman.

The Unabomber's lexicon also gave clues to his religious background, as he commonly used expressions such as, "unclean thoughts," "time of troubles," "the human soul," "cradle to grave," "impersonal demon," "sin" and "God's will." He also told a parable of a weak neighbour and a strong neighbour, using language that is very similar to Biblical style: "If he lets the strong man survive and only forces him to give the land back, he is a fool, because when the strong man gets it he will take again all the land for himself." His possibly Catholic background came through in his lament that modern society postpones having children, consistent with that church's ban on birth control. .

By 1993, the Unabomber had begun to write letters to magazines and newspapers under the pseudonym of Freedom Club (or FC), offering them first rights to publish his still uncompleted manifesto (which he referred to as a book or a serialized essay). These letters contained language that pointed to a much more educated bomber than the FBI originally thought. Now the revised FBI profile said he was a loner who was highly intelligent, technically competent, and a voracious reader in the areas of science, history, psychology, and the social sciences.

In 1995, at about the time the FBI had received Shuy's linguistic profile, the older versions of the FBI behavioural profile had changed a bit. More in keeping with

my linguistic profile, the FBI now suggested his age as between 40 and 50, but it held fast to his education being that of a high school graduate with some college and trade school training. The letters the Unabomber sent to magazines suggested that he was a much more highly educated person (a fact which became more apparent after The New York Times and Washington Post later published his Manifesto). In those letters he used a somewhat learned vocabulary, including words such as "surrogate," "over-socialization," and "tautology", along with complex grammar (including the subjunctive), and wrote a rather lucid style most of the time.

The Unabomber's writing, therefore, provided some reasonably useful clues about his education, age, occupation, religion, and geographical background, along with a broad sense of his personal life.

### **Summary and Conclusion**

Linguistic profiles make no claim to exact identification of suspects. They simply can't do this, and Shuy's linguistic profile of the Unabomber was no exception. It had absolutely nothing to do with Ted Kaczynski's ultimate capture. The credit for this goes to his brother David and David's wife, who noticed that the topics and ideas in the manifesto were similar to those in the letters that Ted had written to them, after which David heroically identified his brother and pointed out exactly where he was currently living. This however, does not negate the fact that the linguistic profile aided in narrowing down the search to a specific area and guessing the age group and educational background of the said bomber and this helped his brother who later identified him to the police to see that Ted fit the profile released by the police to the public.

From all we have seen above, style is unique to every individual. It is something that is done unconsciously and reflected in one's writing. There are certain things to look out for when employing stylistics for authorship attribution which we call 'style markers'. These style markers include punctuation and spelling and reoccurring words. All these can aid in determining the authorship of a text.

However when employing stylistics to analyse a text, the forensic linguist should bear in mind that one's style can evolve over time and certain situations surrounding the authors life can change the way he writes at the point in time. That is why it is advisable to have a huge amount of data available in order to achieve a desirable result.

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## **Part Nigerians, Part Biafrans: Double Consciousness and the Tragedy of Biafra in Chinua Achebe's *There was a Country***

Charity O. Nwuga

### **Introduction**

Nigeria war literature has more or less become a genre of its own judging by the volume of literatures that have been written on the subject so far. Wars and conflicts have become a reoccurring decimal in Nigeria's historic life. Chinua Achebe's *There was a Country* is one of the literatures that give a historical account of the instability of Nigeria prior to the war and how the accumulation of corruption, ethnic bigotry, religious intolerance, inequitable distribution of resources, et cetera, resulted in a full blown war between compatriots. *There was a country* is not the first and will most likely not be the last literature to be written about the Nigeria-Biafra war crisis, and about other conflict situations. Although many works have been written on this topical issue, Achebe's work is unique amongst the corpus of war literatures because it gives us a more detailed insider approach to the crisis. He writes about the war based on his personal experiences, observations and the response gathered from those closely affected by the war. The downside to his narration of the war story however is that he gives an Igbo centric view of the war proceedings, and this may raise questions in some quarters about the objectivity of his account.

Many examples abound of fictional and non-fictional works that have been written on the subject of the Nigeria-Biafra war and other conflicts in post-independence Nigeria. *Half of a Yellow Sun* by Chimamanda Adichie, records with great insight the trauma, destabilization, death and destruction that visits the people of Eastern Nigeria as a result of the secession. Adichie effectively sums up the astounding sense of despair and disillusionment of the people of Biafra with the pithy saying that "the world was silent when we died". With these words, she indicts all national and international bodies that assumed an apathetic stance to the mass killings of the Igbos. Uzodinma Iweala's *Beasts of no Nation*, is another remarkable fictional account of the Biafra war in Nigeria. In the novel, Iweala paints a gory picture of the loss of innocence and humanity that characterizes the life of Agu, a young boy who is forcefully conscripted into war. He metamorphoses into a child soldier, and becomes an agent of terror, suffering and death to his victims. Buchi Emecheta's *Destination Biafra* explores the unique and fearless role women played in the Biafra war. Projecting the character of Debbie Ogedemgbe, Emecheta portrays the Biafra war from a woman's standpoint. In spite of the patriarchal environment and the travails she suffers during the course of the war, Debbie remains resilient, assertive and strong. Uwem Akpan's *Say you're one of them*, is a collection of short stories that showcases the conflicts that continually mars Africa's existence. In the "Luxurious Hearses", Akpan uses the fictional country of Khamfi as a paradigm to embody the ethnic, religious and cultural crisis that has from time immemorial been the albatross of Nigeria. In the story, the fictional country of Khamfi is caught up in a religious

conflict between the Christians and the Muslims. The Muslims embark on a mindless rampage of killings, decapitations and mutilations of the Christians in their locality with the claim that they are infidels; and the surviving Christians are left with no alternative than to flee for their lives. In the scramble to vacate the religiously tense town of Khamfi, the surviving Christians board the available luxurious buses which are used at the same time to convey the corpses of their relatives. This short story goes a long way to illustrate the extent of ethnic intolerance and religious hatred that exists in Nigeria and the divisive potential it portends for the future.

Emily Milstein asserts that: "The secession of Biafra in 1967 and the subsequent civil war that exploded in Nigeria are emblematic of the country's struggle to grapple with the question of what it means to be Nigerian" (181). This point exemplifies to a grave extent the turbulent state Nigeria was in shortly after independence and the myriad of issues that foregrounded the outbreak of the war. In *There was a Country*, Chinua Achebe provides us with an insider information about the particular circumstances surrounding the war and his perception of the psychological state of the Easterners during the war. In the novel, Achebe indicts the Nigerian government for its failure of leadership which provided a fertile ground for the secession of the Igbos from Nigeria. He also indicts the malevolent collaboration of some Western countries in aiding the Nigerian government to eliminate the Easterners. Through the exercise of food blockade, calculated pogroms, mass slaughters and the banning of relief materials, the Federal Government of Col. Yakubu Gowon effectively coerced the people of Eastern Nigeria to submission and reunion with Nigeria and this marked the end of the war.

### **Double Consciousness and the Igbo Dilemma**

Double consciousness is a term that was coined by American sociologist, historian and civil rights activist, W.E.B. Du Bois. The nomenclature, double consciousness was used as a means of characterizing the struggles of black Americans in the predominantly racist white American society. Du Bois submits in his seminal essay, *The Soul of Black Folks*, that the black man's burden is living in an American society where he is continually devalued, despised and viewed as a nuisance because of his skin colour. The black man thus strives to reconstruct his consciousness into a unified one, and live peaceably with his double reality. Du Bois defines double consciousness as:

a peculiar sensation...this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness,-an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (3)

Du Bois employs the concept of double consciousness to interrogate the problematic of unequal relationships existing between groups in the society and the attempt of the black subordinated races to transcend discriminatory lines.

Frances Beale in 1969 explored the concept of double consciousness in her work, titled *Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female*. In her essay, she closely examines the misconceptions and stereotypes that have coloured the existence of black women in America. To her, the black woman faces the double dilemma of being black and being a woman. She asserts that the black woman's burden is dichotomous because she daily strives to live in a patriarchal society that devalues her colour and abuses her womanhood.

In *There was a Country*, Achebe critically scrutinizes the unequal power relationship that exists between the Northern and the Eastern parts of Nigeria which led to a feeling of marginality by the Igbos and the subsequent coup that was led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu, a man of the Igbo extraction. With the pogroms and massacres that followed the Nzeogwu led coup, where many of the Easterners, majorly Igbos living in the North were killed, the Easterners relied on the federal government to bring to justice those involved in the massacre of the Igbos and also resolve the dire issues threatening to undo the nation. Unfortunately, this was not to be. After several months of inaction by the federal government, the Igbos began to feel that although they were Nigerians by birth, they did not truly belong to a country that watched with apathy as their people were killed. Hence, the decision was reached by Ojukwu and other prominent Igbos that the only solution lies in secession. In the novel, Achebe equally interrogates all the political and leadership blunders that resulted in the war. Achebe states that about six years after independence, "Nigeria was a cesspool of corruption and misrule" (*Country* 51), and a fertile ground for the breeding of ethnic rivalry, ethnic bigotry and resentment. The experience of marginalization, insecurity, the premeditated pogroms and indifferent attitude of the government made the Igbos feel like an unwanted appendage in the country. It is the accumulation of these sentiments that resulted in the march for freedom, the decision to secede and the Nigeria- Biafra civil war of 1967-1970.

### **The Biafra Tragedy through the Lens of Chinua Achebe**

Achebe states that the historical tragedy of Africa occurred at the Berlin conference of 1885, where there was the scramble for Africa and "Great Britain was handed the area of West Africa that would later become Nigeria, like a piece of chocolate cake at a birthday party" (*Country* 1). The Berlin Conference was held to regulate European colonization and trade during the imperialist period and was carried out without due consultation or representation from Africa. Thereafter, Nigeria's fate was irrevocably sealed with the amalgamation of 1914, where the Southern protectorate was merged with the Northern protectorate without due consideration of their geographical, cultural and religious differences. As a result of these historical blunders, Nigeria was at independence a collection of fragile states, bound together with little or no affiliations other than the shared name "Nigeria". Similarly, Achebe remarks that another cogent issue that compromised the nation's democracy was the stage managing of Nigeria's first elections. The elections were organized such that "Northern Nigeria will win power, dominate the country, and serve British interests after independence" (*Country* 50).

The root of the double consciousness experienced by the Igbos can be traced majorly to the events that occurred in Eastern Nigeria after the January 15, 1966 coup led by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu. Achebe states that before the coup, the country was already in deep waters and in a state of instability. This situation could partly be traced to the census and election crisis of 1963 and 64 respectively. The Nzeogwu led coup is a watershed in the history of Nigeria in general and the Igbos in particular. In fact, "that night of January 15, 1966, is something Nigeria has never really recovered from" (Country 65). In that fatal coup, the Igbo coup plotters, amongst other things, assassinated some major Northern personalities, dominant amongst who was the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello. Achebe remarks that by killing Sir Ahmadu Bello, "Nzeogwu and the other coup plotters put themselves on a collision course with the religious, ethnic, and political ramifications of such an action" (Country 79). When Nzeogwu was questioned about his motive for organizing the coup, he attacked the political class for institutionalizing bribery and corruption in Nigeria (Country 79). After the coup, there were reprisal attacks by the Northerners, who embarked on the mass killings of the Igbos and other Easterners who were in the North and parts of the West at that time. Achebe remarks that: "Easterners were attacked both randomly and in an organized fashion...there seemed to be a lust for revenge...soldiers were being used by elements in power to commit a number of heinous crimes against Igbo, Nigerian citizens. (Country 66-67). Due to the spate of killings that continued unhindered by the government and other security operatives, the Easterners were forced to vacate their homes and return to the East.

The Nzeogwu led coup was soon crushed by Major – General Aguiyi Ironsi, who was the highest ranking Igbo officer in the Nigerian army at that time. Meanwhile, the Northerners continued to attack the Igbos. Even with these reprisal attacks, which were targeted at the Igbos at that time, there still existed a state of growing anger and dissatisfaction among the Northern officers, who expected the Aguiyi led government to promptly execute the kingpins of the Nzeogwu coup. Instead of doing this, the Nzeogwu coup plotters were tried and made to serve severe prison sentences, and eventually they were all transferred to the Eastern region which was under the jurisdiction of Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu.

Nigeria continued to be in a state of tension and unrest following the attacks which continued unhindered by the government. "Marauding Northern youths armed with machetes, knives and other instruments of death attacked unsuspecting civilians, mostly Igbos" (Country 81). Rather than take a decisive action to quell the state of unrest in the country, Gowon decided to go on an ill-conceived and fatal nation-wide tour, through which he aimed at appeasing the different contentious factions in the country. Aguiyi Ironsi made a stop at Ibadan, where he was hosted by the military governor of Western Region, Lieutenant Colonel Adekunle Fajuyi. Achebe states that moments later, "Ironsi was arrested by Nigerian army captain Theophilus Y. Danjuma, a Northerner, who wanted to know if Ironsi was linked to the death of the Sardauna of Sokoto...in a matter of hours, the bullet-ridden bodies of Ironsi and Fajuyi were discovered in the bush" (Country 81-2).

After Aguiyi Ironsi's untimely demise, the incumbent federal government of Nigeria was Lieutenant Colonel Yakubu Gowon. In order to address the security issue and other crucial matters affecting the nation at that time, Gowon decided to hold a summit, known as the Aburi Accord which was held in January, 1967. The country expressed "great optimism that this would be the instrument to bring lasting peace to Nigeria" (*Country*85). The issues that were discussed are the predicament of persons who were displaced from the North, the back payment of salaries of Igbos who fled the north as a result of the pogroms, the fate of the soldiers who were involved in the January 1966 killing, setting up the constitutional framework for Nigeria, et cetera. About two months after the summit, when there was no indication that the government was prepared to execute the resolutions reached at the summit, tensions again began to rise and the threats of secession began to spread across the country. Although the government of the Eastern region warned Gowon that failure to implement the resolutions reached at Aburi could lead to secession, "members of the federal civil service galvanized themselves in energetic opposition to the agreements of the Aburi Accord" (*Country* 86).

The failure of the federal government to urgently implement the resolutions reached at the Aburi Accord placed an indelible question mark on the importance accorded the plight of the Easterners and the urgent issue of safeguarding their lives and property. The reluctance of the government to decisively handle the critical crisis bedeviling the nation and the people of Eastern Nigeria was an indication to the Igbos that they had no place in Nigeria. This realization stirred up all sorts of negative emotions in the hearts of the Easterners as recorded by Chinua Achebe. "There was a strong sense that Nigeria was no longer habitable for the Igbos and many other peoples from Eastern Nigeria" (*Country*87). It was at this precise moment that the feeling of double consciousness was stirred up in the Igbos. They gradually began to develop the double consciousness of being a part of, and yet apart from Nigeria. This feeling was fuelled not only by the government's refusal to safeguard the lives and properties of the Easterners, but because of the general feeling of contempt and hatred that other ethnic groups expressed towards the predicament of the Igbos during the pogroms. Achebe points out that during the heat of the attacks when the Igbos packed their things to return to the East, "the people (they) had lived with for years, some for decades, jeered and said let them (Igbos) go, food will be cheaper in Lagos" (*Country*68); while the intellectuals said "oh they had it coming to them" (*Country* 68). It was a painful discovery to realize that "a section of the large, diverse Nigerian family was not welcome in this new country" (*Country* 69).

Achebe points out that in Nigeria; there has always existed a history of ethnic tension and resentment particularly towards the Igbos. And this can be attributed to the fact that "the Igbos advanced fastest in the shortest period of time of all Nigeria ethnic groups" (*Country* 74). The Igbos absorbed Westernization and the education which came with it so that in the shortest possible time, "the educational and economic progress of the Igbos led to their becoming the major source of administrators, managers, technicians, and civil servants for the country" (*Country*75). This high level of educational, economic and political success of the

Igbos and the large size of the Igbo population made them the target of ethnic resentment and bias. The Igbos came to be viewed as “an assertive group that unfairly dominated almost every sector of the Nigerian society” (*Country 77*). Therefore when they were subtly being wiped out by the Northerners, the popular sentiment then was that the Igbos were receiving their just deserts.

From the time of the failed Aburi Accord, matters generally went downhill in Nigeria. Colonel Odumegwu Ojukwu reached a mutual agreement with his advisory committee of Chiefs and Elders in Enugu that secession was the only cogent option left for the Easterners in view of the unfortunate happenings in the country. As a result, “on May 30, 1967, Ojukwu, declared the independence of the Republic of Biafra from Nigeria for several reasons; many of which border on the spate of massacres that were directed at the mainly Igbo Easterners, the pogrom that claimed over thirty thousand lives, the federal government’s continual refusal to ensure the safety of the Easterners, and the direct involvement of the government in the murders of its own citizens. The Biafra argument at the time was that “a government that failed to safe guard the lives of its citizens has no claim to their allegiance and must be ready to accept that the victims deserve the right to seek their safety in other ways-including secession” (*Country 95*). With this announcement of secession, the Easterners, the majority being Igbos, set themselves on a course of destruction, death and near annihilation.

It is truly ironical that the Nigerian government that was slow and reluctant in resolving the mayhem and incongruities in the nation was swift to swing into action when faced with the break-up of the Eastern region. The Nigerian government’s argument was that “if Biafra was allowed to secede then a number of other ethnic nationalities would follow suit” (*Country 96*). In order to prevent the stark reality of Nigeria’s imminent dissolution and division, and indeed, the destabilization of the entire continent, the government resorted to the use of brutal force to coerce and reunite the secessionist Biafra to Nigeria. In order to fully execute this plan, the government devised several anti-humanitarian tactics that were largely inhuman and callous. At Asaba there was a great massacre of people. The Biafra Army was ill equipped with guns, cannons and other instruments of war, but they attempted to defend themselves as much as possible, but still the Asaba invasion was a massacre. Achebe remarks that “the Asaba massacre ... was only one of the many such post pogrom atrocities committed by Nigerian soldiers during the war” (*Country 134*). The killings and massacres were so brutal and complete that His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, referred to the situation as “genocide” (*Country 134*). The spate of massacres continued in different parts of the Mid-West and Eastern regions. At Calabar, the blood bath continued and the flushing out of the Biafrans was likened to the “Nazi policy of eradicating the Jews throughout Europe” (*Country 137*).

The war situation in Nigeria drew many international reactions. The Organization for African Unity tried to broker peace between Biafra and Nigeria but the decision reached by OAU was for “a United Nigeria” (*Country 137*) which was not acceptable to the Biafrans. On her part, Great Britain was dogged in her rejection of the secessionist country, “she would not stand for the breakup of one of her prized

colonies, especially one she had worked hard to develop” (*Country*99). The Soviet Union saw the war as an opportunity to strengthen its trade relation with West Africa, consequently, “both sent arms to boost the federal military government, under General Yakubu Gowon” (*Country*100). The United Nations was silent in the ferocious war that claimed the lives of so many. Achebe states that “the vacuum in moral and humanitarian leadership from the United Nations meant that the Nigerian federal government could operate with reckless abandon” (*Country* 212). Although France did not make a public pronouncement of its recognition of Biafra as such, but still, she supported the motive behind Biafra’s secession, and it was agreed that the people of Biafra had the right to self-determination, and hence the conflict should be resolved on those grounds. Some African countries also rallied round in their support of Biafra. Tanzania was the first African country to support Biafra. President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania viewed Biafra’s secession attempt as an action that typified “the Jews seeking a homeland following the Holocaust in Nazi Germany and elsewhere in Europe” (*Country*97). Following this acceptance by Tanzania, other African countries like Gabon, Zambia and Ivory Coast also officially recognized Biafra.

As the Biafra war heightened, the Biafra army fortified themselves by producing locally made bombs, known as Ogbunigwe, with which they also attacked the Nigerian troops that were after them. The Biafra Research and production unit, RAP, developed rockets, telecommunication gadgets and even “devised an ingenious indigenous strategy to refine petroleum” (*Country*156). As more towns were conquered and reclaimed by the Nigerian troops, the Igbos and other Easterners were forced to vacate their current homes and relocate to other towns. In this manner, Onitsha was conquered and when Enugu fell, and Achebe reports that he “fled to Umuahia with his family” (*Country*188). As the war raged on, famine increased, and with the economic blockage instituted by the Gowon government, more people died. “Gowon had succeeded in cutting Biafra from the sea, robbing its inhabitants of shipping ports to receive military and humanitarian supplies” (*Country* 210). Biafra soldiers and civilians died in great numbers as a result of starvation. There was a high incidence of kwashiorkor, marasmus and other afflictions induced by poor nutrition. Gowon’s policy at the time was known as “starve them into submission” (*Country* 210).

At the end of the war, the death toll of the Biafrans was estimated at over three million, comprising of mostly children who died due to starvation occasioned by Nigeria’s blockade policy; while over one hundred thousand military service men women died from the Nigerian side. “The cost in human lives made it one of the bloodiest civil wars in human history” (*Country* 227). Even after the war the Igbos suffered economic disadvantage because the government cancelled any bank accounts that had been operated by the Biafrans during the war and “a flat sum of twenty pounds was approved for each Igbo depositor of the Nigerian currency regardless of the amount of deposit” (*Country* 234). It was a desperate situation with many children in need of health care. Achebe dismally remarks that: “we had spent nearly three years fighting, fighting for a cause, fighting to the finish... for freedom. But all that

had collapsed, and Biafra with it. A very bitter experience had led to it in the first place” (*Country* 226).

### **The Nigeria- Biafra War: Implications for the Future**

Many of the challenges that Nigeria has been faced with since inception have been attributed to the failure of the government of the day to provide a purposeful and all-embracing leadership. This point is elaborately buttressed in many of Achebe’s fictional and non-fictional works. An illustration of this is seen when Achebe categorically asserts that: “The trouble with Nigeria, is simply and squarely a failure of leadership.” (*Trouble* 1). A close reading closely of the issues that led to the Biafra war reveals some very cogent points about the war. The chaos in the country began with the coup that was staged by Major Chukwuma Nzeogwu, where the Saudauna of Sokoto was killed. The Northerners who were ogling for revenge, retaliated with a revenge coup, whereby they killed larger numbers of Igbo officers; and afterwards they rained terror on Igbo citizens living in the North, killing thousands. The attacks were so brutal and horrendous that it was described as a pogrom. The lack of security of lives and property precipitated the Igbos to abandon their jobs and homes and flee to the East. The Aburi Accord was held with the motive of resolving the topical issues bedeviling the nation at that time. Nigerians, particularly the Igbos were optimistic at the time that the resolutions reached at Aburi will be geared towards formulating measures that will lead to the security of the lives and properties of the Igbos and the prosecution of the malefactors involved in the brutal massacres. But unfortunately, this was not so. The failure of the government to deal decisively with the urgent matters that required firm and urgent attention is what degenerated to the Nigeria-Biafra war. The great national disaster that claimed close to four million people on both the Biafra and Nigerian side is indeed a tragedy that could have been avoided. Although the Nigeria – Biafra war ended in 1970, the psychological scars still remain. Chinua Achebe’s 2012 publication of *There was a Country* is adequate proof of the fact that several decades after the war, the scars of the war still bleed. The decision of the Igbos to secede from Nigeria is occasioned by an intense feeling of double consciousness and the identity crisis of belonging to Nigeria and yet not receiving the privileges of being Nigerians. It is for this reason that they sought to migrate to a country which they can call their own, that is - Biafra.

Although the Biafra war has ended, yet its ghosts still lingers. In the political, social, economic, and religious strata of the country, there is the need for a purposeful and audacious leadership. Nigeria is in much need of a government that unbiased and is sensitive to the needs and aspirations of all sections of the country. The terrorist activities of the Fulani herdsmen, Boko Haram, Niger Delta Avengers, et. Cetera, are rancorous issues that threaten the already fragile nation, Nigeria. In order to avoid the mistakes of the past, the government of the day must rise to the responsibility of prompt and correct leadership. In his critical essay entitled *Straight from the Heart*, Achebe proceeded to outline some qualities which the leaders of the day are expected to possess: “He must put the people and the country before his own interests. He

should be incorruptible with a certain quality of integrity and drive...he should be intelligent and know how the world operates” (134).

### **Conclusion**

Chinua Achebe points out that “Nigeria has been doomed to witness endless cycles of inter-ethnic, inter-religious violence because the Nigerian government has failed woefully to enforce laws protecting its citizens from wanton violence, particularly attacks against nonindigenes living in disparate parts of the country” (*Country* 251). The importance of learning from past mistakes can therefore not be over emphasized. This paper finds that the Nigeria – Biafra war happened because the government failed to respond promptly to the security needs of the people of Eastern Nigeria that comprised mostly of Igbos. The impervious attitude of the Nigerian government resulted in a feeling of double consciousness and the sentiment that they (the Igbos) are not part of Nigeria. This crisis inevitably resulted in the secession from Nigeria, and the war that ensued.

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## **Advancing Effective Communication through Newspaper Feature Report and Television Documentary**

**Brenda Akpan and Charles Effiong**

### **Introduction**

An artistic piece of writing for the newspaper and presentation for the television audience are very vital to effective communication because they give value to the quality of what is narrated. Thus every good writer and presenter is guided by principles for the articulation of an idea. These principles can stimulate in them some form of skills in trying to do a good piece that would fascinate the audience. In writing feature stories for the newspaper, the storywriter is like the playwright of the theatre and is faced with various options to exploit in developing the idea that often comes from what the news event or other issues in the society carry. By the application of these options, the reporter would have improved some techniques in handling feature stories for the newspaper. The feature storywriter is disposed to the various skills employed by media reporters in the expression of thought to achieve effective communication. Effective communication can only be achieved when the message received by the audience through reading, viewing and hearing can be understood and have impact on the audience. In the television, the presenter is like the actor on stage or film whose body and verbal expressions combine to make communication effective. Skills are essential in such a way that the presenter must be able to captivate and sustain the audience throughout the duration of the programme in the station.

To write effectively means to be able to communicate well and impart on the audience or the readers. This can only be achieved when the writer abides by the rules of appealing to the readers through a creative piece of story, which either conforms to universal standard or introduces a different style. Media writing like any other demands specificity. That is, there must be a direct focus on the subject of the written work knowing that the story must interest the audience and demonstrate the understanding of the editorial packaging, otherwise considered as the editorial style. This is emphasized by Dimgba Igwe's assertion that "reporters working in any publication must over the time become closely familiar with the editorial need of such publication" (XVI). To this extent, storywriters in newspapers' titles such as editors, staff writers, correspondents, reporters do undergo constant training to update and build up techniques of producing stories for publication.

Documentary film or television documentary is persuasive in nature in such a way that it can stimulate audience's concerns and sustains same for the reason it was produced and presented. Like writers in newspapers, producers and presenters in the television also undergo training to update their knowledge of handling documentary from script writing to its presentation. Importantly, everyone maybe capable of enhancing their powers of written works through learning and practicing the basic principles of clearness, conciseness and coherence but becoming aware of the

difference in telling a story and writing it shows adeptness in the art of communication. For this reason, Emman-Owums Owuamalam says that a script writer should be able to possess a significant vision of the task in the production of thoughts, ideas and feelings (176), especially as it concerns the delivery of the needed message.

### **The Concept of Feature Story**

The mind is quickly set on those expansive stories found on the pages of magazines and newspapers, when talking about feature stories. Their extant and salient trait is that they are always in narrative form just like media plays e.g. films and dramas. Feature report is common with magazine, and that is why when the radio or the television runs a feature report of documentary such is referred to as a magazine programme. Stories written as features are based on social issues, personality profile, entertainment, festivals and or government programmes of developments. This type of writing is considered as one that does not break news, but only expands the depth of news stories. It adds further depth and perspective to news that were broken earlier. It is viewed thus:

It often concentrates on the background of an event, gives a human interest element to a story or commentary on a particular issue. Example in clued a disease sufferer's reaction to the latest possible cause for their condition, background narrative to a murder case or reaction to a big political story (blurfit.com).

To further explain it, feature stories are written in greater depth and often with more colour, bringing out the use of creative non-fiction to dramatic news events. They convey facts on varied subjects of human interest to stories appealing and generally persuasive. It is considered as different from news stories based on the fact that news stories give timeous update of activities written in inverted pyramid format. Inverted pyramid symbolizes a style of writing a story from the position or angle of most important to the least important in the descending order of importance (Igwe 46). Arguing further, Igwe considers feature stories developed in a pyramid form as completely different from a news story that is current, fair, accurate, concise, balanced and objective.

Of course, we are aware that news is different from features. While news is conventionally defined as a timely report of significant events and facts that are of considerable interest to many people in a given society, a feature story should have the elements of currency, fairness, accuracy, conciseness, balance and objectivity (61).

Features, he emphasizes to be dramatic just like a stage and film narrative, and a kind of writing that is filled with action and elaborately done to entertain the audience; stating that "a feature deals with colourful, elaborate humanized reportage of an event, personality, place or trend, usually spiced up with more details, action and drama" (62). In a contrary opinion, Bruce Itule and Douglas Anderson argue that there is no solid line between a news story and a feature story. Their argument is that

what news report does is what feature story does because all of them carry information to the audience.

The lines between news and feature stories are blurring. It used to be, a news story was a factoid-who, what, when and where. It was a report of an occurrence. A feature story was a piece that permitted the writer to interpret an occurrence or a trend or a personality. News as we call now, even the formerly Staid New York Times allows interpretative reporting of breaking news (131).

The need for writing of feature pieces is less urgent than news report although storywriters and journalists are dependent in capturing the interest of the readers, so they increasingly make features from news stories to make them more gripping and appealing to readers. This is promoted by the intent to introduce and bring out depth in breaking report or news. Feature is an umbrella term for soft news stories which are often not delivered as first hand news but usually as recaps of major news reported in previous news cycle (Itule and Anderson 132). This indicates that features are basically stories that can only be attractive based on the written ability of the writer to manipulate the technique of putting together the piece, otherwise as a sift sale, and already thrown story, it may be less attractive. This explains why Ogunsiji maintains that feature report is like a soft story and as soft stories, features deal mostly with social ceremonies concerning entertainment (30).

Feature writing has types and that affects the way it is handled. One of the types is human interest story. This type of writing deals with a subject that arouses emotional feeling from the reader just like the postulation of Aristotle's cathartic effect (pity and fear) and Constantine Stanislavski's total involvement and empathy. Apart from causing emotional involvement, human interest stories can entertain and leave enduring lessons of life. Ogunsiji gives a clear explanation on this.

Human-interest stories usually arouse human feelings and they are accounts of conflict, controversy, sports, crime, achievement, natural disasters, accidents, adventure, children and animals. Example the kidnapping of a son of a millionaire for ransom, the winning of ₦1 million lottery prize and celebrating a 100th birthday (50).

In the same vein, Itule and Anderson in discussing this type of feature narrative, say it is written to express entertainment value as well as engaging the emotion of the audience.

Human interest story is written to show the subject's oddity or it practical, emotional or entertainment value. Examples include what Atlantic does each year to prepare for the Miss America pageant, how to repair a washing machine and how people are surviving in the town with the nation's highest unemployment rate (134).

The above perspectives have given affirmation to the elements that make human interest stories what it is, and further demonstrates the sensationality in them as what draws the interest of the audience. Furthermore, these stories conjure relative concern or identification from the audience as they are typical issues on ordinary people (Dominick 300); and Andrew Boyd summarizes it as an extraordinary story

that has happened to an ordinary person (25). The celebrated case of Ese Oru in *The Sun Newspaper* and other titles of the print media is an example of this.

Another type of feature writing in close similarity with human interest story is trend story. Their relatedness to human interest is basically in the angle of surveying the role and feat of people and organization, and their impact on the society. It can simply be said that “a trend story examines people, things or organizations that are having an impact on society” (Itule and Anderson 135). The impact, here referred to, often comes from current fads for instance Nigerian Popular Music, Nigerian Home Video or the craze for fashion, especially among youths and women in the society.

Personality profile is another type of feature writing, and it is basically concerned with the description of a person. It gives an impression of a person in relation to the society. Its importance is that it helps in creating models for other people as people are likely to read about the profile of achievers. Examples of this kind of report are replete in *Thisday Life*, an insert publication of *Thisday Newspaper*. The mere fact that people enjoy reading about other people will make soft stories like this to remain popular among readers for a long time. Stanley Baran agrees that right from the days of penny press, newspapers have been dominated by soft news (110), and that led to its rapid growth. This remains verifiable in the sense that personality profile is one of the most popular features in today’s media capturing the minds of the audience through stories that concern extraordinary achievers across the world.

For a backgrounder, a feature report that analyses the effect of government policy in the society, the audience gain from this type an updated story about issues of government that affect the society. This may equally be referred to as an interpretative story or piece in which the reporter is free to interpret the news to suit sentimental or personal appeal just as Ogunsiji declares that “the reporter is allowed to inject his own biased opinion” (31). In many Nigerian newspapers and that of other countries of the world, we have been able to see instances of this type of feature report. For example, opinion on the corruption policy of the country, economic policy of government and other issues, which have been carried by both local and international press. It is based on this position that backgrounder, also referred to as analysis piece, adds meaning to current issues in news and states clearly the reason and importance of such a development. A clear instance of this can be seen in a feature story written to examine the policy on the effect of Treasury Single Account (TSA) on the economy that has contributed to the sack of some employees by their employers especially in the commercial banking industry.

Stories that engage extensive research and interviews to provide a detailed account well beyond a basic news story is regarded as an in-depth report. According to Itule and Anderson, an in-depth report “can be a lengthy news feature that examines one topic extensively, an investigative story that reveals wrongdoing by a person, agency, or institution; or a first-person article in which the writer relives a happy or painful experience” (136). This type of report may sometimes be termed as investigative story based on the nature of digging deep to uncover the truth and get accurate fact before publishing the story. It would only take either a news break or a

tip by news source for in-depth research to be carried out for the report. In a different view, in-depth reporting is a complete quality report that fully treats and gives good background of an event. It is always difficult to say the difference between an investigative story and in-depth story, because they take their lead from breaking news and engage full reporting but take lesser time than investigative report which has its lead before a news is broken (Ogunsiji 32). This is mostly seen in magazines such as what the likes of Late Dele Giwa used to do with his colleagues, Ray Ekpu, Dan Agbese, Yakubu Mohammed, Soji Akinrinade, Nosa Igiebor in *Newswatch Magazine*, and what Igiebor also led his team in *Tell Magazine* to do.

### **Television Documentary in Perspective**

Like feature report in the newspaper, television documentary is an in-depth account of an event that perhaps emanates from the news. In that way, the item in the news or event is creatively reviewed and treated with emphasis on the main issue and its importance to the society. In being creative, the presenter or producer has the liberty to entertain the viewers or audience in the delivery of the documentary programme. Put succinctly, documentary refers to “when a fact (a place, a man or something but not an idea) has been creatively, imaginatively or originally treated using actuality to bring the subject so treated into a close focus” (Church Akpan 22). In a comprehensive view, William Scott cited in Emmanuel Akpan defines documentary as “the presentation or representation of actual fact in a way that makes it credible and vivid to people at the time” (94). This is to say that documentary must be factual with evidence that can advocate for the truth to actually impart whatever information that is to be given to the people. Abraham Umobuarie affirms that documentary is a non-fictional film that reveals actual life situation of any given event with the aid of a narrator and chronicles real events, persons, settings, issues about real experiences, real people, and real situations or settings (ajol.info).

According to Thomas Rosteck, television documentary was directly inspired by national radio during the war time when America was looking for a strategy to win the war (book.google.com). This is to say that at that time America needed to design a mechanism that would aid them in the control of war through propaganda and information passage. The proof about this is that:

Military establishments within the warring countries called on professional filmmakers, and major directors previously associated primarily with fiction films switched to documentaries. Documentaries became far more popular. In those days before television news, families who had members in the military or who were directly endangered could witness wartime events at their local theatres, in newsreels and documentaries (Kristin Thompson and David Bordwell 313).

Also, the country developed its sense of war through a moving description furnished by the news commentator a combination of reporter and analyst and a figure unique radio. Throughout the war, radio programmes were on informational and inspirational news feature programmes that featured dramatizations of current events. The first radio documentary is said to have been established in 1946 by the

Columbian Broadcasting System (CBS) news division. Spurred by the inherent power of actuality report, the CBS moved away from dramatic recreations of the war time and focused on actual people speaking in their own voices and recorded in their own locales (book.google). This was the evolution of creative techniques in developing documentaries.

Documentary can be understood in two fold, that is as broad sense and narrow sense. Scot notes that the broad sense documentary is created and designed to inform the intellect, while the narrow sense is made to appeal to emotions (in Akpan 94b). It is implied that the former is an in-depth and interpretative report that may be critical of some government policies, while the later could simply be understood in the light of human interest report or social story. However, it is possible that both the intellectual and emotional appeal can be found in both documentary pieces.

Specifically, for the television, news documentary and theme documentary are important to be noted. According to book.google, television news documentary is an in-depth factual and timely report on issues of concern to the entire society. It notes that “those who work in news documentary are not so free to engage in flight of imagination, to use emotion arousing devices; instead they are governed by objectivity” (book.google). By inference, presenters or producers of news documentary must always strive for objective presentation and ensure that life is always in control of art. In this case, presentation needs to be precise and impartially descriptive of events with clear emphasis. A few examples of this type of documentary are what the international media and local media have shown on terrorism.

For the theme documentary, it is understandable that it is socially oriented with emotional attachment. This type of television documentary is said to place control on interpretative process such that the presentation can be artistic, dramatic and poetic. It is basically fashioned to emotionally appeal to the audience. To this end, it engages the compilation of pre-existing film footage chosen from libraries or film archives. The footage is used to also add some dramatic effects and to be able to aid narration of the piece,

Television theme documentary seemingly can be categorized into social, political and cultural documentaries. Social documentary is a powerful force that can engage audience’s interest in social activities in the society. Political documentary basically is for political purpose and used by politicians to appeal to the people on development issues and political campaigns alike. Cultural documentary has close relationship with social documentary because it describes the people, the place, what they have and what they do. In essence, it gets the audience to know and feel about the culture and the people of a particular place.

For Akpan, social documentary can simply be an umbrella for both political and cultural documentaries. According to him;

Its greatest power is its ability to show man at grips with conditions neither permanent nor necessary, conditions of a certain time and place: favouritism, bribery, tribal discrimination, religious discrimination, hunger, poor attitude to work, certificate forgery, environmental pollution, reckless driving, cheating,

embezzlement, misuse of public property, sectionalism. It deals with man-made problems...a good social documentary tells not only what a place or a thing or a person looks like, but it must also tell the audience what it would feel like to be an actual witness to the scene...it encourages social improvement. It is white propaganda put forward from an overt source (94-95)

There is no doubt, therefore, that in terms of politically motivated themes, the example of 2015 General Elections in Nigeria with politically motivated documentaries during the electioneering period has fallen in line with Akpan's description. Even the Uncommon Transformation Television Series, a documentary piece sponsored by the Akwa Ibom State Government during the reign of Governor Godswill Akpabio on Africa Independent Television (AIT) every Wednesday at 10am; had prevailing political themes and then social and cultural themes. More so, documentary programmes done for the rebranding of Nigeria project had been cultural in the days of Dora Akunyili to project the goodness and greatness of the Nigerian state nationally and transnationally. It is safe to add that irrespective of the fact that documentary can be socially, politically or culturally motivated its main essence is to communicate to the audience, work through their emotions and shape them in tune with public facts and developments in the society.

### **Techniques for Effective Communication**

There is no gainsaying the fact that feature report and documentary are dramatic pieces that draw strong appeal from the audience and engages their sensibilities to come to terms with the facts that are available through narrative and pictures. In doing this, some form of techniques are employed especially in line with meeting the goals of effective communication, which is discernment or understanding of the meaning of the message, and also acting or reacting according to the demands of the message. Feature stories are educative and entertaining and can possibly be the delight of the audience; especially because it is written as a narrative conforming to the principles of dramatic action. According to Meera Roa, feature writing is about life situation, and a feature writer begins his work through observation of the society and then develops the idea (17). This forms the basis for the techniques engaged in feature story writing.

Writing feature report can call for an eclectic style as noted by Joseph Dominick that "the techniques for reporting features are as varied as the features themselves" (306). He, however, opines that in writing feature for the newspaper, a technique called the inverted-pyramid pattern is adopted. Another view considers that "when it comes to writing feature story, you forget the inverted pyramid format" (Igwe, 55). This position suggests that a feature story should be written in a simple form devoid of complex technicalities that would bore the audience or the reader from enjoying the story. Igwe stresses. The reader of the feature story is now more relaxed, probably could afford more time than the newsreader who is in a hurry.. the potential reader now wants those extra details, colour and drama that mark out feature stories from hard news, so he could spare the time to read it (55b).

Furthermore, he argues that simplicity in writing features would hold the reader to read interesting stories since there are other stories in the newspaper that can also attract the reader, because “the fact is, there are millions of things people could read; if one is not interesting to the reader, he can switch to another story” (56). So the feature story writer has to be as captivating as possible in narrating the story to the audience.

Inverted pyramid as a style of writing refers to the writing of a story based on the element of five W’s and H. The story can begin with any of the six elements as lead, which is a summary of the principal items of a news event that opens the reader to main theme of the article. Notably, the inverted pyramid is the arrangement of a story in the order of descending importance according to the five W’s (who, what, where, when and why) and the H (how). However, there is a disagreement, just like Igwe’s, on the use of this technique for feature reports noting that it is very uncommon for feature writers to rely on the technique of inverted pyramid in doing stories. This argument is buttressed thus:

Feature writers write a chronology that builds to a climax at the end, a narrative hook, a first person article about one of their own experiences or a combination of these. Their stories are held together by a thread, and they often end where the lead started with a single person or even (Itule and Anderson 136).

Feature stories apply literary technique in their opening known as a narrative hook. A narrative hook is the opening of a story that holds the reader’s attention steadily to the story till the end. This technique is said to play an important role in stories because it helps to keep stories in order linearly exposing dramatic moment and getting the reader curious (hollywood.itsales.com). By so doing, the reader is able to follow the story and understand its intention. Dramatic action is a common form of narrative hook because it engages the reader into being anxious of actions in the story. It leads conflict and crisis in the story arousing the pulse of the reader to the climax of the piece. In assessing dramatic action, Hegel posits that, “(It) is not confined to the simple and undisturbed execution of a definite purpose, but depends throughout on conditions of collision, human passion and characters, and leads therefore to actions and reactions, which in their turn call for some further resolution of conflict and disruption” (in Boal 88).

In another view, dramatic action is intrinsically tied to the characters’ motivation and their conflict in a situation of search for a solution among characters with varied interest. Thus, it emotionally propels the story giving the audiences or the readers a sense of feeling the movement of action in the story. It is adduced that dramatic action sustains the reader’s or audience’s interest in the report, and this is possibly typical of a human interest report. It is safe to argue from here that feature writing involves the application of elements of narrative writing such as novel, drama, documentary and film but based on facts. To get these facts, the reporter depends on interviews with people involved in the chosen subject, eyewitness account, expert position and views of the public. This is an approach that gives credence to a good feature story with substance.

To have a good feature story, the writer must focus on writing in active voice. The technique of introducing the story with a good lead that draws emotion from dramatic elements, anecdotes and quotation tells that feature stories aim to do much more in achieving its intent. Quotes are imperative in feature stories and they must be colourful and interesting for effective communication. It is the same with anecdote which are short stories, but when effectively used in feature stories to illustrate key points can serve as a good technique to lead the story. They can also be used to give background information to the story.

Importantly, lead serves as introduction to the style adopted in doing a feature story. Lead can be dramatic in such a way that it captures the interest of the reader. A lead in a feature could be termed a summary lead because they carry the entire idea of the story in the introductory sentence of paragraph. According to Itule and Anderson, a summary lead in a feature” is, usually not structured as an inverted pyramid” (50), because it is not necessary that it has the five W’s and H. The story may be written in the first person or the main thrust summarized in the lead. The point is that in writing a feature lead, there are various options such as narrative lead, contrast, staccato, direct address and question lead. Narrative lead is also termed an anecdotal lead and the most popular technique in writing a feature and other non journalistic nonfiction and fiction. Narrative lead uses anecdote or colour scene to draw attention of people into the story using lead block by putting them in the middle of the action (Itule and Anderson 114). A lead block consists of two or more paragraphs that build up a paragraph that tells readers the major point of the story.

Other leads used as techniques for feature stories are contrast which compares and contrast a person or thing with another, or several people or things with each other. Its usefulness is that it can help persuade an audience to stay with a story until the end.

Staccato lead consists of short burst of phrases that carry readers into feature story by dangling some of its key elements. This lead is meant to keep readers in tune and set them in the mood for the story. A nut graph referred to as explanatory paragraph that follows the introductory lead block and explains the significance of a story is also an essential element of staccato lead.

In the case of direct address lead, the style shows a direct communication with reader allowing the reporter or writer to reach out to the audience and include them as individuals in a story (Itule and Anderson, 119). The use of second person in a communication activity directs the story to the readers. This indicates that reporters or writers talk directly to readers, a technique that immediate pulse of the audience can be felt. Dependence on any of these of techniques can possibly create effectiveness in communication.

In documentary, techniques for effective communication can be traced to what the CBS were used to. Even in the present, producers and presenters of television documentaries rely on “the unrehearsed man in the street interview, on the scene report, unrehearsed narrative etc” (book.google) to do their work. However, presenters of documentary programme this day have often rehearsed the narrative with their producers, but the rehearsal may not as extensive as would have been for

the stage drama. In fact, since documentary is recorded the rushes of montage and footage that are taken for the many times until the best is received can be considered as the period of rehearsals. The point here is that since documentary is a detailed report of what made the news, and or other social event in the society, the presenter or the producer would depend on people who have adequate and correct information about the event to complete the narrative. That is the reason for subscribing to unrehearsed man in the street and on the spot or scene. This approach is clearly same as the one already noted about feature report in which the reporter is expected to speak with people and get detailed information in order to develop his narrative.

For the fact that documentary “allows the freedom to explore the various attributes of performance as a communication strategy designed specifically for the audio-visual medium” (Owuamalam 202), it can be added that it requires the producer or presenter of a documentary piece to think in pictures will developing the narrative for the audience. In this sense, the words of the narrative should match the footage or picture that is shown, basically because “television documentary like film and radio rests on the purpose of presenting socially useful information that are designed to lead directly to action” (book.google). If after the documentary is shown and no effect is made on the audience and to a larger extent the society in terms of action, then communication may have been ineffective depending on the technique of presentation.

According to Syd Field, structural perspective that has to do with the three parts such as beginning, middle and an end is the best approach to stories told with pictures in dialogue with description placed within the context of dramatic structure (xvi). This indicates that documentaries as dramatic and persuasive feature should be well structured not to create confusion so that it can easily be followed and understood. This is the reason it is noted that the function of documentary communication is “to make drama from life...to make observation a little richer than it was by the creative interpretation of actuality” (book.google). Thus Bill Nichol adds that documentary is a narrative that is dramatic and can communicate effectively to the people (2).

Documentary communication seeks to initiate a process which culminates in public action by presenting information and to complete the process by making the information persuasive. If the presenter addresses the audience directly with the pictures illustrating the verbal action, the approach can attempt to persuade the audience convincingly. It is thus acknowledged that the idea of documentary is founded upon the conviction that events and circumstances which shape life must not only be recorded and reported but such reporting and record must have to be very compelling and effective as possible to be able to stimulate action among the audience in the society.

## **Conclusion**

Effective communication through newspaper feature story and television documentary is certain on the grounds that these reports are detailed and factual in their analyses of events and ability to entertain as well. Both are narratives like the

stage drama and film, and are replete with pictorials to support the narration. Feature like documentary chronicles account of events with techniques that get audience's fascination and sustain such interest in the narratives. Undoubtedly, feature and documentary have become tools used either for promotion, propaganda, campaign, mobilization, and sensitization by both the public and private sectors. The dependence on them for this reason is as a result of their potency in advancing effective communication, and they should be exploited for more positive development effort in the society and not just for political purpose.

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## **Literature for Women Inclusiveness: The Example of J.P. Clark's *The Wives' Revolt***

**Chioma Toni-Duruaku**

### **Introduction**

In creating world class societies, leaders strategise on the most effective ways of articulating and achieving their aims and objectives. This was the reason the Millennium Development Goals were laid out. When they seemed to have been realized or found not realizable by the Nigerian leaders, they thrust their focus on going with the United Nations Summit for the adoption of the post 2015 development agenda, which was held 25 – 27 September, 2015 in New York and like all other countries and stakeholders, acting in a collaborative partnership, declared to implement the sustainable development goals.

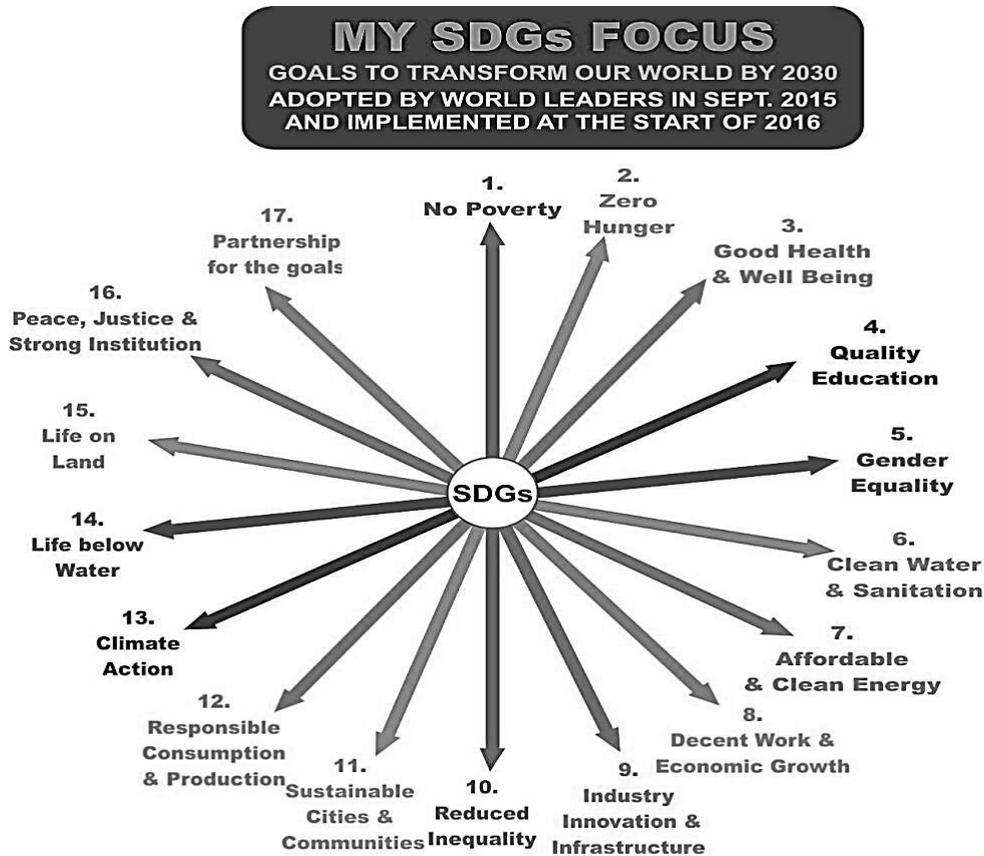
The Nigerian President, Muhammad Buhari was part of the Team of Leaders that endorsed the take off of the new plans; he affirmed support for SDGs to succeed especially in Nigeria, which is in tandem with the positive change mantra of his administration.

The Sustainable Development Goals, and the broader sustainability agenda, go much further than the MDGs, addressing the root causes of poverty and the universal need for development that works for all people.

In Africa, and in this case Nigeria, the scenario is that of leaders who no longer are able to offer new developmental ideas for their nations, but who glue themselves to power as if their lives depended on it. Nigeria has had a fair slack of the people protesting against the government. The labour union protests, teachers' strikes at all levels of education, the Road Transport Workers', Doctors' and even the motor-bike operators' strikes all go to show that at some point, people have been disenchanted with certain policies that negatively affect their lives.

Nigeria is endowed with so many minerals that yield revenue for her but one government after another has decided to concentrate on the oil wells of the Niger Delta Region. These areas have been so marginalized that the young and old at large living in them, at one time in our history, decided to violently attract attention to themselves via destroying or vandalizing the oil pipelines or worse still, kidnapping the expatriates who work in the oil companies, and demanding a ransom before their release. Report of community people scooping and selling the crude oil from the vandalized pipelines just to afford the next meal for themselves and their families, is common in Nigeria. Creative minds have turned to literature to document these maladies.

It is pertinent to show a diagrammatic representation of the seventeen Sustainable Development Goals here, before advancing into this paper.



Literature mirrors life and so, myriads of problems and injustice meted out to women are the issues in focus in this paper. Out of the above seventeen Sustainable Development Goals agreed upon by the United Nations, **Goal 5** - which focuses on *‘achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls’*, has caught J.P. Clark’s attention in his work *The Wives’ Revolt*. It is set in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria and indeed, the apparent home of blatant none inclusiveness of the citizens of this zone, in the affairs of Nigeria. It is pathetic because this region is the bowl of the oil wealth that has flung Nigeria in the league of great Oil Producing Countries. Clark’s telescope however, is not illuminating the entire populace, but beams its light on the women and all the quotidian challenges they face, both at home and at the community level.

Since choosing what aspect of life to deliberate on, is the sole prerogative of the literary artist, Ngugi wa thiong’o asserts “that every writer has the freedom to choose whose politics he wants to favour; between the people and the oppressive establishment, between the forces of progressive social change and that of conservative status quo...” Femi Osofisan on the other hand, subscribes to the kind of art that, 'reflects the agonies of the time, the hopes of the time, shows a way out of all

the problems and condemns negative forces'. Chinua Achebe lends his voice to this by stating that:

Literature in a critical situation such as Nigeria's cannot be divorced from politics. Indeed, literature must serve society by steeping itself in politics, by intervention, and writers must not merely write to amuse or to take a bemused, critical look at society. They must play an interventionist role... The writer must be l'homme engage: the intellectual man of action. (2)

He further declares:

Right now my interest is in politics or rather my interest in the novel is politics. *A Man of the People* wasn't a flash in the pan. This is the beginning of a phase for me in which I intend to take a hard look at what we in Africa are making of independence – but using Nigeria which I know best... It is clear to me that an African creative writer who tries to avoid the big social and political issues of contemporary Africa will end up being completely irrelevant- like that absurd man in the proverb who leaves his burning house to pursue a rat fleeing from the flames... What is the place of the writer in this movement? I suggest that his place is right in the thick of it – if possible, at the head of it. (1)

The literary artist amidst all the social malaise prevalent in his society, has to be a passionate person, who voices the tales of the silent citizens. This ideology is the propelling force in this discourse.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Writing and analyzing literary works can take different styles and so create awareness about the different classifications of criticism, each striving towards a greater elucidation of creativity. This paper adopts the Marxist/Sociological Criticism. According to Matthew Arnold, a great critic must be a cultured man, a person who is so aware of the feelings of human beings in his environment, that he can reach an excellence in the prediction of human affairs. J.P. Clark, whose work is the main thrust of this paper through his drama piece - *The Wives' Revolt*, has been able to present the trauma and actual state of affairs concerning gender equality as it shrewdly operates in the Nigerian society, with the Niger Delta in focus. Clark has properly utilized the well-defined elements of literature like theme, plot, characterization, climax and denouement in his discourse. He stresses that for a society like ours to forge ahead and make for sustainable development, women inclusiveness must be propagated or Nigeria shall be faced with the fate of the Erhuwaren men in this literary work.

Ray Ekpu notes that “the Niger Delta problem is a by-product of our skewed federalism and it will take a meeting of the minds to find a solution that will endure” (8). Writing in support of the above issue raised, Lundblad's echoes Achebe and suggests that “any environmentalist narrative that fails to take into account the human rights issues involved in this kind of case must be considered a malignant fiction - those narratives that are presented as unconstructed “reality,” and result in a reduced sensitivity to injustice”(Achebe in Lundblad 2).

Having taken a background check on the issue of inequality as represented by the various people, whose works have been cited above, this paper now shifts to the main points it addresses. Gender inequality has been so much a part of the Nigerian patriarchal society that it appears to have been accepted as the norm. Feminists have in different forums, drawn attention to the marginalization of women in the affairs of Nigeria. Without fear of being termed a feminist, Clark has through his drama piece, sent out the vibes of women's challenges to the world, so that those who may not witness it firsthand can experience it through his work.

### **Synopsis of *The Wives' Revolt***

This is an allegorical tale about communal conflicts between wives and their husbands over the sharing of little spoils of oil revenue that excludes the womenfolk. The men decide that the compensation money paid to the Erhuwaren community shall be shared in three parts – One part would go to the men, another part to the elders and then the third part to the women. This did not go down well with the women and so they called their attention to the fact that the men were also the elders. The men felt challenged and decided to punish their wives for speaking out against such inequality. They decide to confiscate their goats in the pretext that the goats constitute a nuisance and are vehicles of witchcraft. The men rear pigs and no decision to ban pig farming has been taken neither, are the pigs seen as points of contact in witchcraft. In frustration, the women emigrate from their own community to that of their husbands' rivals, thus dislocating their own families. This leaves the men with the true realization that women too are people to be reckoned with in decision making especially those that affect them directly. They therefore make peace and request their wives to return home.

### **Gender inequality and consequences**

Clark, uses the female characters in this work, to show what goes on in the homes and in the larger Nigerian society. Monsuro remarks that Clark's "words are often very prophetic because he possesses that uncanny character to see above the fog and make an attempt to convey it to the rest of us." (20)

*The Wives Revolt*, also deals with local colonialism and inequity suffered by the people of the Niger Delta on account of being richly endowed with oil, the "wealth of the nation", to invoke the phrase used by Adam Smith to capture the philosophy of capitalist primitive acquisition in 18th century England. These humanizing tendencies wielded by theatre, are hinged on the fact that it is a mirror with which we look into our world and it empowers us with the magical powers to be able to see the spectacle and beauty of life, but also the eyes to spot the ills of society and correct them, if only to begin to think of an alternative and better world with better human values" (38-39).

Clark shows his misgivings for the way women in the Niger Delta and indeed Nigeria are treated when matters of communal and national interest are discussed. He uses Idama to critically assess the effects of the revolt on the entire family, pointing out the relevance of women to his friend Okoro and by implication to the rest of the class of Nigerian men who believe that women can be jettisoned though today, there

is so much emphasis laid on the 35% affirmative action wherein the said percentage of women are supposed to be given a place in the leadership and or decision making of our nation, though everyone knows the number of women who truly are in leadership positions.

Writing on *The Wives' Revolt* -which in my view was influenced by Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* but adapted to suit the Niger Delta women in particular and the Nigerian women at large- Utoh opines that it "demonstrates the devastating consequences of the injustice and oppression which women encounter as a result of the unchallenged male social gang-up. The exposition of the play presents women in their revolutionary state, fighting for sociopolitical emancipation." (28)

Clark celebrates the resilience and tenacity of purpose of a people who are always marginalised, oppressed, traumatised, and maltreated. He speaks for the Nigerian women who are often relegated to the background in the scheme of things. He however does not fail to point out that dialogue is a very useful implement in conflict resolution, no matter how intractable. This playwright, capitalises on the above statement and also addresses the issue of ecocriticism in the Niger Delta from a different perspective, taking his themes away from the men and focusing on the women in order to foreground their being at the receiving end of the waterloo therein. By setting this work in the Niger Delta environment, he draws attention to the dilemmas and predicaments in Nigeria.

He reveals that the oil companies in the Niger Delta, usually pay compensation to the host communities whose lands are subject to torture by gas flaring, oil spillage and other forms of menace, but that the money paid is grossly inadequate to make any impact on the inhabitants. It is especially women who, feel the impact of this environmental degradation. They are faced with the oil spillage in their farmlands, they are the ones who risk their lives by using the flames from the gas flaring to fry their garri, in the erroneous belief that they are saving their kerosene at home.

The Erhuwaren men in this play, fuel the crises by their decision to be unjust in the distribution of the pittance they are given though "the amount is known to all" (1). By placing the women last, in the list of those to receive the compensation money, the men of Erhuwaren, like those in the Nigerian nation, simply are stating that women are not as important as the men. With the first two parts of the shared money going to the elders and the men, the question now is: Are the elders not the men and so why the double portion which is ironically said to be "a most fair and equitable settlement you will never find in any other society; near or far?" (1)

This is an indication that Nigerian leaders always have an erroneous opinion of themselves and their leadership, such that even when the masses scream injustice, the former do not see the reason for the outcry. Buttressing the above, the character Okoro observes:

However, our women folk, led by a few reckless ones, fed up with doing simple duties for their husbands and children as befits good housewives, are repudiating this fair and reasonable distribution of the money, demanding that it should have been divided into

two equal parts, one going to them and the other to the men, the elders being in their opinion all male. (1)

This unjust sharing of the money for all is not the only wrong the men have done. At the protest of their wives, they decide to confiscate their goats in the pretext that the goats constitute a nuisance and are vehicles of witchcraft. The men rear pigs and no decision to ban them have been taken neither are they seen as points of contact in witchcraft. Amazing! In his shortsightedness, Okoro sees the women as being instigated by some who are fed up with performing simple chores in their families but one notices how that which he regards as “simple duties” becomes his undoing, when the revolt takes effect and all the wives leave their matrimonial homes to their neighbouring enemies, Eyara.

Though the Okoros of the various Nigerian communities are very many, the elite who would sidetrack the compensation monies received, and convert them for their personal use, are part of the problem. There are yet others, who know and tell the truth the way it ought to be and see reason when things go wrong. Such is the character Idama, through whom Clark voices his discontentment with the Erhuwaren people in particular and Nigeria at large. Okoro’s ideology that women are not useful is further rebutted when in frustration he says: “...Now, with all the other work I have to do in this house since their silly motherran away with her foolish set, all in the name of some rights not known to man, I’ve to cope with the business of retrieving lost cups out of pots. What a life man is now living!” (25)

Women are at the center of the themes in *The Wives’ Revolt* but are not the only concern Clark has in the work. The self-appointed leaders in Nigeria, are also a problem and so their insincerity would not make for the actualization of women inclusiveness which in turn will fuel sustainable development in Nigeria.

## **Conclusion**

According to Edman, the three main functions of art are intensification, clarification and interpretation of experience...drama and prose fiction “clarify and deepen for us emotional incidents of familiar human situations”, and make ideas “intimate and alive” (26). Therefore the playwright in this discourse, has used contemporary Nigerian issues of deprivation suffered and the ill-treatment meted out to the women in this community and in the larger view- Nigeria-, to make comments on our society and her leaders. It is obvious from the foregoing perspective, that J.P. Clark feels the hurt of this inequality dished out to women and has addressed it from his own standpoint.

Enekwe is of the opinion that “drama is a human art...human beings generate the crises in society and also create the means for their elimination” (9), one is not surprised therefore that Clark uses drama to highlight the ills prevalent in the Niger Delta and brings in the Nigerian woman as the messiah that makes the men start paying attention to their environmental peculiarities thus finding solutions to them. This calls to question the Corporate Social responsibility of the multinational and national oil companies who make a living from the natural resources in the Nigeria.

Nothing stops them from requesting for representation of the women, whenever there is that occasion for the payment of compensation money to given communities. Thus, they avoid relegating women to the background and spare the men that trouble of taking the initiative to marginalize and suppress their women

This paper concludes by asserting that no matter how right any cause may seem, the best way to go about getting attention for development and recognition is dialogue. Peace is the ultimate in the realization of people's needs; otherwise being on the war path may be misconstrued and branded terrorism. It also emphasises that even in the midst of the inequality meted out to the womenfolk in the Nigerian society which makes them yearn for liberation and empowerment, that there are still men like J.P. Clark, who believe in giving women a chance in decision making.

The Federal, States, Local Governments, Civil Societies, Academia, Religious and Political leaders, media and all relevant stakeholders must work hard to bring about the sustainable development that we need. Also in line with Goal 5 which focus is on achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls, this paper concurs with Clark that carrying the Nigerian woman along in the scheme of things, would generate trust, complete submissiveness and as such bring out the best attributes of the woman as not only a home maker but also a society builder, thus leading to the speedy realization of a well developed nation.

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## **The Influence of Newspaper Images of Electoral Violence on the Voting Behaviour of Nigerians in the 2015 Election**

**Peter N. Nwokolo**

### **Introduction:**

Some communication scholars and political analysts have speculated that media images or reports of violence preceding an election may influence voting behavior. The hypothesis is anchored on the media psychological theory that such incidents of electoral violence and the consequent global-reach media reports thereon have the potential of inducing “fright reactions” in the electorate and may negatively affect voting participation. As observed by Cantor (1991, 213) “Anyone who has ever been to a horror film or thriller appreciates the fact that exposure to television or other mass media presentations depicting danger, injury, bizarre images, and terror-stricken protagonists can induce intense fright responses in an audience.” According to him, there is a good deal of evidence regarding viewers’ subjective experiences of fear in response to mass media presentations. He maintained that fear is generally conceived as an emotional response to negative hedonic tone related to avoidance or escape due to the perception of real or imagined threat (e.g, Izard, 1991). He identified three factors affecting the tendency to respond emotionally to mediated stimuli to include: (a) the similarity of the depicted stimuli to real-life fear evokers (b) viewers’ motivations for media exposure, and (c) factors affecting emotionality, generally. These factors are even made more manifest when accompanied by photographs which Pfau et al. (2006) noted elicit negative effect. For instance, in a report titled, “Pre-election report and advisory on violence in Nigeria’s 2015 general elections,” the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) showed that 58 people who died from pre-election violence, warning that the “degree of pre-election violence is unacceptable, we have seen too much blood and this must be stopped.”

In his study of the 2007/2008 electoral violence in Kenya, Semetko (2008) posited that “there appears to be little in the way of expert research on the consequences of election reports on political behavior, and a lack of systematic data collection on media content, public opinion and political behaviour.” This observation applies with equal force to the 2015 election in Nigeria. Studies on media and democracy are of critical importance to national progress more so as citizen learn about politics and government primarily from television and newspapers. These media outlets can influence voters not only through the slant of a particular report, but also by the choice of stories to cover (Bergan et al, 2006). Also, in their dependency theory, Dcfleur and Ball-Rokeach (1975), advanced a view of potentially powerful mass media which power they tied to audience member’s dependence on media content.

In his work on mass media and political violence in Nigeria, Temakur (2003, 232), noted that the mass media in Nigeria have in the past contributed to the eruption

and escalation of political and electoral violence. Thus for Parkison (2005), the media are not just broad pipes or sounding boards which convey whatever is put into them, but like all institutions, the media shape that impute in sometimes, different ways. According to Graber (1981, 557), the journalists' freshly manufactured information product is sometimes quite different from the semi-processed product presented by the original sources. This, he noted, is true for stories involving descriptive information as for stories that express opinions and evaluations. It is this practice of transforming original messages of political figures and events into new products that becomes the major source of the habitual tension between the government and the media. For instance, President Trump was recently quoted as saying that he had a running war with the media describing them as "the most dishonest human beings on earth. They sort of made it sound like I had a feud with the intelligence community." (Sevastopulo and Weaver, 2017).

For Onwudiwe and Berwind-Dart (2010), electoral violence as experienced in the past election cycles in Nigeria refers to political assassinations, voter intimidation, intra and inter-party clashes, and communal unrest. They see electoral violence as falling into four related categories: intraparty feuding; interparty clashes; electoral event and communal unrests.

The political entity called Nigeria evolved when the British came to the Niger-Benue area to pursue their economic interest after the abolition of slave trade. It was from then that the idea for the construction of Nigeria began, (Okechukwu, 1991). Infact, the name Nigeria was coined by Flora Shaw (later Lady Lugard), while the husband, Lord Lugard amalgamated the protectorates to form the present entity called Nigeria. Although Lugard was seen as the principal architect, it has to be noted that it took a special committee in August 1988 to recommend that the British Niger Teaaitories be amalgamated (Ikime 1980, 394).

### **Aim and scope of the study**

The aim of this work is to analyze newspaper reports of electoral violence that featured greatly before and during the April, 2015 elections in Nigeria and determine their influence on voting behavior of the electorate. The newspapers sampled for the study include the elite and popular (Merrill, 1964), dailies circulated nation-wide in Nigeria and include: *The Guardian*, *the Vanguard*, *The Punch*, *the Daily Trust* and *This Day* with the objective of finding out the nature, types and characteristics of electoral violence reported during the elections. This involves identifying and listing the weapons used, the sponsors and perpetrators of the electoral violence that pervaded the said elections, as can be gleaned from the watchdog of the society whose reports can reach and influence voting decisions of the electorate scattered in different parts of the globe. Newspaper reports on electoral violence, which can be accessed both manually and electronically, have the potentials of dissuading citizens in Diaspora from returning home to participate in an election as well as making foreign nationals and even some nationals to flee to other countries for safety as witnessed in the Gambia, during the 2016 elections. This can adversely affect both the image and economy of a country. Thus, according to Pate (2015,3),

the media are strategically important in the process of decision-making, opinion formation, behaviour manifestation and above all, in helping the majority of people to participate or decline the civic obligation. Hence, the position and content of the media and their professionals cannot be taken for granted in shaping the political attitude and behavior of the electorate.

Furthermore, the study sought to investigate the attitude of the newspaper press in reporting the said electoral violence as can be ascertained from the prominence, frequency and the news frame adopted in portraying electoral violence. For instance, through language use, news selection and such other aspects, the underlying intentions of the media organ could be exposed. Finally, from the voting decisions and behavior of the electorate during the said election it will be possible to find out if the images of electoral violence depicted in the newspapers had any influence or contribution. The impact of prominence and frequency in media reporting was brought to the fore during the 2007/ 2008 electoral violence in Kenya when repeated hate speech publications heightened public protest showing that media messages can produce effects on human behavior.

#### **Review of studies on electoral violence and the mass media.**

In the sub-Saharan African countries, electoral violence has remained the leeches that infest the political pond, threatening the progress of democratization, lives and property. As observed by Bekoe (2010) in his work *Trends in electoral violence in Sub-Saharan Africa*, conflict and tension during elections have been common in Africa's new democracies that emerged in the 1990s during the third wave of democracy. He posited that many new democracies, especially those with strong authoritarian legacies or deep ethnic cleavages rampant in many African countries, find it difficult to manage political opposition. The manner in which these tensions are handled make the difference between an election that proceeds peacefully versus one that degenerates into violence. From studies, he maintains, violence in Africa's elections affects between 19 and 25 percent of elections, and that in many countries where electoral violence is a risk, it tends to recur (example, Nigeria) and may consequently lead to an unfavourable view of the democratization process. For him, the regularity with which electoral violence occurs suggests underlying grievances or structural characteristics which may be linked to the elections and which fuel the violence. To this end, electoral violence, especially recurrent, seems symptomatic of more widespread systematic grievances and tensions. These may include tensions over land rights, employment and ethnic marginalization as three dominant characteristics that trigger off recurring electoral violence. They intersect and are frequently manipulated by politicians. Electoral violence had laid the foundation for a civil wars in many countries such as Nigeria, the Republic of Congo (or Congo Brazavil), etc yet attempts to understand and address the political malaise have not been well-developed.

For Ojo (2015, 27) electoral violence has three strands on display namely: psychological violence, structural violence and physical violence. Psychological violence has to do with intimidation and harassment of political opponents and even

citizens through choice of words that invoke fear due to threat to security. Hate speech, for instance, is a form of psychological violence as it is meant to instill fear and incite. When an opposition party threatens that it would form a parallel government or party stalwarts boast that political monkeys and baboons would be soaked in blood, and that all political cockroaches should be killed, are examples of psychological violence. It also includes statements that have demoralizing psychological effects such as when a presidential aspirant is said to be “brain dead” and that any person found chanting an opposition party’s slogan should be stoned.

Structural violence according to Ojo (2015), involves exclusionary or discriminatory policies against certain groups during an election. It is violence writ large when nomination forms are priced out of the reach of people of average financial means during party nomination process and sold to the highest bidder. He attributed the parallel party primaries in some leading political parties which produced anointed or so called consensus candidates and the consequent violence to the uneven playing field designed to favour some people. Other instances of structural violence include: the misuse of state and administrative resources by incumbent political office holders as when security agents deal mercilessly with opposition party members. The security agents should give equal protection to all, being paid from tax payers money, whether as police, army, civil defence, etc.

Physical violence, according to Ojo (2015), includes: assassinations and attempted assassinations before and during elections, attacks on party offices and contestants’ houses, fight between opponents of rival political parties, factions and candidates, riots and rampages arson, intra and inter party violence, looting, property destruction, etc.

Writing on media images, Box-steffensmeier et al. (2009, 321), posited that the media do not merely mirror elite discourse but that their independent effects on candidates and citizens afford the possibility that they may serve as an independent fourth estate during campaigns. According to them, research consistently finds that citizens are more responsive to negative coverage, for instance, electoral violence, than to positive coverage (e.g. Geer, 2006; Lau, 1982; 1985).

### **Theoretical Framework**

The framing theory popularized by Entman (1993) in his work titled *Towards clarification of a fractured paradigm* provides the theoretical framework of analysis in this study. For Entman, the concept of framing offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text and illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location such as speech utterance, news report, or novel to that of consciousness. To frame, he maintains, is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the items described.

As observed by Capella and Jamieson (1996), certain news frames have profound influence on the audience. For example, it has been argued that conflict

frame in the news (or strategic coverage) can activate cynicism and mistrust, and can distract the public from the political process (Jamieson 1992; Patterson 1983). And for Zaller (1992); Kahneman and Teversky (1984); Iyengar (1991), etc, it is obvious that on most matters of social or political interest, people are not generally so well informed and cognitively active, thus framing heavily influences their responses to communication. In our modern day most people rely on media or indirectly on the advice of opinion leaders who rely on the media for informed decisions on political matters. Thus the theoretical argument of this study is that newspaper reports on electoral violence must have influenced people to vote or decide not to vote in the election investigated.

### **Methodology**

In this section, the population of the study, sample and the sample selection procedure, the method of data collection and analysis are described. To effectively achieve the aims of this study, two research methods were adopted namely the descriptive quantitative content analysis of sampled newspapers (to enable us ascertain the nature of electoral violence and the attitude of newspapers in reporting) and the analytical survey of eligible respondent voters who voted or abstained from voting and reasons for their decisions to enable us understand the psychological effects of what was reported from voting behavior.

### **Sample selection for content analysis**

Out of the above leading national newspapers, five were selected using the purposive sampling technique. They include: *The Guardian*, *The Vanguard*, *the Daily Trust*, *The Punch* and the *Thisday* newspapers. For Edeani, (1990, 21), the five newspapers are “national newspapers” in the sense that each of them is read all over the country or at least at a substantial number of places across the country on the same day of publication. Furthermore, their credible image as “intellectual and competently produced” newspapers, with a drive for investigative and in-dept coverage of events (Olutokwu, 2004 a, 79), especially electoral violence issues, informed the purposive selection of these newspapers. From the 750 editions published between January to May, 2015, 31 editions that carried 78 electoral violence stories were studied. All the 78 stories on electoral violence constitute the sample size. The units of analysis consisted of the news reports, features, cartoons, letters –to – the editor, and photographs of electoral violence. The coding sheets were produced and coded according to the content categories stated below:

### **Content categories:**

To determine the attention/ salience newspapers accorded coverage of electoral violence during the election studied, we coded stories according to prominence as dictated by their placement on (a) front pages (b) back pages, and (c) inside pages. The hierarchal order measures the level of importance in content study. Also, the number of times stories on electoral violence featured in each of the

newspaper editions was coded as frequency of coverage shows the importance attached to the event covered.

Coders were furnished with coding guide containing a set of coding instructions to facilitate the coding exercise. These instructions were subjected to inter-coder reliability test. A relatively high inter-coder agreement of 88% between two independent coders (the researcher and a masters degree student supervise) was achieved after a number of adjustments had been made on the code sheet and coding instructions.

Two sets of 11 items from the selected sample size of 78 stories were used for the test. The inter-coder agreement was calculated using a combination of the simple procedure and the following formular:

$$A = \frac{Po - Pe}{100 - pe}$$

Where  $P_o$  is the observed percentage of agreement,  $p_e$  is the expected agreement, by chance, and  $A$  is the inter-coder agreement. The key variables coded or measured in the study included the identification and listing of the types of violence that featured during the elections as portrayed in the newspapers, frequency or number of items (to measure quantity), and placement (to measure prominence and quality of coverage). We also investigated the media frame employed by newspapers in covering electoral violence events to determine whether it was episodic or thematic and how the newspapers defined diagnosed, prognosticated and suggested remedies (Entman, 1993, 51) to the problem of electoral violence in Nigeria. The study period lasting from January to May was chosen because it marked the peak of electoral activities during which electoral violence featured greatly as reflected in media reports.

#### **Sample selection for the survey study**

For the survey study, the multi-stage sampling technique was used in selecting ordinary but literate eligible Nigerian electorates who decided to vote despite newspaper reports of electoral violence or not to vote because of fear generated by newspaper reports of electoral violence. First, the cluster sampling technique was used to stratify the voters according to five geo-political zones, excluding the North-East zone due to Boko Haram insurgency. Thus the study sample for the survey was drawn from the North-West, North-Central, South East, South-West and South-South geo-political zones.

Next, the simple random sampling technique was used in selecting five states from the five geopolitical zones. The states are: Enugu, Delta, Lagos, Sokoto and Kogi. Using the simple random sampling technique, five local government areas from the five states namely, Enugu North (Enugu State); Warri South (Delta State), Ajeromi/Ife Iodun (Lagos State), Wamakko (Sokoto State), and Idah (Kogi State) were sampled.

The final sample size of 500 respondents was statistically confirmed using Cochran's (1963) formular viz:

$$n = Z^2 (pq)^2 / e$$

where: n = sample size

z = Desired level of confidence

p = The probability function of the estimated standard deviation (ie. Proportion of success)

q = 1 – p (Proportion of failure)

e = Estimated Standard Error

Working on a 95% confidence level and an estimated standard deviation of 80% with a tolerable error of 5%, we got the following sample size.

z = 95% or 2.79

p = 80% or 0.8

q = 20% or 0.2

$$n = \frac{(2.79)^2 \times (80 \times 20)}{5^2}$$

= 498.182  $\Omega$  500

The 500<sup>2</sup> respondents sampled for the multivariate study, were considered adequate and very good (Comrey and Lee (1992) in Wimmer and Dominick (2003, 89).

### **Method of data analysis**

In this study, the quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis were adopted. Data gathered from the manifest contents of newspaper reports on electoral violence within the five months' period studied are presented in tables, simple percentages, and standard deviation. As earlier stated, the daily newspapers studied for their coverage of electoral violence during the 2015 general election in Nigeria are: *The Guardian*, the *Daily Trust*, the *Vanguard*, *The Punch* and *ThisDay* newspapers.

**Table 1: Distribution of newspaper editions and the level of coverage accorded electoral violence during the 2015 Nigeria's election**

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Editions</b>	<b>Percentage coverage</b>
<i>The Guardian</i>	6	21%
<i>Vanguard</i>	4	14%
<i>The Punch</i>	3	11%
<i>ThisDay</i>	10	36%
<i>Daily Trust</i>	8	29%
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>22%</b>

*Source: fieldwork on 2015 Nigerian election.*

As shown in Table 1 above, the number of editions each of the newspapers devoted to electoral violence coverage within the five months' period of study indicates that *ThisDay* gave the highest degree of coverage. This is followed by the *Daily Trust* which gave eight (8) editions, while *The Punch* gave the least number of three editions to electoral violence stories. Table 1 shows conclusively that cumulatively the five newspapers devoted only 31 out of the over 150 editions published within the period investigated.

**Table 2: Data showing types of electoral violence that featured during the 2015 general elections as reported in newspapers.**

**Nature and types of electoral violence**

- Bombs and explosives
- Killing and shooting at people, using guns and other dangerous weapons
- Snatching and stealing of ballot boxes
- Use of horsewhip and teargas by law enforcement agents.
- Fighting and killing during inter-party clashes by thugs, security operatives, and political opponents
- Assassination of rival candidates and political opponents.
- Violent demonstrations especially by irate youths.
- Burning and torching public and private properties, for example, buildings and vehicles belonging to the police, the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), and private individuals.
- Attack on politicians and campaign teams by angry mobs and rival political parties.
- Communal fighting over issues related to politics and election to public offices.

**Source: Field work on 2015 Nigerian elections.**

A panoramic observation suggests that newspaper reports of electoral violence reflected the different types of weapons employed and the nature of violent episodes that featured in the elections. The reports were not exaggerated as most of the clashes occurred between rival political parties and no acid bath was witnessed nor was any reported, as corroborated by the survey study. The news frame was essentially episodic rather than thematic.

However, according to media reports, hate speeches, ethnic jingoism and tribal hot exchanges were noticeable among politicians campaigning for votes. For instance, a traditional ruler in Lagos State was quoted as having threatened that the Igbo ethnic group residing in Lagos would be drowned in the Lagoon if they failed to vote for the governorship candidate of his choice fielded by a particular political party (Odu, 2015, 36).

**Table 3: Data showing the level of prominence which newspapers accorded electoral violence**

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Front page</b>	<b>Back page</b>	<b>Inside page</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>t.D</b>	<b>Decision</b>
<i>The Guardian</i>	3	-	26	1.2143	.6299	No
<i>Vanguard</i>	2	-	4	1.6667	.0328	No
<i>The Punch</i>	2	-	5	1.5714	.9759	No
<i>ThisDay</i>	2	-	23	1.1600	.5538	No
<i>Daily Trust</i>	4	2	6	1.4675	.0134	No

**Source: Field work on Nigeria's 2015 elections**

Using the mean cut-off point of 2.00 [i.e  $(3+2+1 \div 3) = (6 \div 3) = 2$ ], the result suggests that no special prominence was accorded electoral violence coverage which the researcher measured by using placement on Front page to be 3 points, Back page to be 2 points, and Inside page, 1 point. Thus, the decision “NO” shown on Table 3

implies that newspapers did not accord much prominence to electoral violence coverage which if otherwise would have jolted and activated those in authority to take decisive measures to contain the malaise and the consequent loss of lives and properties.

It is unethical to suppress news story that is in the public interest.

**Table 4: Data showing frequency of publication of electoral violence stories by the newspapers.**

<b>Newspapers</b>	<b>Frequency of publication</b>	<b>Relative percentage</b>
<i>The Guardian</i>	28	36%
<i>Vanguard</i>	6	8%
<i>The punch</i>	7	9%
<i>ThisDay</i>	25	32%
<i>Daily Trust</i>	12	15%
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Field work on Nigeria's 2015 election**

From Table 4 above, we could gather that *The Guardian* newspaper published 28 electoral violence stories in 6 (six) editions within the period studied which represents 36 percent coverage rate. *The Vanguard* had 6 stories on electoral violence as published in 4 (four) editions, representing 8 percent coverage rate.

*The Punch* had 7 stories appearing in 3 (three) editions, representing 9 percent coverage. *This Day* newspaper published 25 stories on electoral violence in 10 of its editions which represents 36 percent coverage rate, while the *Daily Trust* had 12 stories appearing in 8 editions, representing 15 percent coverage rate within the study period.

The result obviously reflects low frequency of coverage corroborating the data on Table 1 which indicated that cumulatively the five newspapers investigated devoted only 31 editions (22%) to coverage of electoral violence issues during the period studied..

#### **Datapresentation of survey results**

**Table 5 (five):Data showing respondent voter's exposure to newspaper reports on electoral violence before the elections.**

It is an in controvert isfact that exposure to information on electoral violence obtained directly or otherwise must precede voting decisions, to participate or not. Thus the question, "How often did you follow newspaper reports on violence prior to 2015 general elections in Nigeria?" is very germane.

<b>Very Often (4 points)</b>	<b>Often (3 points)</b>	<b>Not often (2 points)</b>	<b>Not at all (1 point)</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>St.D</b>	<b>Decision</b>
117	132	146	69	2.64	1.03	Yes

**Source:** Fielded work on 2015 Nigeria election

Using a mean out-off point of 2.0 the results on Table 5 (five) above shows that the mean score is slightly above the cut-off point (2.64), with a standard deviation of 1.03. When rounded off, the mean score will give 3.00 points which is an indication that on the average, the respondents followed electoral violence reports before the 2015 general elections in the newspapers, hence the decision “yes” showing a favourable, positive response to the question. As observed by Chaftee and Choe (1980), while interest may be sufficient to stimulate exposure (and indeed participation), it is likely that incidental exposure stimulates interest in the campaign. There does not seem to be a unidirectional causal process at work as recent historical evidence suggests that campaign interest and media attention have risen together.

**Table 6 (six) Distribution of responses showing voter participation in the 2015 general elections in Nigeria.**

<b>Options</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Respondents that participated in voting	165	35%
Respondents that did not participate in voting	307	65%
<b>Total</b>	<b>472</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Field Survey 2015

The above Table 6 (six) indicated that a greater number of the electorate (307) declined voting participation during the 2015 elections, representing about 65%, while 165 (35%) participated in the election.

**Table 7 (seven): Distribution of responses showing some respondents reasons for not participating in the voting exercise.**

<b>Options</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Respondents that did not vote due to fear of electoral violence as reported in newspapers or from information from others who read such newspaper reports.	258	84%
	49	16%
Respondents that were undecided as to reasons for not voting		
<b>Total</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Source:** Field survey 2015

There is an indication that fear of electoral violence was responsible substantially for majority of the respondents declining to vote during the election. As shown in Table 7 (seven), out of the 472 respondents, 258 said they did not vote due to fear of electoral violence. This represents 84% of the total number that did not participate in voting.

**Table 8 (Eight): Distribution of responses showing the influence of newspaper images/reports on voting behaviour during Nigeria's 2015 elections.**

<b>Options</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Respondents who did not vote due to electoral violence reports in newspapers	258	84%
Respondents that voted despite reading newspaper reports on electoral violence	116	16%
<b>Total</b>	<b>374</b>	<b>100%</b>

### **Data analysis and discussion**

This section presents the analysis and discussion on the collected data. **Newspaper images of 2015 electoral violence**

The analysis of our newspaper images of electoral violence revealed that dangerous weapons such as bombs and explosives, axes and machetes, A-K 47 rifles were freely used by politicians and their thugs, against perceived political opponents. For instance, in its editorial comment, (Friday, April 17, 2015, 22), titled "New govt. must punish violent electoral offenders" *The Punch* newspaper noted that apart from ballot box snatching, forcible hijacking/destruction of electoral materials, intimidation of election officials and rigging, many people were brutally killed.

Thus, Table 2 shows the types and nature of sophisticated weapons employed in the electoral violence which some have characterized as "civil war" (Mdunagu, 2003) and "a low intensity armed struggle" (H.R.W (2003). The scenario reflected an emerging trend as electoral violence in the past never involved the use of bombs and explosive devices reserved for military operations and not in civil exercises like democratic elections. Violence is not a part of the definition of democracy hence it in an abnormality and a threat to participatory democracy.

In reporting electoral violence episodes that featured, Table 1 (one) indicated that *ThisDay* newspaper devoted the highest number of its editions to electoral violence reporting compared to other newspapers in our sample. Thus while *ThisDay* reported electoral violence stories in 10 of its approximately 150 total editions published during the period investigated, representing 36%, *The Punch* gave only 3 (three) editions to the coverage of electoral violence representing only 11%. This shows an abysmally low degree of salience and concern for a present and immediate threat to lives and property.

### **Level of prominence accorded electoral violence stories**

The result of the study shows that our newspaper sample did not accord much prominence to electoral violence reports given that each of the newspapers placed most of the stones in inside pages. This is serious given the strategic role of placement or prominence in the agenda setting function of the press, which is, to bring matters of public interest to the fore.

**Frequency of coverage afforded electoral violence episodes during the elections.**

One of the ways by which the press set agenda and draw peoples', attention to matters that challenge the society is through repetition or frequency of publication.

Table 4 (four) shows that the newspapers did not give much coverage to issues of violence during the elections investigated. For instance *The Guardian*, which published the highest number of stories on the issue problematic, had only 28 stories during the period, representing 42%. This indicates that none of the newspapers studied devoted up to half of its publications to electoral violence that took heavy toll on lives and property.

As observed by Duyile (1997, 44), if anything, the Nigerian press appears to be largely indifferent to the ills and problems of our society. They engage in publishing half-truths, mistruths, suppression of truths, jaundiced reporting, witch-hunting, sycophancy, lack of guts and mal-education of the public. This agrees also with similar observation by Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson (1992) who concluded that the media generally operate in ways that promote apathy, cynicism and acquiescence rather than active participation. Thus from our study findings, it is suggested that newspapers failed both in the first and second levels agenda setting functions that provided the theoretical framework for this study.

First, by deliberately refusing to accord electoral violence stories strategies prominence and frequency of coverage, the press failed to set public agenda on the issue of electoral violence that threatened the democratization process on the front burner of public discourse.

As noted in Ezekiel(Chap .3 v 16), the role of the watchman like the press is to pass to the people, including the government, the warnings of an impending catastrophe so that they can steps and save their lives failing which the watchman or watchdog will be held responsible. Thus for deliberately denying prominence and frequency to electoral violence coverage so that the people would be activated and mobilized to force the hypocritical politicians in government to take steps to stop electoral violence, the media would be held responsible for hundreds of lives and properties lost during the elections.

Our findings also agree with those in a similar study conducted by Lawson and Mc Cann (2005), regarding media influence on voter's attitude and behaviour during the 2000 Mexican presidential election. Relying on elaborate analysis of newspaper contents and television news coverage, and a four-wave panel survey, the study revealed that exposure to mass media news had significant, substantial effect on both the attitude and vote choices in the said Mexican watershed presidential election. The researchers reiterated that news coverage, which involves framing, was a crucial factor in shaping voter attitudes and behaviour in an election. They concluded that media influence on voter's attitude and behaviour depends on specific aspects of the political and informational context such as differences in media environment and susceptibility to media influence. Thus media influence varies from one individual to another and system to system as dictated by differences in environment and other mediating factors.

## **Conclusion**

The result of our study agrees with the agenda setting theory which posits that the news media have a large influence on audiences by their choice of what stories they consider newsworthy and the prominence and frequency accorded them (McCombs 2004. Folarin, 1998; Wimmer and Dominick 2004). Though our newspaper sample did not accord much prominence and frequency to the coverage of electoral violence, the much reported produced substantial negative influence since the issue of life and death does not require emphasis. When it comes to dangers that threaten life, a word is enough for the wise!

However, our study findings disagrees with that of Rogers et al. (2005-2006), that suggest that the influence of media exposure in shaping the public's political knowledge, attitudes and behaviour was overestimated due to individual's tendency to seek out information that agrees with his preexisting views. Rather our findings are in tandem with those of recent studies that media exposure can have sizeable impact in shaping political behaviour despite individuals' tendency to seek out information that agrees with their pre-existing views (example, Lawson and McCann (2005). For as Berelson (1948), posits "some kinds of communication on some kinds of issues (example, reports on high causality figure from electoral violence), brought to the attention of some kinds of people (fearful electorate) under some kinds of conditions (tensed electoral atmosphere) have some kinds of effects." The H.G. Well's War of the Worlds, (the 1938 radio broadcast which many thought they were listening to a live news bulletin informing them that Matians were taking over the United States (Cantril, 1940), demonstrated how media portrayals of dangerous scenarios could generate frightful effects.

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## **The Religious Conflicts in Southern Kaduna and National Development**

**Christopher .N. Ibenwa, Favour C. Uroko  
and Ndidiamaka V. Nnabuchi**

### **Introduction**

Just as religion as a concept is difficult to define, so is the dangers posed to the society are usually difficult to estimate. Nigeria as a nation is made up of different religious, ethnic and tribal groups, hence, there is bound to be differences in tenets, doctrines and ways of approaching the Supreme-being amongst the different religious adherents in Nigeria. When the religious faithful fail to accommodate other religions adherents, it results in religious conflict. Religious conflicts according to Gofwen (2004) forms a specific form of conflict between groups which differ ideologically along religious lines within a pluralistic setting with each striving for political relevance. Religious conflicts occur when there is a struggle for supremacy among religious groups. This supremacy might be political, economic, social or cultural in nature. This paper accesses the religious conflicts in Southern Kaduna

Southern Kaduna is made up of 12 local governments out of the 23 Local Government Areas of Kaduna state. Southern Kaduna has 30 chiefdoms with 12 major ethnic groups. The mainstay of her economy is agriculture. Also, worthy of mention is the discovery of nickel in the one of her local government areas. About 90 percent nickel was discovered at Dangoma in Kaninkon Chiefdom, Jema'a LGA in the north-West state of Kaduna (Elanza news, 2016). These areas have a high concentration of Christians. Due to the fact that southern Kaduna is made up of mostly Christians and north of Kaduna is made up of mainly Muslims, there has been growing hatred between both groups which has led to the loss of lives and destruction of properties worth millions of Nigeria.

Religious crises in southern Kaduna came to limelight with the Zango Kataf crisis of mid May 1992. According to Edward (2000):

A dusk-to-dawn curfew was imposed on Kaduna State on May 19, following two days of what reports described as religious clashes which claimed as many as 100 lives. . . .As rioters rampaged through the streets, looting and burning at will, the general hospital overflowed with the wounded. An eyewitness was quoted as saying "They had all kinds of injuries: from stones and clubs, machetes and knives, bows and arrows, and poisoned spears.

This conflict divided Kaduna state along religious lines. There became distrust in the state amongst various religious adherents. There arose what became known as Muslim and Christian neighbourhoods in Kaduna. These conflicts have continued to reoccur and hundreds of lives have been lost and are still being lost to the southern Kaduna religious crises.

This paper aims at ascertaining the causes of conflicts in southern Kaduna local government area. It assesses how detrimental this crisis has been to the development of southern Kaduna. The interpretative, as well as the descriptive phenomenological method of research, were used in this study. This methodology was used because it "...produces an account of lived experience in its own terms rather than one prescribed by pre-existing theoretical preconceptions and it recognizes that this is an interpretative endeavour as humans are sense-making organisms"(Smith and Osborn, 2015).

### **Conceptual Clarification**

Religious conflict results when a group of people with a belief or dogma finds it difficult to accommodate the belief and dogma of another group of people. This often results in physical and vocal assaults or cold war. Religious conflicts are more complex phenomena that engage a combination of contested domains, including power, personality, space or place, and group identity (Wendy, n.d). This portends that when two religious groups struggle for supremacy in power or to show their affinity in terms of their religious beliefs, religious conflicts occur. Okai (2007, p.22) sees religious conflict as a "struggle between and among individuals or groups over values and claims to scarce resources, status symbols, and power bases. The objective of the individuals or groups during conflict is to neutralize, injure or eliminate their rivals so that they can enjoy the scarce resources, the status symbols, and power bases."

In Nigeria, especially in northern Nigeria, religious conflicts was firmly rooted as a response to the colonial pattern of government employed and actualized by the Lord Lugard and his men. Gofwen (2004, p.59) notes: "To convince the Northern emirs and the sultan of the commitment of the colonial government towards maintaining the socio-political status quo, it became a matter of colonial policy not to interfere with the functioning of the existing institutions, rather, they were strengthened on the condition that they were accountable and made subservient to the colonial government." Nwaomah (2011, p.97) opines:

In these circumstances, and depending on the degree of threat that the colonial government thought each religion posed to the colonial system in a locality, the colonial authorities evolved administrative patterns that served their purpose of strengthening the colonial system. However, it seems, by its policies, that the colonial system developed a system of non-interference on Islamic affairs and seemed to have inadvertently limited the spread of Christianity in Northern Nigeria. Certain policies seemed to point in this direction.

Hence, religious conflicts, bigotry, tension have its roots in the process of struggle for political or ideological supremacy amongst the two major religions in southern Kaduna.

National development refers to the ability of a nation to improve the lives of its citizens. Measures of improvement may be material, such as an increase in the gross domestic product, or social, such as literacy rates and availability of healthcare

(Reference, 2017). Rico (2014) writes that national development can also be defined as the “ability of a country or countries to improve the social welfare of the people e.g by providing social amenities like quality education, potable water, transportation, infrastructure, medical care, etc. For Tolu and Abe (2011, p.238) national development is the “the overall development or a collective socio-economic, political as well as religious advancement of a country or nation.” Religious conflicts have a lot of contribution to the development of any community. When there is peace, infrastructural and intellectual development continues to be the order of the day. But, when there is war, rancour, and strive, it halts developmental plans.

### **The Southern Kaduna Crises**

Kauru, Kachia, Zango-Kataf, Kaura, Kagarko, Jaba, Jema’a, Sanga, are the local government areas that constitute southern Kaduna. It was known as southern Zaria before Nigeria got her independence from the Britain in 1960. Most crisis in southern Kaduna starts with land disputes before it degenerates to a full-blown religious war. The 1987 burning down of College of Education Kafanchan signalled the hatred between the Christians and Muslims in Kaduna. Zwahu (2012) writes that Muslim Students Society attacked students of the College of Education hence the escalation of the crisis along religious lines. Ajunwa (2011) reports that the crisis at the college of education “spread to other parts of the state leading to the burning of places of worship, with many lives and properties worth millions of naira lost. Consequently, in 1992, the Zango Kataf Crisis catalyzed into the hike in killings in southern Kaduna. The Zangon Katab has the Atyap as the dominant ethnic group. Tyap is the language that the Katabs speak. The Zango Kataf crisis was bloody in February 6th and May 15th and 16th 1992. Nixus (2011) reports that the Zango Kataf communal clash became a religious clash, with lives and property destroyed. It started in a market place in Zango Kataf, between indigenes and strangers, as to who controls the market.

Furthermore, in 1999, there was an ethno-religious assault and aggression against Southern Kaduna Christians. Edward (2000) reveals that residents of Jama’a emirate took the opportunity of the appointment of a new Emir of Jama’a to protest not only this appointment but the entire emirate system, but unknown to them the protest turned into rioting between the Hausa minority and the non-Hausa majority resulting in the deaths of perhaps 30 persons and the injury of several others. Also, Zwahu (2012) talks of the Sharia riots in Southern Kaduna in the year 2000. Southern Kaduna people were killed, beaten, matcheted, and Human Right Watch (2003) describes it as the single worst outbreak of violence in Nigeria since the 1967-70 civil war. Consequently, according to the Report of the Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Kaduna State Religious Disturbances of February 2000(2001):

The 2000 violence in Kaduna took place in two main waves—sometimes referred to as “Sharia 1” and “Sharia 2” — a first wave from February 21 to 25, with further killings in March, followed by a second wave from May 22 to 23. In reaction to the prospect of the introduction of Sharia into Kaduna Sate, the Kaduna branch of the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) organized a public protest on February 21. Then the

situation degenerated: Muslim youths clashed with the Christian protestors, and fighting between Christians and Muslims spiraled (sic) out of control, with massive violence and destruction on both sides. An accurate, total death toll has never been ascertained, and as is typical in these situations, government and police officials were keen to play down the figures. A judicial commission of inquiry set up by the Kaduna state government reported that at least 1,295 people had been killed, while an unspecified additional number were buried unidentified, and others were declared missing.

Also, in 2002, in Birnin Gwari, a woman was killed, and they alleged that the killer was wearing a fez cap; one Kataf man who had been away at Zaria when the incident occurred, returned to Birnin Gwar and was killed, several other “Katafs” i.e Southern Kaduna people were killed, their houses and property burnt (Zwahu, 2012). This 2002 crisis according to international observers like the human right watch erupted because the factors that led to the 2000 crisis were not addressed.

In 2011, September 2, Zwahu (2012) explains that, a Sallah procession was allowed to take place under heavy police and military guard, and the celebrants-in-procession carried and waved different weapons, including machetes, knives, swords, cutlasses and other dangerous instruments of war and they drove their motorcycles wildly, knocked down and killed two Arna women. The youths put up strategies to defend their community but late in the evening of that day, the army JTF launched attacks on houses at Adauwan breaking down doors, dragging out youths, hammered them with gun butts, beat and brutalized them.

Very importantly to state, is the 2016 southern Kaduna massacre which some nongovernmental organizations have titled genocide against southern Kaduna indigenes. Ajiha (2016) narrates thus:

The Catholic Archdiocese of Kafanchan says the unrest in southern Kaduna State has claimed 808 lives. Fifty three villages have so far been attacked and 57 people injured, the church said. Governor Nasir El Rufai said the attackers are foreign Fulani herdsmen, who were avenging past attacks on them and their livestock. Mr. Yakubu said four local government areas have been attacked, with 808 people killed and 1,422 houses, 16 Churches, 19 shops, and one primary school destroyed.

However, the Miyetti Allah Cattle Breeders Association, the umbrella organization of herdsmen notes that the group said it has lost no fewer than 6,000 cows to the crisis in Southern Kaduna. The group faulted claims by independent bodies that the indigenes of southern Kaduna were the sole victims of the conflict going on there.

### **Causes of the Crises**

The causes of the crises in southern Kaduna cannot be underestimated. One of the causes is the fight for supremacy over land. Luka (2017) relying on information from Musa Kaptain Solomon, president of Southern Kaduna Peoples Union, writes that the quest for Southern Kaduna land, through the creation of grazing reserves is the cause of the southern Kaduna crisis. It could be deciphered that southern Kaduna has agriculture as the main stay of her economy, hence, the vegetative nature of her

ecosystem. The herdsmen having no green vegetation to use to feed their cattle resort to taking their cattle into the farm lands of the indigenes or southern Kaduna. Consequently, fully armed as the herdsmen were any resistance from indigene would be met with a return of fire from the nozzle of a gun and the edge of a cutlass. Furthermore, Luka (2017) explains that the first is expropriating lands belonging to indigenes of southern Kaduna and giving it to the Fulani. The second is that if they resist, they would be killed and chased out. The third is that southern Kaduna shall be kept under perpetual intimidation until they run away from their lands on their own.

Foreigners, from mostly Niger, Mali and Chad have constituted themselves as tools to be used in the destruction of lands and properties in southern Kaduna. This is evident in the speech by the Governor of Kaduna state, Mallam Rufai that the attackers were from Niger, Cameroon, Chad, Mali and Senegal and that the attack on southern Kaduna was a reprisal attack to what southern Kaduna indigenes did to them after the 2011 elections. The governor further noted how he went and pleaded for a stoppage to the incessant riots in southern Kaduna the herdsmen asked for monetary compensation and he as the governor paid them (Seun, 2016). For this statement, the governor has been able to prove that the perpetrators of these crises in southern Kaduna are mercenaries from neighbouring countries.

Hate Speeches, claims and counter claims are other contributory factors to the continued survival of religious conflicts in southern Kaduna. The exchange of war provoking statements from both the leaders of the Christian Association of Nigeria and the Islam leaders have fuelled the reoccurrence of the war and cold war in southern Kaduna. For the Islam leaders, Luka (2017) writes that, they said that the issue of grazing reserves is not related to this problem, because the grazing reserves have been there since the colonial days, hence, the right of the Fulani to own the land, that is why the herdsmen should not be held accountable for what they do. Also, the Minister of Interior, Abdulrahman Dambazau, said: “. . . there are people who are always looking for ways to further create division along religious or ethnic fault lines for their selfish interest, with the aim of creating instability in our internal security...True religious leaders do not fan the embers of hate, but ensure that communities live in peace and harmony”. Dambazau was referring to leaders of the CAN and the Roman Catholic Church. The Kaduna state Christian Association of Nigeria replied him, “Shut up if you have nothing to say. . . it would be an unfortunate thing for a Minister like Dambazau to say that the Christian leadership in the country was fanning the embers of hatred.” This exchange of vocal war words has served to fuel the disputes between indigenes and non-indigenes in southern Kaduna which have degenerated into a religious conflict.

The hypocrisy of security agencies has not helped matters, in the worsening situations in southern Kaduna. According to the report of the International Centre for investigative Justice (2014), the killings in southern Kaduna continues relentlessly, as the state and security agencies appear helpless in tackling the crisis and ICIJ reveals that southern Kaduna has been attacked about 41 times between 2009 and May 1, 2016, with hundreds of deaths and thousands of property destroyed. The security agencies of Nigeria are made up of the Nigerian army, Nigerian police, and State

Security Service, amongst others. Lamenting further, Luka (2016) notes that the community members in some of the affected southern local government areas said that, “there is a large presence of police in Goska now. But as far as we are concerned, it means nothing to us. They have burnt the whole town and destroyed our possession. This morning, (yesterday) we counted 11 persons killed, about 15 injured.” Henry (2017) notes that, “We are, however, disturbed that the police and other security agencies have for too long allowed the herdsmen a free reign to destroy farmlands with their cattle, while maiming and killing those who stand in their way in the farming communities of Zamfara, Katsina, Taraba, Kogi, Enugu, Lagos and Niger states.” This shows clearly that the populace has lost fate in security agencies.

### **Southern Kaduna and National development**

National development could be seen as the disposal with which a state is able to cater for the lives of her citizenry. National development could be political, religious, economic or social in structure. Southern Kaduna has for long being retarded from achieving her great potentials and thus contributing her quota to the national growth and development. The survival and sponsorship of these killings of both of Christians and Muslims have not yielded any gains to both sides. Consequently, the effects that this wanton destruction of lives and properties had brought to people of southern Kaduna are innumerable. Many hectares of farmlands, as well as its produce, have been destroyed. Food produced such as yam and tomatoes were devastated as a result of the crises. The means of livelihood of the indigenes of southern Kaduna have been destroyed. These problems have not gone down well with the people of southern Kaduna. Hunger and starvation have been the lot of survivors in southern Kaduna. However, the contributions which southern Kaduna would add to the development of the country could be achieved if, first, the issue of land grazing should be appropriately addressed by the government. Both groups, the Christians and the Muslims in southern Kaduna should come to a consensus on which land, if any, should be given as a grazing reserve. Dialogue should be the watchword in achieving a level playing field for Muslims and Christians in southern Kaduna.

Second, the leaders of CAN and the Islamic community should as a matter of urgent attention control the use of hate speeches. For words which could overheat the polity should be avoided for the sake of peace. Religious leaders should avoid the use of the media to showcase their anger; instead, they should resort to action, such as assisting the affected communities in self-defence and provision of essential services. This is in a bid to avoid an escalation of the conflict. This is evident in the escalation of the conflict caused by the burning down, by Muslim youths, of the college of education Kafachan. What religious leaders should do is to condemn the destruction of lives and properties just like the Sultan of Sokoto and president-general of the Nigerian Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs Alhaji Muhammad Sa’ad Abubakar III, rather than resorting to war mongering. In his denunciation, the sultan notes that “these events in its entirety particularly because they run contrary to fundamental Islamic law which ordains human life to be sacred and strongly forbids its unlawful destruction except for a just course... We also wish to call on the Federal government

to objectively investigate the matter and prosecute whoever that is found guilty irrespective of the person's tribe, creed and/or social status"(Nkem, 2017). If religious leaders follow suit, issues of religious crisis would be minimized to a bearable scale.

Third, the nation's security agencies like the Nigerian army and the police should desist from being partisan in religious conflicts. A situation where the nations security agencies, aid a religious group with arms and ammunition to kill members of other groups does not portend well for the Nigerian nascent democratic challenges. Hence, Henry (2017) notes that the security agencies should strategize, organize and confront the armed herdsmen, and thereafter treat them as common criminals. The herdsmen's incessant attacks on farming communities should be taken as a war on the state, and the security agencies should respond appropriately.

Fourth, Kaduna state is made up of Christian and Muslim religions votaries. The person in the seat of power, in the person of the governor, should learn to play politics void of religious sentiments. Issues related to the loss of lives and properties should be dealt with as fast as possible without hesitation. Perpetrators of religious conflicts in the region should be fished out and dealt with publicly and appropriately. Thus, the *Vanguard* (2016) laments that, "The attacks have continued unabated because no one has ever been arrested and prosecuted to deter others from committing similar crimes.

Fifth, religious freedom as enshrined in the 1999 constitution of the federal republic of Nigeria should be followed and adhered to. The various ethnic groups in southern Kaduna and its environs should be made to accept and accommodate votaries or faithful of other religions. Government neglect and victimization, marginalization and nepotism foster religious fanaticism.

Sixth, educating the youth could go a long way in reorienting and changing the ideology of those that have been negatively indoctrinated. Anish (2010) notes that education plays a vital role in the development of human civilization, and it is the prime key to personality change. Education makes people civilized, well mannered, aware, well-skilled and responsible. With education, the ideology of the people are restructured and it enlightens the mind against negative indoctrinations.

### **Conclusion**

The southern Kaduna religious crisis is brought about by the inability of groups with different ideology to accommodate themselves. This is the situation in southern Kaduna. Many lives and properties have been destroyed as a result of the religious conflicts between Christians and Muslims in southern Kaduna. The December 2016 Massacre of defenceless women, children and the elderly men in southern Kaduna demands condemnation from spirited individuals and the government. Dialogue should be used as a way of settling disputes rather than resorting to violence. The government should make sure that all those involved in any act of religious conflicts should be made to bear the full weight of the law.

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## **Archaeological Reconnaissance of Obangogo Hill, Kabba, Kogi State, Nigeria**

**Joshua O. Uzuegbu, Jacinta U. Ikegwu, Anselm M. Ibeanu,  
Alex I. Okpoko**

### **Introduction**

Obangogo hill is a remarkable heritage in Egunbe village, Kabba because the people believe that their fore-fathers once inhabited the hill before relocating to their present settlement at Otu-Egunbe. The people also believe that the hill provided a place of refuge for them during the 18<sup>th</sup> century tribal wars waged by Agatu warlords of the old Nupe kingdom. Archaeological reconnaissance of Obangogo hill shows evidence of human activities from the past to the present. Such activities include manufacture and use of stone tools like rock shelters, grinding stones, elliptical rock hollows, stone cooking hearth, rock boulders, stone wall. Other evidence of human activities on the hill includes potsherds, clay pots, baobab trees and palm trees. There has never been any archaeological study carried out on Obangogo hill, rather the historical account of the hill and the use of the hill for tourism development in Kabba has been documented (Omolehin, 2014 and Owoleke, 2015). The present archaeological reconnaissance of Obangogo hill is an effort to identify and document features and artifacts against the backdrop of threats posed by human and natural activities around the hill.

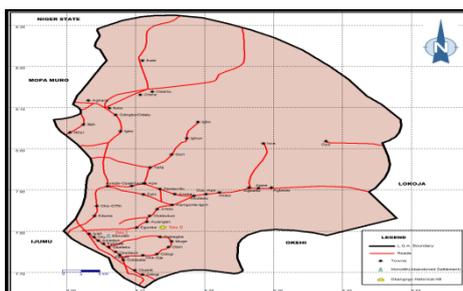
### **Research Objectives and Method**

This research is aimed at identification, collection and documentation of data for future archaeological excavation which will throw more light the role of Obangogo hill in the early history of Kabba. The research method used in this study is archaeological survey/reconnaissance and oral traditions aimed at data collection for the understanding of human activities on the hill. Through archaeological reconnaissance features such as rock shelters, elliptical rock hollows, grinding stones, stone wall, rock boulders were identified. Also surface collection of potsherds, clay pots and other material remains were made. Photographs of the features were also taken. Also In-depth oral interview was also administered on selected elders of the community such as chief priest, opinion leaders, hunters and farmers who are knowledgeable in the oral traditions as well as human activities associated with the hill.

### **Background Information**

Kabba is a junction town with roads connecting to neighbouring towns like Ilorin in the north-west, Bunu land to the north, Lokoja in the northeast, Ijumuland in the south-west, Okene in the south-east. Kabba was the administrative headquarter of Kabba Province of the defunct Northern Region of Nigeria. Later the Province became known as Oyi Division following the creation of Kwara State in 1967. With

the creation of Kogi State in 1991, Kabba became part of the state and subsequently the headquarters of Kogi Western Senatorial District and also the headquarters of Kabba-Bunu Federal Constituency. The town has a tripodal traditional leadership called Obaro, Obadofin and Obajemu. The Obaro whose palace is located at Odoawofin quarters remains the chairman of the Okun traditional council (Lewu 2010). Kabba is presently the headquarters of Kabba/Bunu Local Government Area of Kogi State. It is situated in the North Western fringe of the state and has a total land area at 2, 706 km<sup>2</sup> and also has the following geographical coordinates: 7<sup>0</sup> 50' 0" N, 6<sup>0</sup> 4' 0" E.

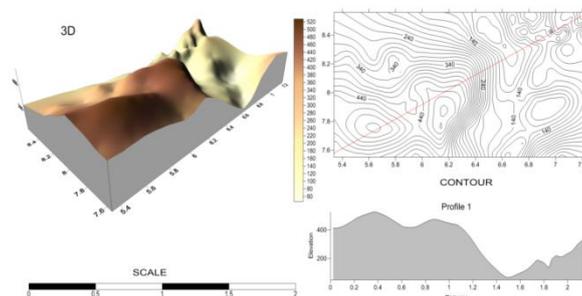


**Fig. 1: Map of Kabba/ Bunu L.G.A  
(Modified from Kabba/Bunu L.G.A Map)**

Obangogo hill is located on the fringes of Egunbe village approximately 4km South East from Kabba town, along Okene-Kabba high way. The hill is in the thick forest with a towering height that beckons on visitors in the middle of the forest (Omolehin, 2014). People from Egunbe village believe that their ancestors once inhabited Obangogo hill before relocating to their present location. Obangogo is a massive rock formation with rock out-crops, rock shelters, rock boulders, grinding stones, stonewall, stone-like coffin, grinding mill. Also plants including Palm tree-*Elaeis guineensis* Baobab-*Adansonia digitata*, Mango tree-*Mangifera indica*, Cashew tree-*Anacardium occidentale*, Aloe Vera-*Aloe barbadensis miller* are seen growing on the hill. The highest peak on the hill is 514.3 meters above sea-level. The above archaeological and historic features suggest its use as ancient settlement.



**Plate 1: Side View of Obangogo Hill**



**Fig. 2: Profile Map of Obangogo Hill**

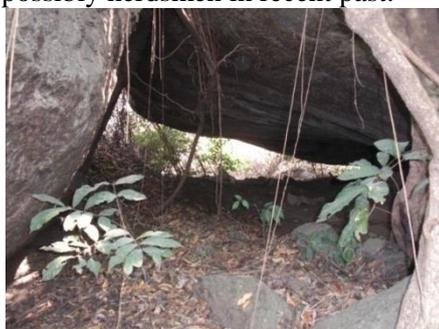
### **Archaeological Reconnaissance of Obangogo Hill**

#### **Rock Shelters**

This is a twin rock shelter located at the South eastern part of the hill. They are situated approximately 427.2 meters above sea-level and the coordinates are 7°44'57.1"N and 6°4'38.7"E. The height of the overhang of the first rock shelter is 10 meters, height of the cavity is 2.35 meters, and width is 12 meters while random soil deposit is 14cm thick. Cultural materials identified in this rock shelter include potsherds and large quantities of palm kernel *Elaise guinensis* with unique openings suggestive of rodent actions. The height of the over-hang of the second shelter is 15 meters the height of cavity 1.5 meters, the width is 14 meters, while the soil deposit is 18cm. Two lower grinding stones were identified inside the second rock shelter. They are made from granite rock and stand 1.5 meters apart. The two grinding stones are shown in plates 4 and 5.

A stone cooking heart is also discovered in the second rock shelter. It is made from granite rock and situated 50cm close to both lower grinding stones. Also, pieces of charcoal and six (6) partially used fire wood lay beside the hearth. The cooking hearth has the following measurement: length 48cm; width 34cm, and depth 18cm. (see plate 6).

A water pot has a circumference of 22cm, diameter of 11cm and the depth is 18cm. The pot is well burnished and glossy with an everted rim. The roof of the rock shelter as well as the walls were smoked as a result of smoking and cooking of food possibly herdsmen in recent past.



**Plate 2: Obangogo Rock shelter (1)**



**Plate 3: Obangogo Rock shelter 11**



**Plate 4: First Grinding Stone inside RS (11) Plate 5: Second Grinding Stone inside RS (11)**



**Plate 6: Stone Cooking Hearth inside Rock shelter (11)**

### **Stone wall**

A stone wall with an entrance for movement in and out of the Obangogo hill during the period of its occupation was identified. The wall stands at 428 meters above sea-level with length of 92meters. The coordinates are 7°44'55.3"N and 6°4'32.3"E. The actual height could not be ascertained due to collapse of the stones over time. The wall was formed by piling rocks on top of each other, till it formed a fence (elder Olumide Simon, per.com. 2015). (See plate 7).



**Plate 7: Collapsed Stone Wall**

### **Big Elliptical Rock Hollows**

Elliptical rock hollows known as *ako* in local dialect is another interesting archaeological feature found on the hill. There are fifteen of them located on the hill. Ten of these hollows are located on the lower flat area of the hill, while the remaining five are located at the topmost part of the hill. The approximate depth of these hollows is 1.66m; while the approximate diameter is between 88cm, and 5cm of black humus soil deposit. The coordinates are 7°44'52.7"N and 6°4'24.4"E. Some of them are reservoir for water (see plate 8) which the people believed to have healing powers and water hardly dries in the hollows, even during the peak of the dry season.

However, after abandoning the hill, local farmers have turned these elliptical hollows into cassava and palm oil processing mills, using the water for the production. Metal drums, burnt charcoal, cooking hearth, dried process cassava, cans of assorted drinks littered around the hollows, suggestive of continuous human use.



**Plate 8: Bigger Elliptical Rock Hollows -*ako***

### **Small Elliptical Rock Hollows**

A total of one hundred and three small rock hollows were identified on top of the hill. The average measurement of these hollows ranges is 42cm diameter, 21cm

radius and depth of 8cm. The coordinates are 7°44'59.3"N and 6°4'20.8"E. These features appear to be a milling area used by the inhabitants of the hill to prepare food and other edibles. (See plate 9).



**Plate 9: Aerial view of Smaller Rock Hollows**

### **Grinding Stones**

There are two lower grinding stones found along the path way to the hill. These grinding stones appear to be fashioned from the rock material from the hill. Below is the table showing values for grinding stones, while plates 10 and 11 show their shapes.



**Plate 10: First Grinding Stone along Obangogo Hill    Plate 11: Second Grinding Stone along Obangogo Hill**

### **Three Spherical Rock Boulders on the Hill**

There are three big spherical rock boulders stationed at the upper-most part of the hill. These rock boulders represents three prominent kings in Kabba, namely *Obaro*, *Obadofin* and *Obajemu*. The coordinates are 7.44°77.6"N and 6°4'20.6"E.

The three boulders according to oral traditions represent the three brothers who left Ile-Ife on a hunting expedition and founded Kabba. The sizes of the rocks reflect the level of influence and authority exercised by these kings. The biggest boulder is named after *Obaro*, the paramount ruler of Kabba, while the other two are named after *Obodofin* and *Obajemu* according to their second and third class status respectively (per.com.2015). The rocks chronicled a popular war story where the three kings became invisible to invaders during wars and the whole community appeared as rocks to the invaders. The story probably accounts for the numerous rock boulders found at the upper-most part of the Obangogo hill (Lewu 2010). The boulders are shown in plates 12-14.



**Plate 12: Rock boulder Representing Obaro**  
**Plate 13: Rock boulder Representing Obadofin**  
**Plate 14: Rock boulder Representing Obajemu**

#### **Stone Drum and Stone Coffin**

At the highest peak of the hill, lies an elliptical shaped granite boulder rock called *Ilu* (talking drum). The rock, when struck with smaller rock pebble, produces fascinating sound. According to oral traditions, a certain warrior named *Eleha* made a promise to the gods that upon his return from the war, he would make a sacrifice of a dog with two horns. However, as he failed to get such dog upon his return, he committed suicide, because he could not withstand the shame of failed promise and

its consequence. Therefore, on his burial day, as his corpse accompanied with drum beats was being carried to the evil forest for burial, a strong wild wind came upon the people and an unknown voice started singing “*hum humhum Okabagbe Eleha re*” (where are you carrying *Eleha*’s body to). Unknown to the people, the wind had carried *Eleha*’s corpse and dropped it at the lower part of the South eastern section of the hill. Subsequently, the corpse turned into a stone-shaped coffin, while the drum turned to a stone-shaped drum,(Obaroyefun Ola,per.com.2015) The length of the rock coffin is 2.36m; width at base is 76cm; width at middle is 70cm; width at head is 72cm and the height from the ground is 30cm. (See plates 16 and 17.)



**Plate 16: A local Guide beating the Stone Drum –*Ilu***

**Plate 17: Stone-like Coffin of Eleha**

**Baobab trees:** Two baobab trees *Adansonia digitata* are identified at Obangogo hill. One which fell down and continued to grow is located in front while the second is situated at by the left side of the hill



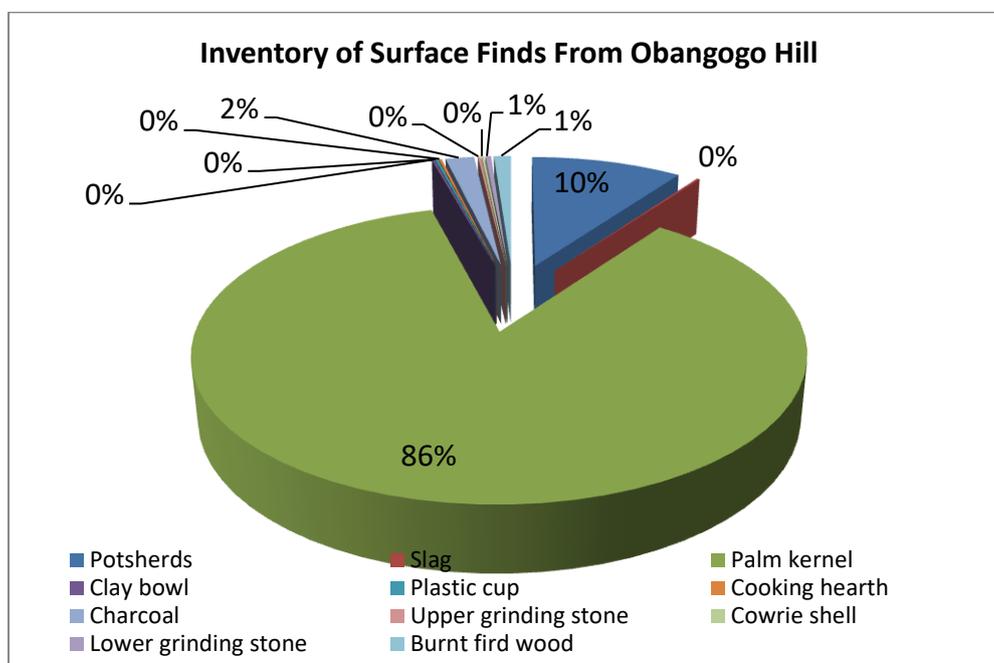
**Plate 18: Baobab Tree- *Adansonia digitata* in front of Obangogo Hill**

**Analysis of Surface Finds from Obangogo Rock shelters**

Cultural materials recovered from the shelters suggest that both are still in use. Below is a table and pie-chart of inventory of materials recovered from both rock shelters.

**Table 3: Surface finds Collected from Obangogo Rock shelters**

S/N	Items	R.S 1	R.S. 2	Total	Percentage of occurrence
1	Potsherds	15	38	53	9.833024
2	Slag	1	-	1	0.185528
3	Palm kernel	450	12	462	85.71428
4	Clay bowl	-	1	1	0.185528
5	Plastic cup	-	1	1	0.185528
6	Cooking hearth	-	1	1	0.185528
7	Charcoal	-	10	10	1.855287
8	Upper grinding stone	-	1	1	0.185528
9	Cowries shell	-	1	1	0.185528
10	Lower grinding stone	-	2	2	0.371057
11	Burnt fire wood	-	6	6	1.113172
<b>Total</b>		<b>466</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>539</b>	<b>100.00</b>



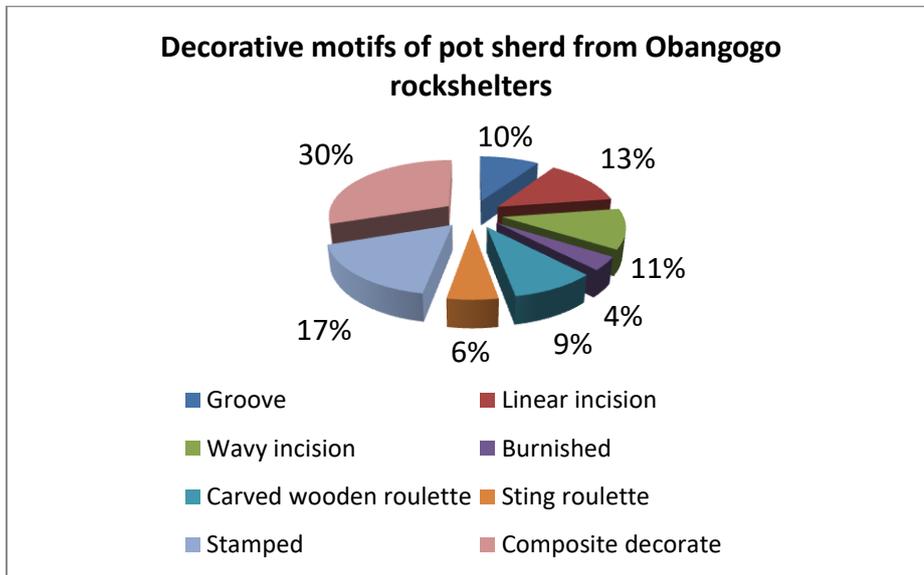
**Fig 3: Surface Finds from Obangogo Rock shelters**

**Analysis of Potsherds from Obangogo Rock shelters**

A total of fifty three (53) potsherds were recovered from both rock shelters. They are grouped as follows, seventeen (17) rims and thirty-six (36) body parts. Some of motifs on the potsherds are incision, groove, stamped and burnished however, those with composite decorations accounted for the highest occurrence with a total of sixteen (16) 30.1%. The percentage distribution of decorative motifs are shown in table 4; fig. 4.

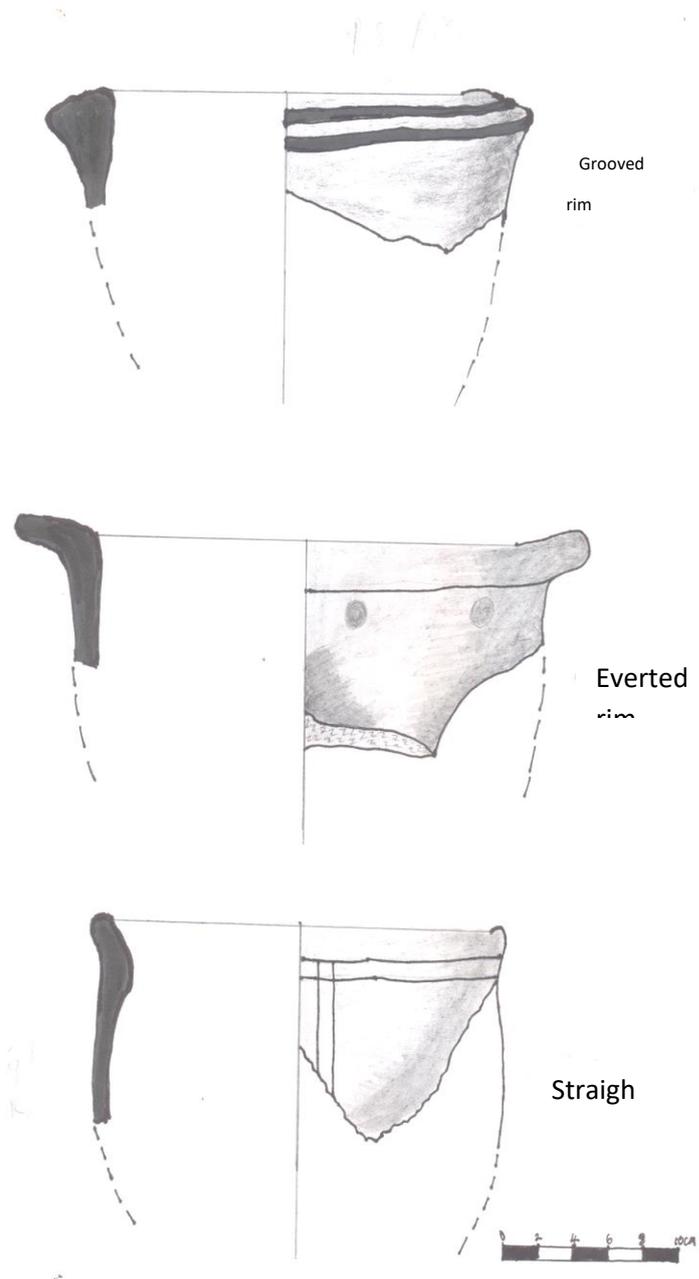
**Table 4: Decorative Motifs on Potsherds from Obangogo Rock shelters**

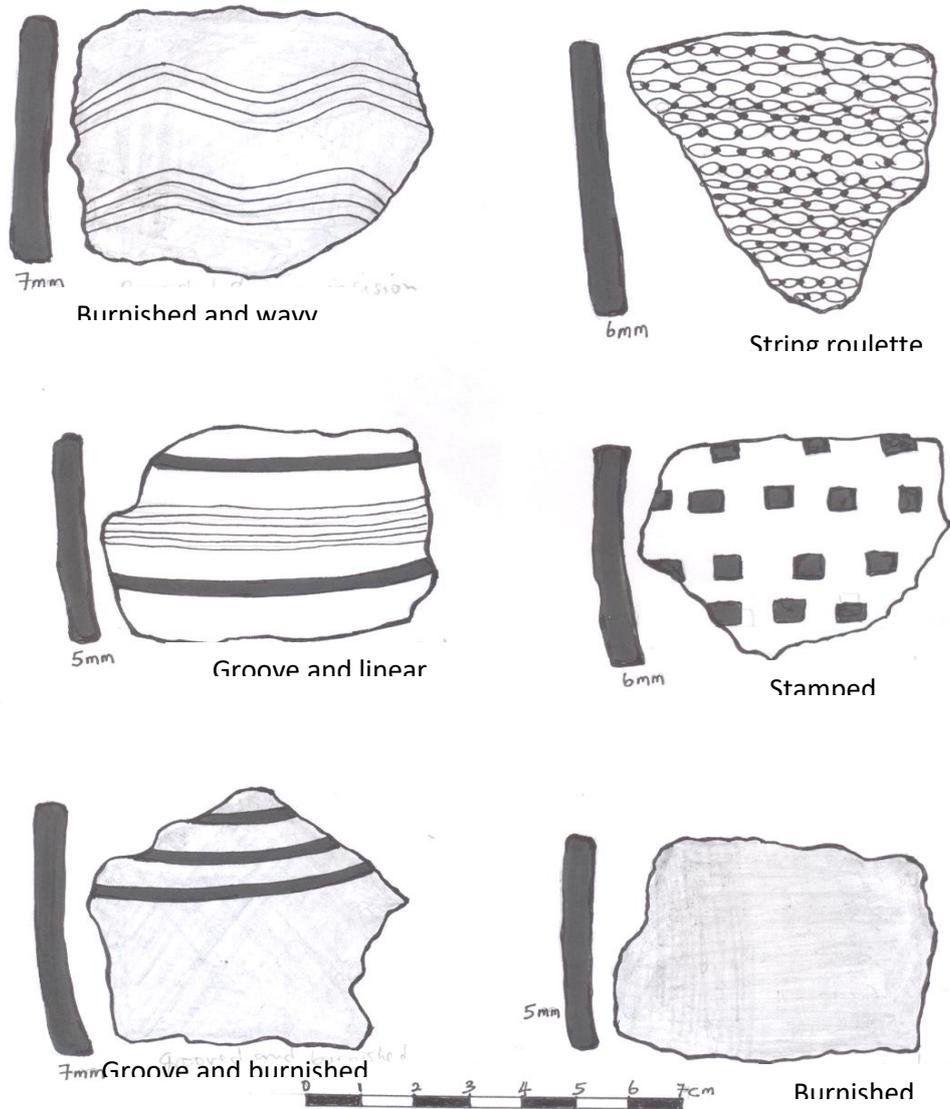
N	Decorative motif	Quantity	Percentage occurrence
1	Groove	5	9.433962
2	Linear incision	7	13.20754
3	Wavy incision	6	11.32075
4	Burnished	2	3.773584
5	Carved wood roulette	5	9.433962
6	String roulette	3	5.660377
7	Stamped	9	16.98113
8	Composite decoration	16	30.18867
<b>Total</b>		<b>53</b>	<b>100.00</b>



**Fig. 4: Pie-chart Showing Decorative Motif on Potsherds from Obangogo Rock shelters**

**Fig.5: Illustration of Rim Types from Obangogo Rock Shelters**





**Fig. 6: Illustrations of Decorative Motifs on Potsherds from Obangogo Rock shelters**

**Discussion**

Rock shelters were identified at Obangogo hill and they contain cultural materials which were studied to answer certain questions about the early history of the people. The grinding stones and cooking hearth must have been fashioned from the large boulder rock outcrops sourced from the hill. The rock hollows and grinding

stones are evidence of human occupation and transition in grinding technology. The elliptical rock hollows are *in situ* and are clustered together in a way suggestive of communal use. Both the bigger and smaller elliptical rock hollows were fashioned by constant rubbing of the rock surface with abrasive rock there by creating depression on the surface till the desired shapes and sizes are made. Presently, rain water from these hollows is used by farmers to process cassava before they are spread in the sun as well as water reservoir for both human and animals. However, with the migration of the people down the hill, they possibly made portable grinding stones which they carried along and this probably account for the grinding stones found along the track road to Obangogo hill. Grinding stones were used to process edibles such as vegetables, pepper, tomatoes, spices, guinea corn and local medicine. The bigger grinding stones were believed to be used in processing big quantities of food materials, while the smaller ones were particularly used for the processing of smaller quantities of food and local medicines. From the avalanche of archaeological materials retrieved from the site, one can safely argue that agriculture and intensive food production were carried out by the people.

Cooking hearth, burnt firewood, processed and dried cassava are spread at the lower flat surface of the hill, an indication of current human activity. Items like clay pot, ashes, plastic cup, cowry shell and charcoal found inside the second rock shelter indicate continuous use of the shelter by farmers and herdsman as rest house. In the same vein, large quantity of palm kernel with round openings with its inner contents removed found at the first rock shelter is suggestive of rodent activities especially during non farming period.

The stone wall with an open entrance constructed in front of the hill provided fortification for the people. Ogundele (1994) and Aliyu (2014) observed that walling systems may differ in purpose from one society to the other where it may be for security reasons or agricultural boundaries. However, it is believed that the stone wall at Obangogo is for security purpose because it stretches about 1.5km with an opening at the front of the hill. Its original height could not be ascertained because much of the stones have collapsed, however it is believed to be high enough to serve its purpose. The presence of baobab trees *Adansonia digitata* is another indication suggestive of early human settlement. Ogunfolakan (2002) note that baobab tree is a good indicator for settlement areas in Yoruba land where they are mostly found around markets situated near king's palace. Two baobab trees were identified at Obangogo hill. One is positioned in an open space in front of the hill, while the other by the left hand side of the hill.

Potsherds collected from the site shows that it was occupied for a long period of time during which pottery vessels were widely used. Though, the people of Kabba are not pottery makers, they however procured pottery vessels from neighboring pottery communities like Ogga and Iffe-Ijumu. The potsherds suggest the intensity of trade relationship between Kabba and her neighboring pottery producing communities. In addition, it shows that the site was a residential settlement where pottery vessels were used for domestic, religious and social functions as can be seen from various decorative motifs and rim types.

### **Conclusion**

The study has been able to use archaeological reconnaissance and oral interview to identify, collect and document useful archaeological data which will guide future excavation that can help in throwing more light on the usefulness of Obangogo hill during the early history of Kabba people. Some of the data which bear imprints of early human retouch and use include rock shelters, elliptical rock hollows, grinding stones, cooking hearth and stone wall. Artifacts like potsherds, plastic cup and cowry shell were also collected and studied to determine their use and relevance to the people. The recovered potsherds show that Obangogo hill was occupied for a fairly long period of time during which trade and external relationship with her neighbors were established. This is in addition to the fact that former occupants of the hill were active in their social and religious life.

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### **Interviews**

- Abejirin Rapheal, an elder, 82 years old, interviewed at his residence in Otu-Egunbe, 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2015
- Ibisagba Johnson, a retired civil servant, 87 years old, interviewed at his residence in Fehinit Kabba town. 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2015
- Obaroyefun Ola, a chief, 75 years old, interviewed at his residence in Otu-Egunbe. 10<sup>th</sup> February, 2015
- Olumide Simon, an elder, 90 years old, interviewed at his residence, Otu-Egunbe. 12<sup>th</sup> February, 2015

## **Stylistic and Rhetoric Implications of Syntactic Features in Chinua Achebe's *Anthills of the Savannah***

**Bertha Chioma Onyemachi and Chinwe P. Anyachonkeya**

### **Introduction**

Stylistic which is generally referred to as the scientific or linguistic study of style is defined by Crystal and Davy as the analysis of a writer's language habits, with the main purpose of identifying from the general mass of linguistic features common to English, those features which are restricted to certain kinds of social context (10). Their basic argument is that stylistic analysis and description is a necessary part of clarifying linguistic problems of interpretation or at least pointing to where ambiguity lies. Stylistically, Achebe's narrative in *Anthills of the Savannah* shows his artistic dexterity to navigate through boundless possibilities in creative language to express his message.

Achebe's novels like *Things Fall Apart*, *No Longer at Ease*, *Arrow of God*, etc; have generally been known for their simplicity of style. *Anthills of the Savannah*, however, extensively depart from such characterization in details of its language, structure and subject. Unlike his rural novels noted for their simplicity of style, Achebe's language in *Anthills of the Savannah* is highly sophisticated and complex. This complexity in language is achieved at the two levels of syntax and lexis. The analysis in this study is undertaken at the level of syntax. The verbal pattern of the narrative exhibits different syntactic structures containing certain linguistic characteristics of uncommon interest which enable Achebe to communicate unique and outstanding ideas and experience to his audience. The features range from simple sentence structures to complex and compound sentences. In the verbal structure of *Anthills of the Savannah* the novelist has highly organized and patterned language at the various linguistic levels of syntactic, semantic and lexical categories to achieve his thematic and stylistic goals. Rhetorics according to Cook is concerned with how to do things with words to achieve effects and communicate successfully with people in particular context (7). Batool et al., state that style is a primary aspect of any literary piece, and it is the basic thing that gives uniqueness to any writer (1).

### **Background of the study**

Many African critics have written to analyze and comment on African literature over the years. Their common approaches to such literary works have generally been theme-based. Their discussion and handling of style have been rather meager. Chinua Achebe has written a number of novels which include the focus of this study, *Anthills of the Savannah*. The author has been described as the foremost Nigerian novelist and an unchallenged founder of authentic language novelistic tradition in the whole of west Africa. Achebe himself according to Killam was the first Nigerian novelist to point out the necessity of style in the novel, marshaling out the resources of language to create a distinct texture and tone to define themes and

meaning (3). Achebe states that the writer in our society should be able to possess and display a vision of his life in his work. Analyse the cause and implications of many kinds of different actions in contemporaneous scenes and bring them out in a form that is dramatic and memorable (21). The study examines an aspect of the stylistic devices Achebe has used to craft his art in the novel *Anthills of the Savannah*. The study explores the syntactic techniques and strategies and their stylistic import to the narrative.

### **Methodology**

The verbal structures of a literary text can be analysed in three ways; the clause elements which go to make up each sentence; the presentation of the content in the theme/rheme and topic/comment format; and the wider organization of each sentence into declarative, interrogative imperative patterns. The approach adopted for this analysis is the first: the analysis of the clause elements. The Hallidayan Functional Grammar Analysis Model was used for the analysis of the syntactic structures. According to the Thirrumurthy, Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) is particularly suitable for the type of investigation that can be used to analyse any passage and relate it to its context in the discourse (9). Functional Grammar Analysis is used to interpret grammatical patterns in terms of configurations of functions by assuming an interpretation not only of the environment of the text, its “context of situation” and “context of culture”, but also of how the linguistic features relate to features of its environment and intentions of those involved in the production (Halliday x+).

### **Analysis of Syntactic Structures**

In *Anthills of the Savannah*, there is a high proportion of complex sentences typical of the Ciceronian style very popular with the English Renaissance writers of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The syntactic structure of the novel is replete with various linguistic features ranging from free and periodic sentence structures to loose sentence structures, paratactic or co-ordinate sentence structures and hypotactic sentence structures etc. The different sentence structures mentioned above are discussed under three structural classes: simple, compound and complex sentences. A general investigation of the sentence structures in *Anthills of the Savannah* is numerically represented by the researchers’ count as follows:-

Complex sentence	-	1,909
Compound sentence	-	380
Simple sentence	-	1,910

One can immediately see that the novel display a balance in style in the use of the of the two classes of complex and simple sentence structures found in this text of two hundred and thirty-three pages. Such complex sentences in *Anthills of the Savannah* are represented by the example below:

...But, while they were conscientiously grooming Okong slowly but surely into the future head of their local church in say twenty or thirty years, the young Reverend, bright, ambitious and in a great hurry was working secretly on schemes of his own,

one of which was to take him away altogether from the missionary vineyard to the circular campuses of a southern Black Collage in the United States of America itself to the dismay of hid Ohio Patrons who did not stop at accusation of ingratitude but mounted a determined campaign with US Immigration aimed at getting him deported.  
p.10

Long sentence belong to continuous prose. The above sentence is a typical example of this feature. The sentence is made up of ninety-nine words. There is a temporal adverbial initial construction preceded by a disjunctive conjunction. This sentence, declarative in function, opens wit “But while” which has the nature of an adjunct here setting up a contrastive relationship with what has preceded. The sentence falls into four parts and syntactic integration is achieved by relativism. The first part has as its clause elements- ASPA- Adjunct, Subject, Predictor, Adjunct instead of the usual SPCA - Subject, Predicator Complement, Adjunct.

But while they were conscientiously grooming Okong”

A

“the young Reverend” “was working” “secretly on schemes of his own”

S

P

A

The sentence commences with an adjunct – “while they were conscientiously grooming Okong”.

The first adjunct which is of time suggests that there is a contrast between what “they” intended and what “the young Reverend” had up his sleeves at the period. The contrast is introduced by the contrast words “but” and “while”.

The second part of the sentence – “one of which” “was”, “to take him away”,  
S P C

altogether to the secular campuses of a southern Black College in the United States of America to the dismay of his Ohio Patrons” is a subordinate clause backgrounded into the first part which is the main clause. The subordinate makes the information it gives on Okong’s schemes less salient as the information is already partially made known in advance in the main clause.

The subordinate clause is introduced by the relative pronoun “which” and this results in the adjective clause which the author uses to communicate a description of the scheme to the reader. The subject word “one” precedes what we might call its core in the “of which,” which represents the whole of the subject. The structure of this clause is SPCA with the “S” as – “one of which”. The “S” element indicates that Okong has other schemes which the “S” element is only a part of.

The third part of the sentence has a structure of SPC – “who” “did not stop”

S

p

“at accusation of ingratitude”.

C

The subordination of this clause is introduced by another relative pronoun “who” which refers to the “Ohio Patron” in the second clause to which it is

dependent. Thus this third subordinate clause becomes a circumstantial background against which the part is highlighted.

In the fourth part of the sentence there is an elision of the relative pronoun “who” which is supposed to introduced the clause in the final sequence of subordination. This elliptical infusion further heightens the complex nature of the whole sentence. Achebe also uses the elision to achieve intra-sentential cohesion.

The subordinate clause: “but mounted a determined campaign with US Immigration aimed at getting him deported” has also as its implied subject “who” which still refers to “his Ohio Patrons” in the second clause. By making the subjects of the third and fourth clause identical, the action taken by the “Ohio Patrons” us heightened and thrown into prominence. The identical referencing also serves to accentuate the function of the subject of the two clauses. The use of subordination as a syntactic form of salience with one clause leaping into another is a feature of the complex nature of the sentence. The subordination of one clause into another gives the sentence a chainlike structure with each clause dependent on its predecessor. The sentence contains a parallel structure within it the two qualifiers linked by “and” - “the young Reverend bright, ambitious” and “and in a great hurry”. Achebe employs the parallel structure as elucidatory mechanism to communicate facts and attitudes about the object “Okong”. This is a digression from the main structure of the sentence. There is also interrupted movements to further the elucidation introduced by the adverbials – “slowly but surely”, “secretly”; “while they were conscientiously grooming Okong”; “from the missionary vineyard”, “to the circular campuses of the Southern Black College”, “in the United State of America – are all adjuncts indicating manner, time and place respectively.

All these features discussed above account for the complex nature of the sentence. The use of subordination as a syntactic form of salience with one clause leaping into another is also a highlight on the complex nature of sentence discussed above. The discussion corroborates Leech and Short’s view that the complex form gives and withholds information, subordinates some ideas to others more important, and ties into a neat package as many suggestions, modifiers and asides as the mind can attend to in one (219). Achebe uses the complex sentences structure to inform, describe and elaborate on the different processes earlier reviewed in the study. It seems that the adoption of the complex sentence structure by Achebe in his style in this novel is to depict and highlight the educational level of his characters and linguistic competence. Furthermore, the actual locations of major incidents of the plot are modern institutions like the government, General Sam’s Cabinet comprising mainly intellectuals, the bureaucracy and the newspaper office which in themselves are all products of writing culture.

### **Simple Sentence Structure**

Achebe also makes use of simple sentences at various places as situations require in the novel.

...For a full minute or so the fury of his eyes lay on me. Briefly our eyes had been locked in combat. Then I had lowered mine to the shiny table-top in ceremonial

capitulation. Long silence. But he was not appeased. Rather He was making the silence grow rapidly into its own kind of contest, like the eyewink duel of children. I conceded victory there as well. Without raising my eyes I said again: "I am very sorry, your Excellency. 'A year ago I would never have said it again that second time – without doing grave violence to myself. Now I did like a casual favour to him. It meant nothing at all to me- no inconvenience at all – and yet everything to him p. 1

The eleven sentences above occur at the climactic point in the novel where Chris Oriko realizes that General Sam has metamorphosed into a tyrant in government. The reader is introduced to the tension that prevails in General Sam's cabinet – a tension which foreshadows the tense atmosphere of later activities in the novel. This tension is captured in the short line rhythm and the rather quick pace and breathless tone achieved by the tension that is to erupt into various forces of opposition to the government. The simplicity of structure of the sentences clearly records the progression or elaboration of the dilemma the character ( Chris Oriko) is facing. The dramatic force of the unfolding actions and reactions would have become expendable if a complex sentence were used to express it. The step-by-step release of the information heightens the atmosphere of suspense and tension.

### **Periodic Sentence Structure**

The periodic sentence construction refers mainly to complex and multiple sentences. A sentence is periodic if the main idea – referred to as the main clause – is saved and stated at the end, that is, after preceding supporting ideas called subordinate phrases or clauses.

... But although these specific distractions Surely must have worked their own havoc. on the rites of of this closing night to a long drama that had drawn together more than these two survivors in enactments of love and friendship, betrayal and death, there was something deeper than the harassment of heat and bugs laying a restraining hand on the shoulder of the chief celebrant p. 199

... And then lying in bed and summoning her to join him and watching her as she finally rose from her chair in the darkness of the room she struck him by her stately stylized movement like the maiden spirit mask coming into the arena, erect, disdainful, high coiffure, unravished yet by her dance p. 199.

The above two sentences are examples of periodic sentence structure characteristic of Achebe's syntax in *Anthills of the Savannah*. Since however, it is unusual for sentences of any complexity to have this form in English language the term 'periodic' shall be used more loosely to indicate that a sentence has a periodic structure if anticipatory constituent be it a clause or a phrase is embraced by the term. The two sentences quoted above both contain major anticipatory constituents. In sentence one, the subordinate clause is preceded by a word contrast "But" which indicates a contrast with what has been stated earlier. The subordinate clause itself has initial position, and it is an adverb clause of concession to the fact in the main clause which it modifies. Sentence two has a series of three participial phrases or

verbless clauses: The first one introduced by the additive conjunction ‘and’ and the adverb ‘then’ is - ‘... lying in bed...’

The second – ‘...summoning her to join him...’

The third – ‘...watching her as she finally rose from her chair in the thin darkness of the room...’ The three are all functioning as adjectives describing the subject of the main clause ‘she’. The author uses them both as a link and as a description of the preceded the event in the main clause at the end.

Leech and Short state that anticipatory constituents bring an element of suspense into the syntax. Being dependent constituents, they cannot stand on their own and therefore cannot be interpreted in isolation (226). These anticipatory constituents must therefore be held in the memory until the major constituent of which it is a part has been interpreted. The element of suspense depends clearly on the size of the anticipatory constituent: the longer the constituent is, the greater the burden it places on the memory. Normally, it is the anticipatory constituent like the clauses and phrases and not short anticipatory constituents like adjectives preceding a noun, which contribute to the periodic structure of sentences. Periodic sentences as we have noted above have a dramatic quality by combining the principle of climax with the principle of subordination and progressing from a build-up of tension to a final climactic point of resolution. We can observe a significant dramatic effect in the second sentence as the syntactic suspense grows and grows dramatizing the rising ‘tide of the mystification of Beatrice into the ‘maiden spirit’, the emanation of ‘Idemili’ goddess in the mythic legend of the inner core of the plot of the novel. The sentence is in essence the elaboration of the anticipatory pattern with each anticipatory constituent in the sequence linked by the additive conjunction while the suspense builds up to a crescendo. The periodic sentence, apart from its dramatic quality, possesses the related virtue of concentrating significance at one point in the sentence.

In sentence two, since the interpretation of the anticipatory constituents is delayed, as in an ideal periodic structure, enlightenment strikes the reader retrospectively at the end where ‘she (Beatrice) struck him (Chris) by her stately stylized movement like the maiden spirit mask coming into the arena erect, disdainful, high coiffure, unravished yet by her dance’.

### **Loose Sentence Structure**

This is another characteristic feature of Achebe’s sentence structure in the novel. A loose sentence results when the main idea is stated first before the qualifying supporting ideas (Ogbe 117). Loose sentence structure therefore reduces the burden on the reader’s immediate syntactic memory by avoiding major anticipatory constituents making things easy for both the writer and the reader, by reducing the amount of syntactic information that has to be stored in decoding. The syntax can be decoded as the reader goes on, holding in memory only the immediate preceding grammatical context. Below are two examples of the loose sentence for examination:

Perhaps Ikem alone came close to sensing the village priestess who will prophesy when her divinity rides her abandoning if need be her soup-pot on the fire but

returning again when the god departs to the domesticity of kitchen or bargaining market stool behind her little display of peppers and dry fish and green vegetables p.50. ...Perhaps I am so indulgent about Sam's imitation of the English because I believe that a budding dictator might choose models far more worse than the English gentlemen of leisure p.51.

Sentence one is an adverbial initial sentence with the verb "perhaps" relating the sentence hypothetically to the subsequent one "who will prophesy". This second clause has the implied subject "who" referring to the "priestess" in the main clause which is stated at beginning of the sentence. This second clause functions as an adjective clause describing the "priestess" in the main clause. The main clause here constitutes a trailing constituent which predominates over all the other constituents in the sentence, that is, the anticipatory constituents. The third clause is also an anticipatory constituent – "when her divinity rides her abandoning".

This is an adverb clause of time modifying the action in the verb "prophesy" in the second clause. The fourth clause is an adverb clause of condition – "if need be" – which further heightens the hypothetical nature of the sentence. Another linking word – a conjunction and a contrast word "but" provides a link to the next adverb clause of time "when the god departs to the domesticity of kitchen or the bargaining market stool behind her little display of peppers dry fish and green vegetables". The sentence contains an unusually large number of conjunctive words – the subordinating conjunctions "who", "when" used on two occasions and "if", the co-ordinating conjunctions "but", "or" and "and" used also on two occasions. The conjunctions help Achebe to achieve intra-sentential cohesion. The sentence also contains a number of prepositions of place such as "to"; "on", "behind". The preposition "of" performs the role of relating two noun expressions together – "her little display of peppers and fish and green vegetable" Part of the syntactic complexity of this sentence comes from the use of prepositional phrases by the author. In fact, sentence one is a good example of a very loose complex sentence considering the number of words and the number of clauses – a feature which does not still create difficulties of comprehension.

Sentence two is also an adverbial initial sentence which gives the sentence a hypothetical nature. The sentence is introduced by an adverb "Perhaps" to reflect a tone of probability. The main clause "Perhaps I am so indulgent of Sam's imitation of the English" is a trailing constituent which subordinates and predominates over the anticipatory of dependent clause "because I believe that a budding dictator might choose models far more worse than the English gentlemen of leisure". The loose structure of the sentence makes it easy for the reader to decode the information in the anticipatory constituent, as the amount of syntactic information stored in decoding has been reduced by stating the main idea first in the main clause which comes first position in the sentence. The use of comparative adverbs "far more" and "than" by the author helps in achieving intra-sentential cohesion in the structure of the sentence.

### **Hypotactic Sentence Structure**

Achebe makes use of hypotactic sentence structure typically through ellipsis inversion and subordination.

### **Ellipsis**

Halliday and Hassan describe elliptical item as one which, as it were, leaves specific structural slots to be filled from elsewhere; nothing is inserted in the slot in substitution where an explicit “counter is used (143). Thus ellipsis can be regarded as omission of elements normally required by the grammar which the speaker or writer assumes are obvious from the context and therefore need not be repeated. Achebe’s sentences exhibit elision. He is fond of making nominal ellipsis in the sentences resulting in the sentence being left with just the finite or non-finite verbs.

Examples are given below:

1.       ...And they fairly scrambled out of the sofa  
                                  into the bedroom and peeled off their garments  
                                  and cast them away like things on fire, and  
                                  fell in together into the wide, open space of her  
                                  bed and began to roll over and over until she  
                                  could roll no more .....p. 114.
  
2.       ...Agwu picks up his disciple, rings his eye with  
                                  white chalk, and dips his tongue willing or not  
                                  in the brew of prophecy p. 125.

The two sentences above are examples of nominal ellipsis. By nominal ellipsis is meant ellipsis with tile nominal groups. In sentence one the pronoun “they” is the subject of the sentence. Out of the five finite verbs indicated by the numbers one to five: “scrambled”, “peeled”, “cast”, “fell”, “began”, it is only the verb “scrambled” that has its subject “they” retained. All the rest have their subjects elided. Achebe succeeds in using elision to achieve cohesive ties in the text thereby giving his sentence textual unity or texture.

Again, by delaying the adverbial adjunct- “until she could roll no more”- till the end, the reader’s suspense on when the action of “scrambling” “peeling”, “casting” and “rolling” will end is heightened. Sentence 2 is also an example of the system of deletion of the subject NP in an eliding process to achieve cohesion. Here in this case, the same subject NP performs three different actions as indicated by the finite verbs: “picks”, “rings”, “dips”. It is only the first – “pick”- that retains its subject NP “Agwu”.

### **Inversion**

Inversion or hyperbaton is generally known as a change in the natural or usual order of words for the sake of effect or emphasis. Fakuade states that the normal word order is for the subject to precede the verb or predicate – (S-V or S-P). The opposite order (V-S) is known as inversion (147).

...Blessed are the poor in heart for they shall see God. P.55  
                                  P                                   S                                   A



the noun “shoulder” to the prepositional phrase “with” his right hand”. We notice that the activities indicated by the verbs linked by the additive conjunctions take place in a set order – the heaving precedes the sitting down which leads to the placing of the arm across her and the raising of the chin and the seeing that she was crying. This sequence of activities is so patterned by Achebe to produce the desired result that followed: “she did not resist then as he pulled her to him...” p.113.

Sentence (2) is an example of A-syndetic parataxis. There are only three additive conjunctions “and” used on three occasions in the whole lot. The absence of connectives gives rhythmic quality to the sentence and also allows the sentence to carry the weight of Beatrice’s emotional upsurge and battered ego.

### **Conclusion**

From the result of the stylistic analysis of the syntactic structures carried out on the text, *Anthill of the Savannah* can be seen to be a distinct departure from Achebe’s earlier novels which display a good measure of simplicity in language. In this novel, Achebe has been seen to manipulate language to contain and achieve a high level of sophistication and complexity as he captures and stylistically creates his vision of life as regards modern political trends in Africa and makes overt prescription on how the African society can achieve genuine freedom and political stability. On the whole, the different syntactic structures employed by Achebe in *Anthills of the Savannah* as shown in the discussion have enabled him to communicate his ideas succinctly to his readers. The simple sentence structures propel the dramatic force in step-by-step movement to the climax while the complex sentence structures keep the narrative intact by the use of cohesive ties like conjunctions, relativism, identical referencing of NPS and elliptical structures. The complex sentences feature as periodic and loose sentence patterns. The periodic sentences have anticipatory constituents playing a major part in them. The loose sentence pattern avoids anticipatory constituents which place a burden on the reader’s syntactic memory. As a result it possesses the advantage of reducing the burden by checking the amount of syntactic information that has to be stored in decoding. By the use of the loose sentence structure, Achebe assists the reader to decode the syntax as he goes on, holding in memory the immediate preceding grammatical context. The main clause becomes trailing constituent predominating over all the other constituents in the sentence. The analysis shows that Achebe uses complex sentences in his style to depict and highlight the educational level and linguistic competence of his characters. There are also paratactic or co-ordinate sentence structures which Achebe uses to feature both the syndetic and A-syndetic structures, respectively distinguishable by the presence of or non-presence of sentence connectives or linkers. Achebe features hypotactic sentence structures in the narrative typically through ellipsis and inversion or hyperbation.

The findings of this study corroborates Agu’s assertion that essentially an effective style is one in which there is a variety in the syntax the writer uses to vary the length and structure of his sentences, and sometimes reverse the order of words (55). *Anthills of the Savannah* like Achebe’s previous novel *A man of the People* is a

political satire, but this time the style and language are used to expose the bastardization of the African society by military dictators. Even Achebe's choice of the title of the novel itself is a metaphorical representation of the military invasion into the political field in Africa. The military dictators are metaphorically called the "Anthills" operating in Africa, represented by Sam, the President of the imaginary Republic of Kengan in the novel. Language as stylistically used in the novel contains and conveys the kind of social and political conflicts, antagonism and insecurity that prevail across the African continent today.

For adequate appreciation of literature and the vision and message contained in a work of art like *Anthills of the Savannah*, it is recommended that there should be a shift from the present preoccupation with themes and thematic content to the greater appreciation and exploration of the stylistic content and language and the stylistic essence of the literary work provide the catalytic signals to a better understanding of the writer's message.

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## **Women and Children at the Crossroads of War and Violence in Cyprian Ekwensi's *Survive the Peace***

**Adaoma Igwedibia and Dina Yerima**

### **Introduction**

War is simply put, “an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will” (Carl von Clausewitz 75). It has been defined most recently by Jill Long to mean “the coherent execution of all means to bring about sufficient adherence to a nation’s will in the international (global) arena; resulting in armed conflict only when all other means fail.” However for the purpose of this paper, the simplified definition as given by Carl von Clausewitz will suffice since the recent global element of virtual space as an active factor in the facilitation of war efforts especially those related to terror, does not come into play in the war to be treated here. Violence is an element which follows war closely. It is according to the “World Report on Violence and Health”, “the intentional (sometimes unintentional) use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development, or deprivation”.

The argument which this paper puts forward is that violence is not only related to war but occurs in situations of “peace” as well. Peace is a relative term. Here it does not necessarily equate the absence of physical violence for violence exists in several different forms. For Johan Galtung, violence can be roughly categorized into three major forms - structural, cultural and direct violence. According to Adam Burtle, Structural violence refers to the “systematic ways in which social structures harm or otherwise disadvantage individuals” (1). It is usually “subtle, often invisible and often has no single specific person who can be held responsible for it” (Burtle 1). It exists when some groups, classes, genders, nationalities, etc. are assuming to have and in fact do have more access to goods, resources and opportunities than others. Here, this “unequal advantage is built into the very social, political and economic systems that govern societies, states” and the world. These tendencies may be overt “such as apartheid or more subtle such as traditions or tendency to award some groups privileges over others. Cultural violence on the other hand encompasses the prevailing attitudes and beliefs taught individuals since childhood and which surrounds them in daily life about the power and necessity of violence” (Yerima 2015). These two forms of violence often find expression in the third form of violence which is direct. Direct violence involves the use of threat, physical force, such as torture, killing and verbal assault. The “World Report on Violence and Health” also provides a typology of violence, in this case direct violence, which can be applied to the contexts in which this violence occurs, keeping in mind the victim-perpetrator relationship. Thus, there is physical violence, sexual, psychological attack and lastly deprivation violence which could be self-directed, interpersonal or collective. Collective violence refers to violence committed by larger

groups of individuals and can be subdivided into social, economic and political violence (Yerima 2015). All these forms of violence find expression in both the state of war as well as peace in Cyprian Ekwensi's *Survive the Peace*.

A war novel which captures the closing moments of the Nigeria-Biafra civil war and the uneasy peace which follows the end of the war, *Survive the Peace* tells of James Odugo a radio journalist who has been travelling around Biafra, broadcasting news of the war, with the radio station continually having to move as the Federal troops get closer. Juliette, James' wife, Gladys Nwibe, Vic Ezenta, Benne amongst others and, children in the text are special casualties of this war. It is their experience of suffering, trauma and unease in this situation of war and the hesitant peace which follows it that this paper will dwell on.

### **Women and Children at the Crossroads of War and Peace**

Female characters in *Survive the Peace* are at the receiving end of violence. Even though James Odugo the major character is a man, his actions alone point to the significance of women in the war. Critical views on war literature have often cited the plight of women in war time used as "comfort women." In this regard, the writings explore the sexual comfort and physical release gotten by soldiers who have intercourse with women in war zones which is achieved at the detriment of and violation of women's rights. An instance of this is seen in the beginning pages of the text in light of an imminent attack by federal forces who are coming into the town of Umunevo. As people scramble to safety in a bid to save their lives, Odugo says "soldiers do not kill pretty girls. They rape them" (15). This is a manifestation of direct violence as the females in such conditions will be physically assaulted. It is this same type of violence that is seen in the fourth chapter of the text. A girl bathing at the stream is also raped by Nigerian soldiers and is brought into pa Ukoha's house. She narrates how the other girls bathing with her had run away and left her defenceless to face alone the Nigerian soldiers. Ada Ukoha says: "now who said the war has ended when such evil comes to our village? Men and women bathe naked side by side and no one attacks the other" (28). There are other references to rape and the violence and cataclysmic tenseness the people face comes across. However, this paper looks beyond this to the engage also, the post war trauma faced by women as well as children.

Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan have given sexuality, dreams and language as media through which the individual displays emotions and latent feelings (Habib 573-601; Barry 96-118). They have also given psychosis and other mental issues as aberrations which occurs when individuals cannot cope with their realities. This is the case with the female characters in Ekwensi's *Survive the Peace*. An eschatological novel, it opens with a scene in the newsroom.

Laughter in the midst of tragedy can never really be funny. Yet they had been bandying jokes that afternoon, soon after the air raid on the Biafran town. James Odugo Senior Reporter News had been there in the newsroom with his colleagues, tense as a bow-string, frightened with that hollow fear of ever-impending sudden death in war-time. One of the boys at the typewriter-he could not tell which-had

made a prediction. When this war will end it will be like the abomination of desolation which was spoken of by Daniel the Prophet standing in the Holy Places, he that heareth let him understand (3).

This situation described in the above lines is what characterizes the lives of not only the male but female characters as well. In fact, the female situation can be described as been doubly precarious. Not only do they suffer the physical violence and psychological fear of death, they also sustain physical injuries like pa Ukoha's daughter, Ngozi who loses an arm in an explosion, just like a man, or a soldier could have. The rape of women and their abduction by soldiers reinforces reflects this violence. Even children who do not fully understand the situation are victims of the war. A child asks pa Ukoha when he hears soldiers are coming into Obodonta. "Pa, will they kill all of us?" (30). These are references to physical trauma and the violence and cataclysmic tenseness which the people have to live with.

Odugo's casual use of women evident in his impregnation of Gladys, affair with Vic and casual sex with Benne suggests the second level of suffering faced by women in a war situation and in society in general. While married to his wife Juliette, Odugo deposits her and his children in Ifitenu for safety reasons while he remains in Umunevo and other towns closer to the war campaign. He takes up with Gladys Nwibe, a woman who he becomes infatuated with. After their night together, the war takes them apart and he searches for her image in other women who he meet. He compares her beauty and quiet nature to that of Vic. He also compares her with Benne and Juliette, his outspoken and assertive wife rather than allowing for the uniqueness and individuality of the different women. His unabashed shamelessness in carrying on with Vic and even Benne right in Pa Ukoha's house without regard for social codes, the women's reputations and the censure they will face from society and household also buttresses this idea of women's existence as being for use by the man. Hence, Gladys whom Odugo meets is immediately bedded and impregnated within a day and night. Vic is wooed, casually used for sex and as a domestic help who prepares meals, makes the lodging comfortable and even provides companionship by being a listening ear and support. She does all these because she loves him and thinks that there might be a place for her in his life. When she finds out otherwise, she moves on and leaves Odugo in Pa Ukoha's house while she leaves with Flight-Captain AbdulGanato Lagos to pick up the pieces of her life and reunite with her family. The fact that Odugo is unable to really give himself to her but is content with her doing the giving portrays his use of women. He is content in just receiving from her without any sort of commitment on his part but becomes agitated when she begins to flirt with the Nigerian soldiers stationed in the town. He says to her: "SoVic, you have started- and you can't even hide it-eh?... You're changing. I've noticed it. The whole thing started when Benne discovered how kind the Federals are. Now you talk to me as if you have something in mind, something behind you. Just because of some flimsy promise-" (64). He conveniently forgets that she once said to him when discussing their plans for the future: "you go back to your wife and leave me.... The defeated must try and survive-eventually, he who is rejected does not reject himself" (63).

Again, Odugolike a greedy cat quickly laps up the attention Benne gives him, sexual, and all. Benne to him is like a prostitute, without any attachment whatsoever to her lover or client. Thus he feels nothing for her but animal passion. It is only when she expresses her attachment and emotions for him that he withdraws from her. Even this is done when he is ready to leave for Ifitenu where his wife and children are. He thinks of her thusly: "Poor Benne. She was one of those girls men use as stop-gaps. No man seems to take her seriously and no one expects her to take him seriously in return" (89). In this regard, Benne is used to gratify Odugo's sexual needs even as she cooks for him after Vic leaves. He uses her to satisfy the possible needs that can be met in the war situation and when he has no more use for her, he moves on. Gladys Nwibe, the woman with whom Odugo has the one-night affair and becomes infatuated over is another woman who is used by Odugo in the text. His recollection and description of their affair is termed "war-time sex." After this incident they lose touch with one another and it takes her travelling and searching before she eventually finds Odugo. She would not have gone undergone the search but for the fact that their encounter leaves her pregnant with a child for him. Thus she carries a pregnancy in the uncertain post-war, poverty laden and uncertainty ridden atmosphere. Her only consolation is that Odugo accepts the pregnancy and she gets to keep it with the assurance that the child was wanted by both parents even though Odugo dies before the child is born.

Juliette is the only woman in the text who is not used by Odugo. Rather, she asserts herself and is never one to become a doormat or be taken advantage of. Even in their marriage before the war, she is described as having been engaged in business which gave her financial freedom and she had ridden the social scene with finesse and glam, carrying Odugo along, albeit unwillingly. However, he is unfaithful to her and in that, it can be argued that Odugo in way betrayed their marriage vows even though she does the same.

As regards societal perception of women, *Survive the Peace* speaks volumes. When Vic no longer dotes on Odugo like the admired lover, she becomes a bitch. Their love making is described as forceful with Vic displaying her "bitchiness." There is no instance where the reader is given direct insight into her thoughts. What we observe, we do through the eyes of Odugo or society. This is the same situation we find with Juliette and Benne. The reader is not given any insight into their thought processes or emotions. Rather what is recorded is other characters' reactions to their actions. Juliette is described as ambitious, hard, uncaring and unfaithful with no softer, humane side provided. Benne is also presented as a sort of nymphomaniac who cannot do without sex. She becomes a whore to soldiers for money, seduces and sleeps with Odugo for free and is not a model daughter-in-law or wife. However, there is no light shed on her condition or the impetus of her actions. The reader is just to take her as presented. This portraits of the women characters in this text present society's view of women because in reality, their characters are not as developed or multi-dimensional as that of Odugo for instance, who is a man. In spite of the moral lapses and poor judgments he makes, a humane side of him is presented as he loves his children, is mindful of his parents and siblings and has good friends. Thus, we are

sad to see him killed at the end of the text. This is not so for Juliette who seems unsympathetic and is presented as a neglectful mother, Vic who is purely materialistic and Benne who is directionless. It is only GladysNwibe and Ada Ukoha together with Odugo's mother who are presented as good women, in the age old images of the nurturer as mother and the angel as wife.

Other than the trauma associated with physical violence, women face the ordeal of having a broken family structure. Gone is the role of provider which the man is supposed to fill. Benne, the wife of James' cousin and daughter in-law to Pa Ukoha is the one who fends for the entire family towards the end of the war through her connection with the Nigerian army which is at war with her Biafran people. Disliked and misunderstood by the family members, she manages to fill this role. "...Benne returned, laden with meat, bottled bear, whisky, and fifty pounds in new Nigerian notes...the family shared the loot and Benne acquired a special importance for her efforts and this importance made it difficult for anyone, having tasted of her loot, to reprimand her" (31). Because things have fallen apart and individuals seem to have lost their moral compass, she seduces Odugo to have an affair with her, not minding that he is her husband's cousin and a married man who is visiting with his girlfriend or mistress.

Juliette, Odugo's wife is another woman in the text whose role as a wife is destroyed by the war. When Odugo leaves her in Ifitenu with her sister, she gets involved in United Nations operations for refugee feeding and provision. In this process and in the attempt to get a leg up and keep herself relevant and financially stable, she gets involved with a military man and gets pregnant for him.

A third manner in which women are caught at the crossroads of war is the double standard of society in its moral judgment. This notion is tied to the idea of structural violence. The women in the society of the text face challenges not only from their collective enemy-the war, and combatant enemy soldiers but also societal judgment. They are placed on a moral pedestal different from the one used to judge the actions of their male counterparts even though they are all faced with the same situation of chaos, instability and acute lack of basic necessities of life. In this vein, James Odugo who has numerous affairs with several women with one resulting in a pregnancy during the period he is away from his wife in a situation of war gets angry when he finds out that his wife is pregnant with another man's child. He says to her "while I may marry three or four wives, you cannot have more than one husband at a time!" (141). He also says to her that for her crime, if she had died in an air raid, "hell would be too cool for" (122) her as her crime deserved a far greater punishment than going to hell in the afterlife would provide.

In the same vein Benne is the only one judged by her husbands' family for being promiscuous even though her promiscuity is what puts food on their table. None of the family members talk about Odugo's fleeting affairs. Even when Ada, Pa Ukoha's wife suspects that Benne is throwing herself at Odugo, she does not speak to him about it in any instance. Rather, she warns Benne and heaps insults on her. It does not occur to her that Odugo's reception of Benne's advances, Benne who is supposed to be a relative of his somewhat is also wrong. Consequently, she

participates in the structural violence against women like herself who are judged based on society's double standard.

Although women in this text suffer all these things, the war leaves them with a new frame of mind. Clearly illustrating freedom of expression and subsequently, thought. Juliette in the argument with James after the war, declares that she will not be under any man but beside him otherwise she will find her own way, making her destiny on her own. "I do not wish to be under any man ...not controlled by any man. I want to be my own boss, and see what God has in store for me" (141). He is surprised as he had thought if she would leave him, it will be for another man. However, the war has taught her, like Benne and Vic who are eventually abandoned by the men who they have affairs with, that being alone is the way to go. They have learned not to rely on any man but be independent women, masters of their own fate. This is the only way of survival, the coping mechanism left to the women in a society whose traditional values have been restructured and destroyed by the violence of the war. Thus, it is the end of an old system and the beginning of a new. Though abominable to some people, it still is the viable option open to the women. Before Odugo dies, he confirms this new societal structure and trend especially when he travels to Lagos and comes across Vic again. In the section titled "war Changes Everything," as he drives around Enugu, visits Lagos and ties up loose ends with his ended marriage with Juliette, his new relationship with Gladys and his new found maturity which he discovers on meeting Vic, Odugo finally begins to Survive the Peace. However, it is not to be as his life is suddenly cut short in the aftermath of the violence and insecurity created by the war. Thus not only women and children but men too are victims of the war and "peace after the war."

In the midst of all the suffering and restructuring associated with the end of the war and the tentative peace which follows, children in *Survive the Peace* are also seen to undergo severe physical and psychological trauma. In the opening chapters of the text, Odugo sees a displaced family which has only a mother and children with the father missing. Not only is the structure of the family displaced and destroyed as the children's way of life has been disrupted, they are also malnourished. This leaves them in a state of kwashiorkor and robs them of their childhood innocence as they talk casually of death and dying. One of the children asks his mother as they sit down to rest from their incessant trekking, looking for a place safe from shelling and bombings. "Are they going to kill papa?" (30).

Yet another instance of the violence endured by children is seen on pages 23 and 24 when a pregnant woman treks with her children across the abandoned town of Umunevo when it comes under attack. This gives credence to Odugo's use of the biblical allusion of "the abomination which leads to desolation" in the book of Matthew. For woe indeed is the pregnant woman who has to engage in an escape mission with her pregnancy and her little children, hampering her progress and chances of survival. We are not told if she eventually makes it to safety but the cumbersome nature of her escape in itself and the situation which surrounds her children and herself is a sorry one.

### **Conclusion**

From the exploration of violence faced by all categories of individuals in society, change in family and social structures, societal double standards in judging women and the psychological and physical trauma faced by both women and children, it can be surmised that these two groups are caught at the crossroads of both violence and war in *Survive the Peace*.

In conclusion, the women and indeed other individuals in society become like “usu-agwu,” a kind of bat which is not bird nor beast but grows a nose every year and ends up hideous and unrecognizable after a while because it has numerous noses in its face. This is what pa Ukoha concludes the war has done to the Biafran people and what indeed this it does to women who suffer through a number of ordeals and end up with a new role and appearance in society which could be a more independent or subservient one. Thus it leaves them transformed psychologically as well as materially.

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## **Rotten Words for a Rotten Society: Scatological Presentations in the Nigerian Short Story**

**Adekunle Mamudu**

### **Introduction**

The endless possibilities in the art of fiction writing and the quest for new techniques of narrative composition pushes writers to initiate and employ appropriate devices in their creative endeavours which they consider efficient carriers of their renditions. Scatology as a narrative device entails the invitation to nausea by the use of words and associations to elicit revulsion from the reader in order to disparage and present in a negative light aspects of human behaviour. Chris Baldick defines scatology as the study of excrement, e.g in medicine or palaeontology. In the literary sense, it means repeated reference to excrement and related matters as in the coarse humour of Francois Rabelais or Jonathan Swift, whose works have passages of a scatological nature. (229)

As defined by Baldick, the reference, usually, is to bodily secretions, which have the capacity to induce in the reader, a strong sense of nausea and revulsion. Such bodily secretions include excreta, vomit, saliva, phlegm, and urine, among others. The use of this device, therefore, assists the skilful writer in creating a mood which in turn, helps to affect the reader, towards effecting the desired reader's response. According to Jeff Persels, a steadily growing number of works on scatology shows the fresh interest in the study of human waste. He proceeds to define scatology and its functions when he posits that:

If students of literature and the arts have hitherto and in the main been reluctant to tackle, or squeamish about addressing, scatology in earnest, a slowly growing number of recent works (e.g., Vigarello, Monestier, Inglis) have articulated for them and modelled, to varying degrees, socio-historical interpretations of excrement as process, product and experience... Scatological rhetoric [is] here broadly defined as the representation of the process and product of elimination of the body's waste product (faeces, urine, flatus, phlegm, vomitus)...Scatology, however, arguably an even more universal function than sexuality, still retains the power to make us blush, to provoke shame and embarrassment. (2)

Its literary use, therefore, is the writer's creative ability to draw an association between a social vice and the repulsiveness associated with the visual and odoriferous repugnant effects of these bodily discharges that make the reader blush, ashamed and embarrassed upon encountering their presentation. Persels proceeds to show the link between human waste and the society and why the deployment of the scatological device in literature is effective when he writes thus:

The ethnographic fieldwork and analysis of such anthropologists as Claude Lévi-Strauss (*L'homme nu*, 1971) and Bernadette Bucher (*Icon and Con quest*, 1981) but especially Mary Douglas (*Purity and Danger*, 1966) posit a symbolic connection between 'dirt' and 'danger' as the formative relationship of a given society's

cosmology, the desired elimination of both in the search for 'purity' constituting then 'a positive re-ordering of our environment' (Douglas 2). For Bucher, as for Douglas, 'impurity,' and 'disorder' are synonymous. From a social standpoint, Bucher claims that 'what is decreed impure, [and] thus execrated and condemned by a culture, is an object out of place, a cause for disorder' (142). Excrement becomes part of this disorder and marginalization because it is both naturally present but, in most cases, socially absent. It finds itself in 'ambiguous and confusing' circumstances because it is of the body but then physically dislodged from it. Consequently, human waste is separated from the individual who created it, and from the society that rejects it. Paying close attention to this 'disorder,' understanding the treatment of impurity and its concomitant 'danger' within a given society's conceptualization of its own nature, becomes critical to a full and accurate appreciation of that society. (3)

"Dirt," "impurity," "danger" and "disorder" are the operational words in this extract. Dirt and impurity are the substance (excrement and other bodily fluids) while their resulting effect on the society are danger and disorder. Human waste is excreted by the individual, who, together with the society, turns around to reject it for its foulness. It becomes impure and rejected by the same body that harboured it for some time. This dirt, which is a part of the society, but is rejected by it causes some disorder in that society and is generally perceived as nauseating dirt, with its impurity and danger to the society. Writers find this type of commodity quite handy in their compositions as it assists them through association to draw the reader's attention to that vice, that human product that is dirty, impure, dangerous, and therefore, a disorder to the society. The work transcends literary application to psychology, politics and sociology. But the chief concern of this essay is the literary application and as such will be the subject of focus, while other presently irrelevant sections of the work will be skipped. What we glean from this theoretical framework is the underlying relationship among human bodily waste, the individual and the society. The offensive product is dislodged from the human body as rejected material, the society disdains it and it becomes an object of danger that causes disorder in the society. This excreted object decreed impure and dangerous by the society, however, becomes an object of worth, as literature is able to harness its powers to shock man into reasonableness through its disdainful effect on man. This object of general disdain, a product of the society effectively lends itself to the writer as a good weapon of attack, a satiric device in rhetorical renditions that portray man as dirty and indecent. Where deployed, it paints man as dangerous and a disorder to the society.

New criticism, by its interest in the combination of both the formal constituents of a work and its content as statements on the society easily submits itself for deployment as a suitable theory for the despatch of the current enterprise. As a theory developed from the Formalistic theory, New Criticism believes that the literary work should be viewed and examined as a work that reflects socio-political as well as economic experiences of the people. The theory frowns at the study of literary texts as self-sufficient, with interests on their art alone. It therefore examines literary texts from the standpoint of a merger of art and content as a representation of the

society and should be studied as a comment on the society. It is in this light that Meussa Bostrom declares that

the field of short story criticism is the final vestige on New Criticism in twenty-first century literary studies. Too long have critics ignored the context of the short story: the changes that have taken place in the material production of the form, the changes in the educational culture...implementations from the new Critical toolbox, in particular, the strategy of close reading, expands the realm in which the short story exists, from the pages on which the words are printed to theoretically complex, culturally produced, and culturally limited texts that both reflect and project a world (8).

New Criticism, therefore, serves our critical exercise in this undertaking as it combines the art of the selected short stories and their comments on the society as the focus of our study. The theory enables us to examine the vices that are artistically presented through the writers' scatological ingenuity with a view to enlisting our disdain for these social aberrations.

Not many writers in Africa have employed the device of scatology in their works, the short story inclusive. However, Ayi Kwei Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born* remains a leading example of the use of scatology in prose fiction. In his analysis of the novel, Eustace Palmer devotes a large portion of his essay to Armah's scatological presentations which the critic posits are a true representation of the rotten Ghanaian society. In his essay, Palmer extensively explores the novel when he matches each item of the bodily secretions against carefully selected passages that expose the rotten underbelly of the society. Palmer makes his claims thus:

Armah expresses his disgust for corruption by exploiting the potential of a central symbol—that of filth, putrefaction and excreta. Throughout the novel the reader's nose is, so to speak, rubbed in spittle, or in the phlegm from somebody's chest or a little child's nostrils. The odours of excreta, effluvia, and vomit assault his sense of smell...Again, nauseating images suggest the repulsiveness of bribery: 'An important bargain was hanging in the air. The conductor cleared his throat and ate the phlegm.' When the conductor realizes that the man is actually sleeping rather than watching, and that his spittle is soiling the bus, a wave of indignation fills him... What happens in the bus is a parable of what happens in the country as a whole. The bus, like the state, is in a state of decay, its pieces only held together by rust. The passengers represent the ordinary citizens, and the driver and conductor are authority, conniving to defraud the citizens and, if caught, to bribe them into silence. (130-131).

Here, Palmer deploys the negative effect of the smell of saliva, and the nauseating taste of phlegm to illustrate Armah's use of scatology to depict a corrupt society. He proceeds to deploy other bodily secretions to support his claims, while marshalling excerpts from the novel to authenticate Armah's portrayal of the society.

The art of the short story thrives on brevity, compactness and precision. Its mission is to make, in every episode, a statement on the human condition. It is a genre that uses a single incident and very few characters to comment on the behaviour of

man, especially in his moment of crisis. Scatology, therefore, finds itself a suitable device in the short narrative because of its power of association. The writer simply associates an unpleasant character, incident or setting with any of the nausea inducing bodily secretions to attract disdain and repulsion in condemnation of the resulting presentation. In the bid to effectively illustrate this art of association, Ken Saro Wiwa's *A Forest of Flowers*, Festus Iyayi's *Awaiting Court Martial*, Akachi Adimora-Ezeigbo's *Echoes in the Mind* and Razinat Mohammed's *A Love Like a Woman's* have been selected for this essay. As a neglected genre, there is utmost difficulty in finding any critical work that focuses on the use of the device of scatology in the short story. This explains the use of Armah's *The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born*, earlier, to illustrate the artistic deployment of scatology in Prose.

However, a few critics have made comments on some of the selected works. Diri Teilanyo sees Ken Saro-Wiwa's stories in *A Forest of Flowers* "as chronicles of history" (191), especially as products of a journalist. He, therefore, observes and rightly too, that the stories lack authorial commentary. In her comments on Saro-Wiwa's *A Forest of Flowers*, Grace Eche Okereke observes that "the narrator speaks the pain of her people and as a conscious mind, she apprehends the deprivation her people suffer as producers of oil wealth which others consume" (125). Okereke sees the female narrator in *A Forest of Flowers* as a collective voice of every woman decrying the pain, distress and oppression that women suffer in the hands of tradition, men and exploitative agents of government and capitalism. Lastly, Ferdinand Asoo evaluates Iyayi's contribution to the art of the short story in Nigeria and Africa generally. Asoo observes that Festus Iyayi is pre-occupied with the lives of the ordinary people as they dominate his entire writing" (24). This is quite visible in the attention he pays to the people and the quality of life that they lead. The fore-going comments are general statements on these writers which are generally agreeable to us. They focus on the themes of corruption, exploitation, poverty and degradation.

This essay examines the use of scatology by writers to portray immorality, poverty, neglect and decay of character and setting in selected Nigerian short stories.

### **Character**

Festus Iyayi uses smell to create an atmosphere of foulness in his story, "Jegade's Madness." The setting portrays Chief Alawa as an utterly corrupt and immoral character. In the story, the character amasses massive wealth from his immoral ventures which include collaboration with a white rubber merchant—Throttle Cheataway—to exploit the poor rubber farmers in the village. Alawa also arranges for Cheataway to successfully rape Mrs. Alawa, his own wife, in his quest for more wealth. These acts of his portray him as a dubious and immoral character. Iyayi presents this character in various instances through the repulsive association with excreta. This draws disdain from the reader whenever the narrator mentions his name. This individual is presented as one who is comfortable in the midst of filth whether in his ill-gotten mansion or at work. Despite the foul smell that pervades the house, Alawa is comfortable and unperturbed. He is at peace with foulness as foulness is a part of him. Iyayi employs the scatological device to create a polluted,

foul-smelling and repulsive atmosphere in condemnation of the immoral character—Alawa, when he writes thus:

The rotten smell of his own faeces pushed him into his voluminous bedroom. When still naked, he left the room for the corridor that opened into his private sitting room, he found that the foul smell had not only preceded him but that it had settled itself securely all over, overpowering the dozens of masculine German air fresheners that were attached to the walls. Still completely naked...his nose indifferent to the decadent smell of his wasted loins which had completely taken over the whole house. (43).

The obscenity of the nakedness of the character and the emerging stinking smell of his own excreta, with a potency that overpowers a dozen masculine German air fresheners is a scatological device that produces a hyperbolic effect to induce nausea in the reader and effect a strong disapproval of Alawa's character in the story as he is presented as comfortable in the midst of the resultant foulness of his own creation. That his nose is indifferent to the smell proves that he has lost all sense of shame because drawing from our theory earlier discussed, one of the effects of excreta, (dirt and filth) is that it makes human beings feel ashamed by being identified with it. Iyayi presents a polluted atmosphere inhabited by a filthy-minded character who is indifferent to its foul smell. Iyayi's presentation of the filthy character is often done in the toilet. Alawa is a character who must be associated with excreta, a setting that depicts a natural habitat, which best suits his dirty nature. Elsewhere, Alawa is presented thus:

Chief Jonathan Alawa sat on the toilet seat, naked and contemplated his organ, both its thrust and its drag, the five pleats of his voluminous abdomen and the foul smell coming from the sour jet of processed prawn cocktails, white wine, ice cream, pounded yam and bush meat from last evening's abundant supper...(6).

Chief Alawa is again presented in a toilet in the company of his own foul-smelling excrement. He is shown in full nakedness, with a distended stomach. The picture that is painted here only leaves the character to be held in contempt by the reader because of the associations of the environment and the mood thus created.

Razinat Mohammed's "Mysterious Disease" is quite unnerving. It portrays a living character as though dead with the avalanche of saliva loving-maggots living in the crevices of his teeth. Mohammed presents the rotten encounter thus:

"It is my teeth," mumbled the man again and sent a storm of bad odour towards the Doctor's face. Dr. Hassan's forehead furrowed into deep, ugly troughs on the otherwise handsome brow..." "Open your mouth," he urged, between his teeth because he did not want to open his own mouth for fear that he might inhale too much hazardous smells into his own system. When the man opened up his mouth amidst some crinkling sounds from his jaws... the Doctor's brow began furrowing again with lightning speed. "What!" shouted Doctor Hassan when his flashlight beamed into the man's open jaws and he caught sight of some worms slithering in

and out of the rotten cavities of the man's teeth...Look , the man is a living infestation of maggots to put it mildly. (83-84).

Mohammed, here, presents a patient who is comfortable carrying in him, in the most unexpected part of his body, a mass of worms and polluting the world of those he speaks to whenever he opens his mouth. The unnamed character is presented as a nauseating person to be encountered. He is dreaded by medical personnel, who, by their training, should be able to put up with him and any other person they come in contact with. The writer, here, uses saliva and smell to elicit the reader's response of revulsion and disdain for the character who must be avoided as a result of his foul presentation.

### **Setting**

The various settings in the selected stories are generally illustrated with scatological presentations that help to paint a picture of decay, stagnation and poverty taking a toll on the villagers who are described as losing their freshness to the hardship in the decaying villages. Iyayi paints a picture of poverty- afflicted, nausea inducing Ugbegun, the setting of "Flora's Reply" in a most detailed manner. His aim is to enlist the reader's revulsion of the poverty and neglect that attend the village. It is essentially to condemn government's neglect of the rural areas and the attendant disease, hunger and decay that have taken a toll on the village. In the story, Iyayi writes thus:

The small huts roofed with palm frond trailing one another like the dung of cows; the cruel poverty of the villages, the dense darkness in them, the round-headed children with pot bellies, caged ribs and feverish eyes; the despondent droop of the mango trees; the swarms of flies; the decaying and rotting carcasses of human beings on the sides of the road; the menacing silence of the swamps; the heavy burden on the heads of the women even while they had the children tied to their backs, their downcast eyes and silent faces as they stepped out. (178).

Setting here, by a compilation of various images of a systematic listing of decaying items is presented by scatological imagery as we find in "the dung of cows," "the swarms of flies," "the decaying and rotting carcasses of human beings on the sides of the roads," which shows a village that is in the captive hands of poverty, disease and psychological trauma of decay. The writer likens the huts to cow-dung, an unpleasant simile and sets out further to describe malnourished children who present Ugbegun as witnessing a kwashiorkor epidemic. He presents a people living in darkness and struck with disease in the midst of decomposing human bodies.

In "Acapulco Motel", Saro-Wiwa sets his story in Ikeja, the capital city of Lagos. Expectedly, Ikeja should be a clean and attractive city with functional amenities. Instead, we are faced with a decaying, dirty and disorderly city. Saro-Wiwa presents this situational irony in the naturalistic setting when he writes:

We drove slowly through the quagmire of Ikeja where rusty, squeaking cars noisily, dissonant horns; broken down vehicles stood defiantly in the middle of the road;

banana peels, leaves that had been wrapping for human food, human waste and other debris made up the concentrated filth which lay in a turgid stream in the open sewers. A harsh sun beat mercilessly down. I kept the windows of the car wound up to the full and turned the air conditioning to the maximum. Yet the foul smell of the street seeped into our car. (86).

By the choice of nausea inducing words like “leaves that had been wrapping for human waste,” the writer succeeds in realising a setting that is repugnant and repulsive to the reader. Setting here depicts dirt, disorderliness, noise, rust and poverty in Ikeja, an urban city. This certainly is a true picture of Lagos, with its disorderly traffic situation, high decibels of noise issuing from the horns of impatient motorists and dirt. The narrator describes in detail, the nature of the sewers that are left open and dirty with the consequent filth and stench.

Adimora-Ezeigbo also presents a dirty picture of Lagos in her stories when, for instance, she says:

Soon, he was in Makoko, a fetid, sprawling and unplanned slum whose distinguishing marks were a crowd of half naked children playing in the alleys and a conglomeration of neglected ugly houses. The stench of dogged open drains, filled to the brim by dirty water, clung to his outraged nostrils and he spat copiously through the open window of the Beetle. (82).

The place mentioned in the above quotation is a famous settlement in Lagos possessing all the negative attributes presented above. Like Saro-Wiwa, she presents the filth and dirt that clog Lagos. The drains are left uncovered and the emanating stench assaults human nostrils. She draws the reader's condemnation with the application of the last sentence, wherein, she brings in bodily secretions as a scatological device. The children who run around the streets are presented as unkempt as they are half-naked. She shows the noticeable poverty in the slum through her detailed descriptions. The writer presents a true picture of a slum peopled by those who suffer neglect, poverty and disease.

In “The Stars Below”, Saro-Wiwa creates a setting that reminds one of Ayi Kwei Armah's “*The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born.*” He uses the same staircase and phlegm as presented in Armah's novel to present a setting of filth, squalor and dirt and thereafter presents events which are of similar content and results, for filthy environments can only produce filthy minds and fraudulent transactions. In “The Stars Below,” Saro-Wiwa writes:

He had to climb the dark dirty stairs to the eighth floor where his office was situated. He climbed slowly, doing his best to ignore the filth of the staircase which had remained unswept for months. The walls were unpainted, graffiti-marked, and pools of phlegm dotted each landing. (96).

It is from this nauseating setting that the office of the Ministry of External Affairs operates. Here, as contained in the story, fraud, ineptitude and immorality are housed. The stair-case, the passage that takes the character to his office is filthy. He can only

get to work through filth and be a part of the filth to be able to work in that office. Symbolically, the staircase has not been swept for months. To show his disdain and condemnation of this edifice and its occupants, the writer employs phlegm, a bodily secretion to draw the reader's repulsion and dislike for it. It thrives on filth. This setting compliments the characters who work in this building as well as reveal the theme of corruption in the story. Setting here is designed to draw indignation from the reader through the mood created. The repelling and repulsive setting, created with the use of scatological presentations effectively paints the ministry in bad light.

### **Conclusion**

This paper has examined the deployment of words by writers to effectively portray characters and setting with a view to inviting the reader to partake in the condemnation of immorality and governmental neglect of communities, poverty and dirt. Using largely words that have to do with repulsive bodily secretions, known as scatology, these writers have successfully presented stories that contain this affective device in their various renditions. The device engages the reader and makes him feel the direct impact of condemnable human vices but draws from him repulsion and indignation which enlists his support for the condemnation of these human foibles.

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## **Change Rhetorics and Leadership in Nigeria: Lessons from Emeka Nwabueze's *A Parliament of Vultures***

**Chikerenwa Kingsley Ihekweme**

### **Introduction**

Since the exit of Queen Elizabeth in 1960, administration after administration in Nigeria have continued to domesticate exploitative and misconceived leadership policies that were once known to belong to the British colonial enterprise. Colonialism was a system of political and economic convenience and profit. Contemporary governance and leadership reflect still the sordid years of, as aptly noted by Rose Acholonu, "futility, gross misconception and hypocrisy behind the façade of the "honourable" British venture" (11) in Nigeria. Despite the fact that the nation is being ruled by Nigerians there is disputable evidence or nothing to suggest the attainment of freedom from white imperialist order. Yet the nation is plagued by serious issues of politics and economy which have become emergent concerns to the Nigerian dramatist. According to Maryisabella Ada Ezeh; "where the leadership is self-centered, intellectually bankrupt, morally and ethically bad, government policies, the economy and social life will be affected negatively." (157) Nigeria dramatic literature explores ways of addressing these maladies by negotiating boundaries of safe and healthy socio-political and economic culture. This preoccupation is as a result of long years of misguided leadership culture and misrule. Dramatic literature encapsulates the peoples collective will and aspirations and serve as a catalyst for social change and development. Thus not a few writers have promoted protest as an approach to societal change and development.

The various leadership administrations in Nigeria politics since independence, more than before, are compelling the people to begin to ask questions and clamour for their rights. Probably the reason that Kelechi Ogbonna stated that "the voice of the dramatist is echoed on stage to enforce his socio-political beliefs and arguments for change because the stage is a strong weapon to campaign for freedom or bring to the fore, the wrongs in the society, it is also an avenue to reconcile things." (34) The responsibility to create a public voice has produced litany of writers who recreate deceitful oppressive powers on stage and the suffering and agitated masses line by line. The exploitative rhetoric of government, be it civilian or military, emboldened playwrights who devised strategies of liberating the people from bad leaders. Some of the Nigerian playwrights whose works embody violence as a medium of change include Wole Soyinka, Femi Osofisan, Esiaba Irobi, Alex Asigbo, Ojo Bakare Rasaki, Sam Ukala, and Emeka Nwabueze. In plays like *Kongi's Harvest*, *Yungba Yungba and the Dance Contest*, *Nwokedi*, *The Reign of Pascal Amusu*, *This Land Must Sacrifice*, *The Last Heroes*, and *A Parliament of Vultures*, these playwrights exposed very salient issues that affect leadership and group-based or masses oppression.

Although opinions on the challenge of an ideal political leadership ideology in managing and developing participatory national leadership and control of economic

wealth are rife in the traditional and converging media, it suffices that its impact is felt more when read or watched as performance literature. It is an ideal political democracy described by Benedict Michael in Mohammed-Kabir Jibril Imam and Musa Yunusa as “a form of government that is based on free consent of the people, of forms of government that allows the people to freely participate directly or indirectly, in the decision making process of governance, a form of government that ensures equitable distribution of income and wealth of a given state.” (86) Thus, the lack of problem solving of bogus political administrative programme platforms, or what may be addressed as change slogan or cliché by successive governments in Nigeria that seem to have nothing for the masses has led to the Oppressed Theatre of Aggression Revolt. The demythologization of this belief is entrenched in the grund-nurm and aesthetics of revolt strategies. Akinwumi Isola states that protest plays are “those plays that attempt to decry the poor economic condition and the political powerlessness of the working class. Some of the plays also discuss aspects of corruption, exposing it for condemnation. (405) It ensures that the people know what rights they have and the platforms for engaging them. It is for these that Augusto Boal expanded the frontiers of the theatre, from addressing Brechtian intellectual capacity of theatre to create awareness and mobilisation, to adopting it as a means of exploring radical socio-economic and political class-based struggle against oppression and marginalization by the political leadership. Boal in his “Theatre of the Oppressed” declaims all oppressive structures of governance and economy and beckons on the actors to engage in expansive use of theatrical medium and resources to reincorporate themselves into the mainstream of decision-making and governance. As an actor’s medium, it clamps down on policies and programmes and institutions and personalities who do not cater to the peoples welfare. Thus, Emeka Nwabueze’s *A Parliament of Vultures* is a paradigm for investigating protest culture against bad leadership and change rhetoric in Nigeria, the lessons learnt from the discontent as well as the playwright’s perspective. Political leadership fails to inspire when it is negative and the slogans capturing government programmes are mere repetitive political gimmicks.

### **Change Rhetorics and Leadership**

Change is a constant system in life. Change could either be negative or positive. It is a criteria used to assess the validity or state of growth or development of systems and programmes that bestride virtually all facets of life. While change could lead to the progress of institutions and humanity it has led to worst forms of social upheavals and disconnections.

As such, various explanations are being provided for the political leadership situation of the Nigerian nation. The leadership class manipulate the citizenry through the electoral process and the political system. Leaders are inept and birth injustice, exclusion, discrimination and dictatorship in power. Dictatorianism and totalitarianism, even in democracies, deprived the people of the fundamental freedom to espouse rights and expression. This conditions discontent, frustration and agitation.

In the words of Ijeoma Ogbonne; “Leadership is a key issue not just in the legislature, but in every sphere of human endeavour. With the inception of democratic

rule in 1999, the leadership of the national legislative body was seen as being in a strategic position to cement Nigeria's nascent democracy by serving as a watchdog over the excesses of the executive. The performance or non-performance of this duty boils down mainly on the issue of leadership." (309) An effective, responsive and responsible leadership will provide the people with freedom, dignity, human rights, mutual trust and respect as well as creativity and opportunities for equitable use of resources. Leadership entails policy and decision-making that comes as guides from those executing decisions and the followers who abide by the common goals. Leadership is manifested by good policies or bad decision-making. An effective leadership is confined to a democratic governance.

According to Maryisabella Ada Ezeh, "leadership can destroy or transform the prospects of a nation ... Nigeria has ceaselessly struggled to have authentic leadership since independence, but to no avail. Instead, she has always had the misfortune of falling into the hands of leaders who are incapable of satisfying the yearnings and aspirations of her people." (157) This work argues that the Nigerian leadership class has failed the masses. During and after the elections the people are swindled. Politicians, once they get to power, forget their manifesto and begin to rule like their predecessors in power. This has often put the nation in a situation where the reports that emerge are the same: corruption, bribery, embezzlement of public funds, political witch-hunt and nepotism, to mention a few. It is also as a result of this sharp decline from conventional democratic leadership that, the conceptualization of democratic leadership in Nigeria has become very challenging. Norbert Oyibo Eze captures this issue appropriately:

The perennial national question of poor leadership has been taken up by some of our playwrights, albeit during the military dictatorship. Because of the evidence of military misrule, there was a general outcry when General Sani Abacha aspired to drop his khaki uniform and become our civilian head of state ... Hence, when Sani Abacha was thrown into Hades by fate, Abdulsalami Abubakar enthroned a hush-hush democracy. Olusegun Obasanjo, a retired general who took over from Abubakar touched the innermost part of us in his inaugural speech. But evidently and unfortunately too, we observe that the politicians themselves, in their phantasmagoria of future happiness, merely want an opportunity to be strong, to have their own kingdom come. (94-95)

Similar to Ezeh's feeling and Soyinka's about the dismal historical state of leadership in Nigeria, Ogbonna reveals that most of these leaders aside issues of corruption and nepotism also stifle the rights of civil societies. She captures this problem as a successive one with corruption, leadership question and politics being the bane of political governance in Nigeria. Of course, Daberechukwu Ebomuche states that in Nigeria there is no lack of initiatives in leadership. At inception, these projects are hailed and welcomed but after a while after tinkering with them, it becomes very clear that it is not yet "uhuru". In a similar fashion, they fizzle out while other new and equally imposing titles take their place only to suffer the same fate. The cycle is endless." (41)

### **Nigerian Playwrights and Leadership**

The role of the playwright in the Nigerian situation cannot be overemphasised. The playwright as a documenter of history and social memory is like the mirror through which the masses try to reconnect back to their worlds. Since what he writes is about his society, it has a way of connecting to the realities that are faced daily by the people whether good or ugly. Hence his role is as important as life to man. To emphasize on the need for social change and development, playwrights have strongly deplored acts of political corruption, anarchy, nepotism, and man's inhumanity to man in leadership. Through this, they have become the mouth piece of many unspoken voices who are sad and unhappy about the way things have turned in Nigeria; from Chinua Achebe to Wole Soyinka, Femi Osofisan, Esiaba Irobi and Ahmed Yerima and others, Nigeria literature has interrogated the domains of leadership and politics proffering answers and speculations on the reasons political leaders do what they do. When they are not revolutionarily inclined they are psychoanalytically pedagoic. Therefore, dramatists in Nigeria have concerned themselves with propagating values and ethics in leadership. Yetunde Akorede observes that "the dramatist is the watchman in his society. He is the peoples' secret police. It is his duty to sieve out information and to bring the 'culprits' to the peoples' court." (55).

Femi Osofisan has warned that "the dramatist who wants to survive and still keep doing his work is obliged to operate with the tactics of a cultural guerilla." (17) He notes that it is within this context that playwriting becomes an act of surreptitious insurrection. Drama is a weapon of wrestling with oppressive political forces. Kingie Kitula concurs with Osofisan's observation of dramatic literature as a tool of collective struggle:

An artist, who is committed and devoted to the promotion of social discourse, has a central role to play in initiating, criticizing, refining, and even promoting democratic principles in his society. Since democracy is created, nurtured and protected by the people in their collective struggle for basic freedom and rights, the creative writer as a member of a given society is duty bound to join and give impetus to the struggle for greater levels of democracy through the medium of literary expression. (7)

Emeka Nwabueze as one of the Nigerian playwrights crusading against bad leadership has often written from the standpoint above. Drama serves to him as a prophecy, mediation and resolution. Aside *A Parliament of Vultures* where he satirizes the nations leaders who professionalize hypocrisy, debauchery and self-aggrandizement in governance, his other plays *The Dragon's Funeral* and *Guardian of the Cosmos* also propagate socio-political consciousness in leadership and empowerment. This he does with using theatre as a platform for national discourse, since ABC Duruaku argues that in a largely illiterate society like ours, the preference for sight-seeing action has proven to be a more rewarding means of creating awareness in people as "the average Nigerian audience for instance, would rather watch a performance than listen to rhetoric." (14)

Nwabueze's commitment as a writer shows that the playwright wields a lot of power to construct socio-political memory. Osofisan maintains that, it is in witnessing "different socio-political injustices," that the playwright finds "in drama a potent weapon with which to wrestle with the new problems of their people." (41) The playwright does not just look on but is one committed, through his artistic medium, to a radical social reconstruction. Tracy Utoh-Ezeajugh captures this as a responsibility:

Nigerian playwrights have to be in the forefront to advocate for social reform. The playwrights are involved in creating dramatic parables depicting such situations as ineffective leadership, bribery and corruption, lack of national unity, religious fanaticism and occultism, and the escalating spate of armed robbery in the society ... this has placed the playwrights in the role of watchdog of the society. (221)

Playwrights expose the power structures that are anathema to the growth of the nation. Osofisan argues that power is corrupt and cruel since rulers and the elite hegemonic class are not generous or benevolent. This is because "the luxury they enjoy is always at the dare expense of others. And the methods they employ to sustain their opulence conceal astonishing varieties of exploitation through which a large number of the community is sentenced to a life of harlotry, squalor and deprivation. So there can be no debate then that the artist who elects to speak on the side of power is invariably himself or herself a patron of exploitation, profiting on human misery." (8)

### **Change and Leadership in *A Parliament of Vultures***

Emeka Nwabueze tells the story of Madam Mmazularu Omeaku and her fellow parliamentarians, a legislator picked from a roadside hotel. She is certificateless and parades ignorance at the House of Parliament. When the play opens, she is revealed quarreling with her husband Mr Omeaku, who expresses sadness that the nation's hallowed chambers has gone down to the dogs. She invalidates her husband's educational status as a retired teacher, arguing that with the use of power, their daughter Nkechi will get a university certificate even without attending class. The parading of the brilliant and educated Dr Parkers and Mr Otobo as lawmakers was a leadership game that has pervaded over history, one deployed to manipulate the citizenry towards acceptance and conformance of political credibility. Thus, Mrs Omeaku, Bob Brown, Habamero, Reverend Jossy and the Protocol Officer engage in mind boggling acts of corruption and self financial profiteering to the detriment of those they have been elected to serve. Therefore, Mr Omeaku questions about the descendence of Nigeria to a negative change status quo ante: "What has happened to my nation? A nation where important state matters are discussed at the wayside hotel ... Who could have believed that a roadside food seller would become one of the lawmakers of our country?" (17, 20)

Nwabueze uses the animal metaphoric imagery, 'Vultures', to describe what harm these group of legislators have done to the nation. As kleptomaniac oppressors "Vultures" is a profligate imagery for corruption, economic uncertainties and financial

difficulties, poverty, bad governance, sterile morality and religious fraud, and illegitimacy. The present leadership in the parliament can only show their true colour as a group of fraudsters bent on deceiving the masses and piling up treasures for themselves. For example, the character Rev Jossy was brought in to launder public confidence in the looters of national treasury. President of Parliament Habamero confirms this:

Reverend Jossy, it is not your duty to tell us what is religious and what is not. After all, this is not the house of a Bishop, but that of the Speaker of the House. You know why we're here. When you're here with us, please, play the game right. Reserve your religious theatrics for the right situation. By the way, why are you not wearing the sauterne? (24)

It is observed that Dr Parkers, who was impeached from his position of Speakership, and Mr Otobo were brought in from America and one of the nation's ivory towers, respectively, also as intellectual cover up about the caliber of men and women in parliament. The people are mesmerized to accept that they have their own educated representatives for good governance. This deceitful attitude suggests a clear pattern of leadership profligacy in Nigeria. But this would be counter-productive as Dr Parkers and Mr Otobo are prepared to set the record straight.

During parliamentary meetings the thieving members set down with the political business of approving "inconvenience allowance? ... for eating out or sleeping out" (26) at the Hilton Hotels upon which Speaker Habamero approves "the sum of two million naira for each member." (27) Ironically, this profligacy is labeled "Emergency meeting of the Political Affairs Committee." (27) This comes after Habamero had informed Rev Jossy that he was worked into parliament to "lend credibility to our programmes," (24) and he is ordered to behave appropriately. From the discussions by the parliamentarians it becomes manifest that the construction of a government of change was to continue with the cycle of corruption, anarchy and man's inhumanity to man. They sack Dr Parkers from his speakership as Habamero quips: "Perhaps the Very Reverend Jossy does not understand the role of Miss Omeaku in the House. Perhaps he does not understand that Madam used her pretty daughter to bring down the former Speaker of this House. And Madam has more jobs for her." (28) Of this, Doki Ama Gowon and Ali Sule Ako observe, stating Uche Nworah's position:

Corruption robs countries of their potentials... Corruption in large-scale public project is a daunting obstacle to sustainable development and results in a major loss of public funds needed for education, health care and poverty alleviation, both in developed and developing countries. Some Nigeria citizens including the members of the political class have also not helped matters with their ever increasing corrupt and fraudulent practices; (41)

Madam Omeaku is a lawmaker who goes by the appellation of 'Madam Ho-ha', reminding of her bluntness and dictatorial tendency. Despite her educational paucity, she is the invidious brain-box of the thieving kleptomaniac change agents who have refused to make laws that would usher in the right change for national development and

growth. It is not only that the parliament is embroiled in legitimacy crisis, the majority group are not ready to let power slip away from them. Bob Brown states their confusion succinctly: “We can’t consolidate the ruler-ship of this parliament unless we also remove the Paliamentary Secretary. He’s very fond of Dr Parkers, and as long as he remains in that position, the former chairman will use him to harrass us.” (28)The foregoing shows that the elected leaders of change are not bordered or concerned about the welfare of those who elected them to power and would do anything to remain in power. They clearly portray themselves to be sit-tight leaderspaving their way through anomalous policies and political shisms. Thus, Dr Parkers is unaware of the murky waters of this political leadership and is educated by Otobo:

That’s the trouble with you, Dr Parkers. You have a Ph.D in Political Science, but you forget that some of these people with whom you share parliament did not go to school at all, but they have Ph.D.’s in political maneuvering. And don’t think they are fools. They can manipulate even the most educated ones just as they manipulate the masses. Why do you think that they even pick members of the Executive Council from the universities and still cause them to do exactly what they want them to do; cause them to defend their outrageous utterances and policies. (34)

Dr Parkers and Otobo represent the moralists and the progressive leadership ideological class in the parliament. But they are in the negligible third margin or quorum and come from a culture of peoples participative struggle in governance and social and economic redistribution of resources for the advancement of the peoples welfare. Their inexperience in the administrative utopianism and crudity of their nation’s political leadership institution was the factor that would give quantum power and uncontrollable arrogance to the other members as well as the President to sideline their populist views. Hence, Mr Otobo, for instance,deplores the harsh economic realities which the change bogus leaders have created for the masses and describes them as a degenerated leadership class of political quacks and stomach infrastructure leaders.

There is no gain-saying the fact that in *A Parliament of Vultures*, we evidence the construction of Nigeria’s biggest political leadership scam and its subterranean management hypocritics and somersaults. A shocking scam which Dr Parkers and Mr Otobo deconstruct as the forcible psyche to manipulate; the characterization of unpatriotic zeal, by those ordinarily who were elected to power and governance, the masses. The actions and language of the parliamentarians and that of His Excellency The President are also made to coincide with the reality of the absence of leadership in the polity. Sources and ownerships of political and economic rights are reversed immediately the lawmakers were elected and sworn into power as they came to view their public duties and offices as the preclusive reserve of theirs. Gowon and Ako emphasize on Nworah’s position again;

Nigeria’s reputation as one of the most corrupt nations in the world coupled with other socio-political issues has greatly affected its global image and has directly impacted on its attarctiveness as a potential investment and tourist destination. The transparency international corruption perceptions index rates Nigeria as the third

most corrupt country in the world in a survey of 146 countries coming only ahead of Haiti (the second most corrupt country) and Bangladesh the first most corrupt country. (41)

In the play, the media as the fourth estate of the realm collapses. Journalists are gratified with financial benefits to skew reports in favour of the politicians. As characteristic of contemporary Nigeria politics, there is no press freedom as those prepared to propagate the ethics of the work are mentally brutalised, cajoled, and derided.

There is also the failure to articulate an economic policy direction and vision for the country by the lawmakers as they waste precious time and intellect in the House raising vouchers and memorandums for the importation of food items and other frivolous items which included, “Argentinian chicken,” (84) “Meat from Norway,” (84) special plates and cutlery from South Africa, and bush meat from Brazil. This can show the nature of damage done to commerce and industry as these politicians prefer importation of goods and items that would have been produced locally in Nigeria. Therefore, the actions of the lawmakers are intended to ruin the economy of the nation by collapsing indigenous economic subsectors for growth of the foreign ones. Even as Mr Brown informed that, “we have ordered two hundred tons of assorted varieties – baked beans, vegetable salad, chopped carrots, grilled liver, and shredded pineapple ... from Heinz Industries in England.” (84)

That the common Nigerian man does not have a future is very clear. An example of class stratification in the play is the case of a man who was retrenched and was not paid for six months. He was sentenced with public execution by one of the nation’s trial judges because he “stole some food items from a supermarket belonging to a powerful ex-military politician.” (89) When the editorial board of a national newspaper refused publishing the judgment since “there are more looters ravaging the national treasury than these unfortunate convicts,” (89) Habamero argued that giving it publicity would dissuade others from acts of criminality. Not a few Nigerians believe, because of the crass mentality of political leaders and the disconnection between the elite and poor, that the courts of law reserve separate judgments for the rich and poor. According to Dr Parkers and Otobo:

Because he was carrying a penknife when he was apprehended, the act was considered armed robbery, and the poor man was tried and executed ... And the trial judge didn’t accept the attorney’s plea for leniency even when he disclosed that the man had not been paid his wages for six months because of retrenchment, that he had wife and children...” (89)

The probing of the allegation bordering on colossal waste of the nation’s resources, absence of a people-directed and driven leadership, economic strangulation, and evident social class structuring, which allowed more room for better living standards to the rich and hardship to the poor, is badly handled by the President and portray how the successive corruption war is being fought in Nigeria. His image is that of an autocratic, dictatorial, and self-serving leader and bigot. He is hardly seen but his actions and ineffective leadership remain popular. It is not surprising that The President

rationalises the dichotomy existing between the leader and the citizen using an inverted pyramidal structure. He reproves and guides the journalists about what questions and what answers to ask and give. He is not miserly about showing how unresponsive and irresponsible he is to the masses well-being. His trifleness over most of the questions directed at him and his ironic satire of the political class through his unguarded statements caricatures Nigerian politicians who stifle the voice of opposition. He does not provide an intelligent answer to 3<sup>rd</sup> Journalist who asks: “Mr President, the masses of this country are suffering because of food scarcity. Does Your Excellency have any programmes to curb food scarcity in the nation?” (97) This is because, as carefully noted by Dr Parkers: “the value of our currency is very low, the masses are suffering, civil servants in some states have not been paid their salaries for upwards of six months.” (64) The President blames the economic recession caused by poor leadership on consumption: “Inflation is the result of people buying too much, thereby giving the traders the opportunity to hike prices. If things are too expensive your anger should be directed at the trader, not the president. Next question, please. (97)

His Excellency, The President is a nameless man in the play, very unlike the lawmakers who have names and titles suggesting who and what they are, thus representing the status quo of oppressive and corrupt leadership. Hence, the peoples discontentment with the way things are going would stoke up the polity, even now that the progressives in parliament have been taken away, for Dr parkers had quipped: “well, I believe it is the fault of the intellectuals of this nation. What are they doing? Why have they abandoned their nation to nonentities?”

While we have been informed that “activists have been watching the activities of government very carefully,” (107) the president’s decision to speak to the local media was to “cajole both the press men, as is always the case in Nigeria, and the populace so as to ‘dispel some of the rumours now making the rounds in our fatherland.’” (90) His Excellency’s itchy retorts and remarks to the media and by a large extent the populace shows a dispirited value to better understand and gauge public opinion about his leadership. One of the disasters facing political leadership in our clime is the unpreparedness by the leaders to give an ear to public outcry for socio-political justice and economic development. The following quotes are credited to the president and represent the rhetorical banter and clichés often adduced to Nigerian politicians, showing their unresponsiveness to duty:

... rumours are usually peddled by disgruntled elements in any society. (94)

... this President is allergic to foolish questions. (94)

The President is a very busy man. (94)

... would you award a contract to a person who is not your friend? (96)

As for the problem of the masses which you mentioned, the problem with them is lack of planning, and eating too much. (98)

Augusto Boal sees the theatre as a political means to good leadership. His “Theatre of the Oppressed” is thus not apolitical and not sensational. It condemns emotions but urges that theatre should apply reason and action in challenging offensive situations. As stated by Ameh Dennis Akoh;

In his New Left Review essay, "Socialist Revolutions and their Class Components," Petras (1978: 37-42) outlines four basic factors or requirements which oil the execution of a revolution: the point at which conditions of exploitations are converted into the practice of class struggle, the ability to differentiate correctly the periods in which different classes enter the revolutionary process, a differentiation of the levels at which various social forces participate in the revolutionary process, and the central concepts and ideas that influence and shape the ideology of the revolutionary movement. (97-98)

In the play, Dr Parkers and Mr Otobo decry the influence of money politics in Nigerian parliament on the quality of leadership given by its leaders and the frivolous reduction of national development task to "eating and drinking" (39) Thus, Parkers and Otobo provide the masses the veritable platform for understanding the goings-on in the Parliament. They educate the media about their responsibility as the watch-dog of the masses and ask the people to demand for good leadership and, or better still, take back power. What followed was the refusal of a national newspaper to publish the incident about 'Citizen Armed Robber' saying there were more criminals and looters in the Parliament who should be sentenced to death than ordinary citizens who were looking for their means of survival. Through this effective representation and leadership the people are able to take a stand against these forces and for their future.

Incontrovertibly, the parliament is largely characterised by profligacy and waste. Some of the controversies that necessitate the peoples uprising or aggression are; Impeachment of Dr Austin Parkers as Speaker of House and election of Habamero as President of Parliament; Election of Madam Omeaku as Secretary of Parliament behind former Secretary Mr Chris Otobo; Strategic deployment of Madam Omeaku's daughter Miss Nkechi as a spy/snifer/weapon against opposition members; Administration of ritual fetish oath on the lawmakers; Commencement of Parliamentary meeting without the presence of the opposition lawmakers.; Sending different invitation letters to members stating conflicting time for meeting; Importation of goods from outside the country by members; Employment of cronies and associates and unqualified allies by lawmakers and His Excellency The President into government positions; Inflated budgets and contracts by legislative committees; Ostentatious parties for lawmakers; Lack of any bill introducing people-oriented programmes and policies; Political brutality/witch-haunt of opposition members; Accepting religious public functions as group obligation; Approval of frivolous Inconvenience Allowances for members; His Excellency The President's control and annexation of the Central Bank as a Government House financial agency; Bribery and corruption; Lack of payment of salaries/retrenchment of public workers; Depreciating currency value; Introducing motions and debates without reading the letter on the floor of the House; Nomination of ex-convicts and people of dubious character into federal boards; Budget padding

Dr Parkers and Mr Otobo as Marxist actors of Theatre of the Oppressed against wilful exploitation and profiteering on human misery not only delight for their political and leadership intellectualism, as buttressed by Boal, in their ability to be "a teacher of morality and a political adviser," (vii) but in their defence of the political and economic

rights of the masses. The lawmakers would not comprehend this new change in which power again returns to the people.

### **Conclusion**

*A Parliament of Vultures* shows that power belongs to the people and not with the leadership class. The condition of the oppressed masses is the subject while corruption, hypocrisy, anarchy, and man's inhumanity to man serve as the objects of representation in the play. There is a failure of leadership in the play because of the hypocritical representation by the politicians. The plot and theme of the play revolve around a thieving group of political leaders who are not responsive and responsible to public good. The Theatre of the Oppressed is not about a few but the people who are prevented from gaining control over their socio-political and economic life just as democratic leadership is for the majority against the few. Leadership, as it manifests in the play is an absurdity, a malaise and at best an intrusion and a violation of the people's right of ownership of resources and political participation. Therefore, the totality of the impact of leadership institution in *A Parliament of Vultures* and programmes is satanic, strange, exploitative, non-progressive, and invidious. The leaders are seen as having no plans for those who elected them. Hence, the people can only gain access to their means of survival politically and economically when they are ready to ask questions, take decisions, and enforce action to reclaim their rights and privileges. Theatre ensures that the people are developed politically, economically and socially to be able to make choice and become aware of the increasing platforms they have for addressing challenges. More importantly, the play teaches that Nigerians can rise above personal interest in political leadership, bring an end to corruption and build institutions that are strong, safe and healthy.

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## **An Inquiry into John Dewey's Idea of History and Geogrpahy Teaching and Its Relevance to Nigerian Peace Education Efforts**

**Greg Ekeh**

### **Introduction**

Peace is considered an indispensable factor for development in every human society, inherently every human society desires peace. Peace is the wholeness created by right human relationships with oneself, other persons, other cultured, other life, earth and the larger whole of which all are a part (United Nations Organization, UNO, 2000). Ibeanu (2012) defines peace as a process involving activities that are directly or indirectly linked to increasing development and reducing conflict, both within specific societies and in the wider international community. From philosophical perspective, peace is a values, a virtue, and an altitude that is necessary for the stability of the society in all its ramifications: politics, economy, religion and social life (Gumut, 2012). These definitions show that peace is essential for the development of the society, and that people's actions and efforts are to be geared towards its realization.

An atmosphere of peace provides a veritable ground for human happiness. However, despite the crave for peace, experience has shown that abounch in human society. There are experiences of war, terrorism, crimes, oppressions, injustice and exploitation in various forms. This is negatively on the psyche of the children of the world. The greater fear is that these children can themselves become violent in future, since they are unconsciously growing with the spirit of violence and hostility to which they are being exposed now. There is the need, therefore, to transform people's minds, especially the youths, towards peace.

It is believed and hoped that this mind transformation is better addressed through the process of education, in the form of peace education. In Article 26 of the universal Declaration of Human Rights, peace education is referred to as that which is focused on ensuring full development of individuals, respect for human rights and basic freedoms. It is the type of education that encourages understanding, tolerance, good relationships and mutual respect, despite differences in culture, race or religion (UNO, 2000).

John Dewey is one of the philosophers and educators whose contributions to peace education have been significant and enriching. A thorough-going pragmatist and progressivist, Dewey envisaged a society where the individuals are educated to the full capacity of their possibilities, and in their turn apply what they learn to real life situations in the society, for its proper ordering and development. Having been disproved by the effects of the first World War, that progress and development can be attained by force of arms and violence, Dewey began to channel his pragmatist convictions to education as a veritable means of peace building and sustenance for the purpose of individual, national and international harmony, understanding and

progress. After the war, Dewey put a great deal of energy into advancing his ideas regarding peace education (Howlet, 2008). For Dewey, peace education is a great opportunity to educate the young people better. He sees school as an instrument of reform which can facilitate concrete patterns for the reordering of the society in favour of peace.

With regard to peace education, Dewey favours the teaching of two particular subjects. The two subjects are history and geography. The term history is from the Greek **i opia** (historia), which means inquiry, knowledge acquired by investigation. It is the study of the past. It relates to past events as well as the memory, discovery collection, organization, presentation, and interpretation of information about those events (Brian & Richard, 2008). For Deuter, Bodbery and Turnbull (2015), history consists of all the events that happened in the past. Geography, as defined by Ron (2000), is the study of the diverse environments, places, and spaces of earth surface and their interactions. It seeks to answer the questions of why things are the way they are, and where they are on the part of Alastair (2008), geography is the study of the physical structure of the earth and its inhabitants or the structure of a particular region or terrain.

In his approach to peace education, John Dewey emphasizes that the teaching of history should not just focus on the memorization of important names and places, rather students should be provided with the knowledge of the past in a way that will enable them to understand the present events and envisage possible future events as consequences of the present (Oyekanmi, 2011). In his lectures in China between 1919 and 1920, Dewey said:

History is not the story of heroes but an account of social development, it provides us with the knowledge of the past which contributes to the solution of social problems of the present and the future...before starting history as such, it would be a good idea to identify the problems in politics, social problems, economic problems, problems in diplomacy and others. Then explore each of these problems in its historical setting, try, to determine the origin if the problem, examine past efforts to deal with problem, find out what sort of situation caused it to be a problem (Cited in Howlett, 1978:40).

With regard to geography, Dewey maintains that “geography teaches the necessity of creating a world outlook based on a humanistic approach to other cultures and peoples. It broadens the outlook” (Howlett, 1978:40) . following from this view, it is the duty of teachers to guide students to see the similarities between cultures and highlight the relevance of various cultures to one another. Students are also to be helped to understand that interactions between cultures and peoples of various backgrounds can be of benefit to them and how.

This paper, therefore, focused on the university level, precisely faculties of education of the federal universities. This is because federal universities are the largest government funded tertiary institutions in Nigeria. It is assumed that resources for information are invariably to be more available in these universities. Most of the acts of violence that take place in the country are perpetrated by the youths, who are mainly graduates, undergraduates and school drop-outs. These acts of violence are

traceable to lack of or inadequate understanding, acceptance and appreciation of past events and their consequences, as well as appreciation of other peoples, their cultures and religion.

Could it be that the teaching of history and geography in Nigerian schools falls short of the ideals proposed by John Dewey? Do the topics and teaching of history and geography be relevant to Nigerian peace efforts through education? It is against this backdrop that the paper sat out to investigate the relevance of Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts.

### **Statement of the Problem**

Peace has been eluding the human race, despite the fact that is the desire of every society. Man has, however, continued to work and search for peace in various ways, especially through education since after the experiences of the world wars. Nigeria is not exempted from this. Several works have been done on John Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching with regard to peace education as well as on Nigerian peace education efforts. However, it has been observed the teaching of history and geography Nigerian schools is yet to have the desired impact on the youths in the country to enable them embrace peaceful coexistence. In view of this, there is a felt need to remedy the situation. A discussion on Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching as it pertains to peace education was, therefore, deemed important to Nigerian peace education efforts; more so as, to the awareness of this researcher, no research has been specifically carried out in this regard.

### **Purpose of the Study**

The purpose this paper was to investigate the John Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching and its relevance to Nigerian peace education efforts.

### **Research Question**

The following research question was posed to guide the study:  
What is the relevance of John Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts?

### **Research Hypothesis**

To further guide the study, the following null hypothesis was formulated.

There is no significant differences between the mean responses of the academic staff and undergraduate students of the faculties of education of the federal universities on the relevance of John Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts.

### **Significance of the Study**

It is hoped that the findings of the study will help teachers and students to appreciate history and geography as very important subjects, by exposing them to the benefits therein. Also, the findings will help the education policy makers, curriculum planners and implements to see to brainstorm and come up with ways of making the

teaching of history and geography relevant to real life situations and promotion of peace efforts. It is also believed that peace educators and other stakeholders in Nigeria will benefit from the findings of this study, for these two subjects to peace education. Finally, the general public will benefit from the findings of this study, since they will be better informed on the importance of history and geography in peace building and maintenance.

### **Research Method**

The research adopted for the study was descriptive survey. The area of the study is the Federal Republic of Nigeria, which shares borders with Chad and Cameroon in the East, Benin Republic in the West, Niger in the North and the Gulf of Guinea in the Atlantic Ocean in the South. The population of the study comprised 38,890 academic staff and 791, 208 undergraduate students across the forty federal universities, giving a total of 830, 098.

The sample size was 1,641 respondents, made up of 219 academic staff and 1,422 undergraduate students. This was drawn from the faculties of education of six federal universities, one from each of the geo-political zones. Multi stage sampling technique was used to do the selection, since the area and population involved were large.

For data collection, a structured questionnaire developed by the researcher was used, titled An Inquiry Into John Dewey's Idea of History and Geography Teaching and its relevance to Nigerian Peace Education Efforts Questionnaire (AIJDIOHAGTAIRTNPEEQ). AIJDIOHAGTAIRTNFEEQ has 10 items in one cluster. The first 5 items were concerned with the teaching of history, while the last 5 sought information on the teaching of geography. The instrument has response options of Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD). The options were weighted as follows = SA = 4, A = 3, D = 2, SD = 1

The instrument was face – validated by three experts, whose corrections and suggestions were well incorporated into the final draft. The reliability of the instrument was obtained using Chronbach Alpha, which yielded 0.88 as the reliability coefficient. Five research assistants were employed to help in administering the instrument. After the administration, 1,518 copies (93%) of the questionnaire were returned to the researcher. Descriptive statistical tools such as mean scores and standard deviation were used to answer the research question. Real limits of numbers were used to interpret the data. Rating from 2.50 and above indicated agreement, while ratings below 2.50 indicated disagreement. This is because 2.50 is the average score in the weighted options. A t-test was applied for the purpose of testing the hypothesis at 0.05 level of significance.

### **Results**

#### **Research Question**

What is the relevance of John Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts?

**Table 1:** Mean responses of the academic staff and undergraduate students of the faculties of education of the federal universities on the relevance of John Dewey’s idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts.

S/N	Item Statement	Group	Mean	SD	Dec
1	The teaching of history can promote peace by exposing students to the knowledge of the past, leading to the understanding of the present that is likely to ensure a better future	Academic staff	2.99	0.22	A
		Und. Students	2.98	0.26	A
2	Focusing the teaching of history mainly on names and dates or trumpeting the exploits of war heroes promotes peace education	Academic staff	1.81	0.48	D
		Und. Students	1.83	0.50	D
3	It is necessary to examine the root causes of social problems such as wars, and violent conflicts from their historical background	Academic staff	3.63	0.56	A
		Und. Students	3.33	0.50	A
4	It is imperative for the education programme to seek knowledge of the past with the intention of proffering solutions to problems	Academic staff	3.07	0.31	A
		Und. Students	3.11	0.31	A
5	Peace education can be enhanced if the teaching of history is focused on people’s activities and their consequences on the promotion of peace	Academic staff	3.05	0.31	A
		Und. Students	3.16	0.37	A
6	The teaching of geography should focus more on learning communities, diverse cultures, habits and occupations than heights, lengths and names of mountains and rivers	Academic staff	3.64	0.55	A
		Und. Students	3.38	0.48	A
7	It is always good to emphasize the similarities that exist between the various cultures of the world in the teaching of geography, for this enhances understanding among people	Academic staff	3.08	0.36	A
		Und. Students	3.17	0.38	A
8	Peace education, which is connected to global awareness will no doubt be enhanced if, in the teaching of geography, concern is given to elaborate inquiry into peoples and their societies	Academic staff	3.08	0.36	A
		Und. Students	3.15	0.36	A
9	In the course of teaching geography, giving consideration to the heights of mountains and lengths of rivers should be in the context of cultural development	Academic staff	3.59	0.61	A
		Und. Students	3.30	0.46	A
10	For geography to be properly taught, the study of all peoples, cultures, habits occupations, arts and societies’ contributions to the development of culture in general must be considered as constitutes of its curriculum as emphasized by John Dewey	Academic staff	3.08	0.34	A
		Und. Students	3.12	0.33	A
<b>Grand Mean</b>		<b>Academic staff</b>	<b>3.10</b>	<b>0.41</b>	<b>A</b>
		<b>Und. Students</b>	<b>3.05</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>A</b>

*N = Number of Respondents, SD = Standard Deviation, df = Degree of Freedom, t-cal = calculated t-value, t-crit = t-critical table value.*

In table 1, items 1,2,3,4 and 5 have respective mean scores of 2.99, 3.63, 3.07 and 3.05 on the part of the academic staff. This shows that the academic staff agree that the teaching of history can promote peace, and that it is necessary to examine the root causes of social problems from their historical backgrounds. Furthermore, their agreement indicates that peace education programme has to seek knowledge of the

past for the purpose of proffering solutions, and that peace can be enhanced if the teaching of history focuses more on people’s activities and consequences on the promotion of peace. The same agreement is the case on the part of the undergraduate students with their mean scores of 2.98, 3.33, 3.11 and 3.16 for items 1,3,4 and 5 respectively. Both the academic staff and undergraduate students disagree on item 2. This is shown by their respective mean scores of 1.81 and 1.83. the scores show that focusing the teaching of history mainly on names and dates, or the exploits of heroes of war, does not promote peace education.

Items 6 to 10 have respective mean scores of 3.64, 3.08, 3.08, 3.59 and 3.08 on the part of the academic staff, and 3.38, 3.17, 3.15, 3.30 and 3.12 on the part of the undergraduate students. It means that both groups of respondents agree on these items. The scores are an indication that the teaching of geography should focus more on learning the communities, diverse cultures, habits and occupations, than heights, lengths and names of mountains and rivers. Mean scores of 3.08 and 3.17 on item 7 shows an agreement by both the academic staff and undergraduate students. Hence, it is always good to emphasize the similarities that exist between the various cultures in the course of teaching geography. Again, it is agreed that peace education will be enhanced if concern is given to elaborate inquiry into peoples and their societies. This is indicated by the mean scores of 3.08 and 3.15 on item 8, on the part of the academic staff and undergraduate students respectively. For item 9, mean scores of 3.59 and 3.30 indicate that consideration of heights of mountains and lengths of rivers should be in the context of cultural development. Finally, agreement on item 10 by both groups of respondents means that for geography to be properly taught, the study of all peoples, cultures, habits, occupations, arts and societies contributions to development in general must be considered as constituents of its curriculum. This is indicated by their respective mean scores of 3.08 and 3.12.

**HO:** There is no significant difference between the mean scores of the academic staff and undergraduate students of the faculties of education of the federal universities on the relevance of John Dewey’s idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts.

**Table 2:** Summary of t-test analysis of the mean scores of the academic staff and undergraduate students of the faculties of education of the federal universities on the relevance of John Dewey’s idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts.

Group	N <sub>0</sub>	Mean	SD	Df	t-cal	t-crit	Level of significance
Academic staff	212	3.10	0.41	1516	1.66	1.96	0.05
Und. students	1,306	3.05	0.39				

In table 2, the calculated t-value is 1.66, while the t-critical value is 1.96. The calculated t-value of thus less than the t-critical value, indicating that there is no significant difference between the mean responses of the academic staff and undergraduate students on the relevance of John Dewey’s idea of history and

geography teaching to Nigeria peace education efforts. The null hypothesis is therefore upheld.

### **Discussion of Results**

The objective of this paper was to determine the relevance to John Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching to Nigerian peace education efforts. Table 1 indicated that history and geography can contribute a lot to peace education, if they are properly taught. History, for instance, furnishes people with the knowledge of past events, leading to the understanding of the present, which is likely to ensure a better future. Experiences of the past help people to proffer solutions for the present problems as well as prevention of same in future. The finding is in agreement with the views of Alpagu, Sahim onand Yazici (2009) that by sharing past experiences people can develop historical empathy and knowledge which can be used in solving social problems and creating mutual understanding between societies.

Along the same line of thought, the findings revealed that focusing the teaching of history on people's activities and their consequences can help in determining which activities promote peace or otherwise. This is very important and it is in line with the observation by Ogwuonuoru (2012) that knowledge of the past helps in promoting unity, progress, peace and development, as well as shunning nepotism, tribalism and segregation. It was equally accepted by the respondents that through knowledge history the root causes of social problems can be easily traced. This is very crucial because without knowing and dealing with the root causes of acts of violence, for instance any solution proffered would only be a temporary measure, leading to a negative peace, as appears to be the case in Nigeria. In this context, Oyekanmi (2011) states that students should be provided with knowledge about causes of past events, their effects then and possible connection with present problems or events. This will help them to guard against such causes and how to deal with the problems from the root.

With regard to the teaching of geography, the findings show that learning communities, diverse cultures, habits and occupations are to be the focus of the teaching of geography. This is very informative. According to Oyekanmi (2011), it will guide students to observe similarities between cultures and their relevance to one another. It was also indicated, from the data analysis, that peace education will be enhanced if concern is given to elaborate inquiry into peoples and their societies. Again, it was discovered that consideration of the heights of mountains and lengths of rivers should be in the context of cultural development. The findings highlight, indeed, the importance of geography. This is in tandem with the observation of Adrogba (2012) that the importance of geography cannot be overemphasized. However, he laments that the teaching and learning of the subject have not been sustainable.

When the above findings are juxtaposed with the Nigerian experience, one would agree that prejudice, suspicion, tension and distrust often arise due to lack of adequate understanding of peoples and their cultures, especially ethnic and religious cultures as well as shallow knowledge of the past. The teaching of history and

geography, based on Dewey's ideas, requires open-mindedness. Open mindedness. Open mindedness means "freedom from prejudice, partisanship, and other such habits are close the mind and make it unwilling to consider new problems and entertain new ideas" (Dewey, 1933:30). The teaching of history and geography as envisaged and advocated by Dewey can reinvigorate a focus on aligning school programmes of peace education to the real situations of life in the society. Hence Ajibade and Raheem (2012) maintain that in teaching these two subjects there is need to have a direct linkage with the immediate reality of man and his existence. This corroborates the ascertain by Dewey (1916:10) that "one of the weightiest problem of education is the isolation of the curriculum from life experience".

### **Educational implications**

From the findings of the study, some educational implications for Nigerian education system, school institutions and the government can be deduced. One of such implications is that the education system, and school institutions are challenged to provide students with grounded knowledge of history and geography in a way that will focus their attention on the consequences of actions, on cultures, peoples and their activities, occupations and contributions to the betterment of the society.

The government is saddled with the responsibility of formulating educational policies. The findings of the study, therefore have implications for the government in this regard. The challenge is for the government to come up with policies that would incorporate the teaching of history and geography in line with John Dewey's idea. The final implication for the education system and school institutions is that of implementation.

### **Conclusion**

John Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching is a welcome development in the field of peace education, yet it has not been given its merited place in the peace efforts of Nigerian education system. This is because the teaching of these subjects currently falls short of Dewey's ideals as well as relevance to the realities of the Nigerian society.

In view of the above situation, the present author of the stand that Dewey's idea of history and geography teaching is relevant to Nigerian peace education efforts. This means that adapting the views advocated by Dewey can uplift Nigerian peace education programme to a level more practical and relevant to real life situations than the current situation of things.

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## **Aesthetics and Mike Ejeagha's Folk Music**

**Agatha Njideka Nwanya.**

### **Introduction**

According to David Davies (2007 para1,4.9) , aesthetics is a branch of philosophy dealing with the nature of beauty, art, and taste and with the creation and appreciation of beauty. Scholars in the field defined aesthetics as “critical reflection on art, culture and nature”. Aesthetics is used by some as a synonym for the philosophy of art .In practice; aesthetic judgment refers to the sensory contemplation or appreciation of an object. Aniakor (1982) explains that in Igbo, aesthetics as work of art is considered beautiful by the extent to which the skill of the artist is made manifest subject to such other factors as the social and economic status of the patrons. Aesthetics therefore is a critical reflection in Arts and culture. The primary objective of this research is to examine the cultural values of mike Ejeagha Folk Music in his Omenala Series. By “Omenala” the artist refers to age long customs and tradition of the Igbo People. The social, religious and political significance of these laws and the need to respect and keep them form the fulcrum of this research. This researcher concludes that Folk Music of Mike Ejeagha integrates the people through advocacy of human rights in the communities. From time immemorial, music has served as a medium of exposing the ills of the society as well as advocating for positive social change. It is a major tool for mobilization, conscientization and re enforcing popular opinions, ideals and aspirations. Western scholars like Schopenheuer posit “music is a direct copy or the direct expression of the will”. In Africa, music is a life wire of the people. African man employs music n virtually every aspect of human endeavours such as in religious worship, recreational activities, hunting, farming and at home while doing household chores. African music is closely inter-woven in dance as such there is no clear cut definition of the word” music” ,in Africa as can be seen later in the concept of Igbo music. Writing on “Understanding African Music Through the Perspective of Igbo Sub- Genre”, (Umezina 118) observes that “music enforces and reinforces a sense of belonging in the community”... and has a way of representing African view of reality, an African philosophy.“. Music purifies the mind and gives melody to the soul. Music is the greatest therapy for a distressed soul. It heals charged soul first by calming fried nerves. Music is nature’s poetry. In this case music is attributed to all natural phenomena that can be linked to natural forces such as winds, birds, frogs, toads etc. Inspiration is the bedrock of good music. Though it can be argued that music is sort for pleasure and entertainment purposes in virtually all cultures of the world, yet the most endearing functions of music is information and education.

Music as an art form can be classified into different genre such as classical music, pop music, folk music and jazz. “Pop” is short for “Popular.” Pop Music is a genre of music encompassing several styles, that is readily comprehensible to a large proportion of the population: its appreciation requires little or no knowledge of

musical theory or technique.(Onyeji 28-32-).gives exposition to different types of pop music which include Tin Pan Alley, Rock-and-Roll, Rock, isco, Blues/Sentimental Music, Raggae, Calypso, Gospel Music, Highlife, Rap Music etc

Oikelome quoted Gillette (2002) defines popular music as “body of music that emerged in the 1960s mixing indigenous influences with those of the western popular music” (316). Writing on *The Development of Popular Music in Nigeria*, (Oikelome 317) dates it from 1930s and 1950s. According to him, Pop Music can be boldly divided into three categories. First, those that are based entirely on Western Pop such as ballroom dance music and rock’ n’ roll. Second, those in which foreign and African musical elements are fused like highlife, afro-beat, afro-rock. Third, those that are localized among particular ethnic groups such as juju, waka, apala, ikwonkirikwo and swange.

This genre as the name implies is the most popular among Nigerian people and culture because it enjoys grass root patronage among the youths especially the teenagers.

Wikipedia Dictionary explains that Folk music is a term for musical folklore which originated in the 19th century. It has been defined in several ways: as music transmitted by word of mouth. Music of the lower classes and as music with no known composer. Since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the term has been used to describe a kind of popular music that is based on traditional music. Folk Music originates from folklore. **Folklore** consists of culture, including stories, music, dance, legends, oral history, proverbs, jokes, popular beliefs, customs and so forth within a particular population comprising the traditions (including oral traditions) of that culture, subculture, or group.

Asigbo,24) on his part opines that the term “folk music” designates one of the three principal idioms of western music. The other two are commonly referred to as popular or pop music and classical /Art Music. Folk Music is one of the enduring forms of folk Literature. Typically, folk song or music lives in oral tradition and is best known in the form of local tradition or ways of making music. They are usually, inherited. Cultivated and transmitted primarily by rural people, many of whom cannot read and write the language they speak and very few or none, the music they sing and play. Folk songs are characterized by their close association with the routine activities of daily life. They are used to transmit news and gossip, document local genealogy and history and preserve the lore and literature of people. Folk music is thus living phenomena that presents one with a nostalgic synthesis of both old and new cultures, a synthesis which is a pointer to the resistance social change offers in a situation of cultural change.

When we talk of Igbo Folk Music we are therefore referring to those traditionally oriented music that derive their composition from Igbo legends, oral history, jokes, popular beliefs myth, etc (Asigbo,33) posits that Igbo folklore usually has a cynical undertone exhorting people not to accept good or kindness at first value to understand that man is innately selfish. Igbo folk music serves didactic purposes by teaching, instructing and evaluating certain moral principles. For the Igbo, folklore is not just a reflection of their Culture and tradition but of totality of

their existence. The stories are composed from every day reality. Though such music is derived from fables telling stories of animals, composers weave human and non-human characters into powerful allegories which portray their world view. Of course, ancestral Igbo were peasants: they are exploited and subjected to a hard life with bleak future and this influenced their psychology and philosophy. Hardship naturally made them thrifty, suspicious, and apprehensive and powerful. Igbo Folk musicians include Mike Ejeagha, OzoemenaNsugb, Morocco Maduka, Perry Como Okoye, ChinwubaOdili, AusumaMaliaika, Apama Boy, 77etc.

In multicultural nation like Nigeria where unity in diversity is the watch word of political elites and human right activists, folk music has remained an integrating factor among people from the same ethnic groups. Mike Ejeagha stands out as a king of Igbo folk music. His music no doubt imparts moral values and denouncing evils in our society. Folk music is derived from folklore which itself is an oral tradition concerned with history or explanation of natural phenomena. They deal with situation with which the listeners are familiar. Folklore recalls some ancient customs like old forms of inheritance or primitive birth and marriage customs. Much of the ethical teaching a child received come from folklore hence the predominantly didactic and moralistic nature of folktales. Most of the time, the tales are made to have happy endings and involves triumph over difficulties with or without supernatural help. In fact folklore illustrates the simplicity and the superstition of the rural African people and they reflect the stage of development a particular society. They reveal the fierce sense of justice of Africans, their belief in witchcraft, their patience and endurance. Folklore therefore transmits not only people's tradition but also impart knowledge and wisdom. Both folklore and music are mode of expression. Each expresses a cultural meaning of a given society. And most folk music re-enact the common belief in law of retributive justice. It is from this rich tradition of the Igbo culture that Mike Ejeagha derives the theme and story line of his music. According to JDPC Onitsha 2012 publication,

Advocacy was defined as a process through which individuals and organizations engage with decision-makers to influence public policy decisions on legislation on specific issues. The document further explains that advocacy may be conducted through many different types of activities such as lobbying, mobilizing people at grassroots, strategic litigation, protests or demonstrations etc. Advocacy may be confrontational, (adversarial) or diplomatic (negotiated) (12-13)

In our world today, human rights violations are on the increase. The United Nations, Chatter 1874 provides eight basic human rights to include, the right to co-exist with others, the right to own property, the right to associate with others, the right to belong to any religion or set, freedom of movement, etc. The Act made provisions for individual or groups to contest through a law court violation of such laws. In the traditional Igbo society however, the council of elders, made up of NdiIchie, NzenaOzo preside, supervise and pass judgments on violation of human rights.. Justice as has been established by the story of Omekagu is seen as a panacea for peace in Igbo society. The moral lesson from the folk musician can be summarized

thus: First, the need to uphold and cherish positive traditions such as the political institution of Council of elders. The sanctity of human persons and respect for moral laws. Mike Ejeagha advocates for human rights and champions the cause for justice and equity in distribution of resources..

### **Mike Ejeagha as a Folk Artist**

Mike Nwachukwu Okolo Ejeagha was a native of Ime-EziOwa in Eziagu Local Government Area of Enugu State, Nigeria. He was born in August 1932. He ventured into music as a teenager and began by learning how to play guitar under the tutelage of MrAduba from Onitsh and MrCyprain Ozochukwu from Oghe. He grew up and became popular as a folk singer and uses trumpet, guitar, saxophone, trombone as instrument for his kind of music. He has many albums to his credit such as “Akuko Na Egwu” Series, which includes, “OmeKaAgu” and “ObiakorNwam” sub-titled (Omenala No 1and Omenala No 2). Others are “OnyeOriUtaba” and NwanyiEwereEhiheNaa, Onye Isi Oche, etc. Gentle man Mike Ejeagha and his Premier Band (AkukonaEgwu) is a very popular Folk musician who enjoys wide patronage all over Igbo land especially in the seventies and early eighties. He sources his raw material from numerous Igbo fables, myth and legends. Mike usually shows his mastery of his art not only in his instrumental music but also in his crafty use of proverbs and idioms to illustrate his ideal of narrative poetry. For instance, while narrating the story of Omekagu, Mike asked this rhetorical question.”My people, have you ever seen any yam tendril spout from the tail of the yam? His folk music and songs are highly rich in traditional poetry of the Igbo culture. Sometimes he anchors his story from Epic poetry. To him, music must “shock people to consciousness” and he” believes the society will regenerate once the right ethical and moral standards are inculcated into the people” (Asigbo 45)

Mike Ejeagha’s music advocates for fair treatment of both male and female. He is concerned with issues affecting human rights such as the Rights of women, Rights of the first son and “the rightful position of elders in Igbo society as the leaders of thoughts. He advocates for fair treatment of women in the society. In album, Mike captures persistent social injustice in our society. He condemns discriminatory and callous attitudes of some parents who consciously or unconsciously create disharmony in their families. Omekagu’s story is an oral form of satirical poetry that illustrates vision, illusion and disillusionment of people. The tragedy occurred because there was a distortion of spiritual harmony and Omekagu felt blatantly, victimized oppressed and he was denied basic rights and subjugated by his biological father. Thus from the story the theme of perversion of social justice emerges. Omekagu’s story was one of such a story that condemns outright discrimination or preferential treatment of a child in a family. The story, centres on the right of ownership of property as a legal Right of the first son. The narrator tells us that the protagonist, Omekagu, was the younger of his father’s two sons. Their father loves him and hates his elder brother. The issue at stake was conferment of Ozo Chieftaincy title. Igbo custom and tradition recognized Ozo Chieftaincy title as the highest social institution. Initiation into this institution is therefore considered a mark of honour and

a prestigious endeavour. The artist informs us that when Omekagu's father summoned the elder and informed them of his intention to initiate one of his sons into Ozo Chieftaincy title, the elders was anxious to know which of his sons he wished to honour. When he informed them of his intention to initiate Omekagu, the simply told him that a yam does not germinate from the tail, it most spouts from the head. This proverb simply put, illustrates the fact that there is order in nature and that order recognizes the first thing as a priority. The elders in their wisdom advised him to drop the idea but he refused. In protest, the elders left him. Still he went ahead to initiate Omekagu into Ozo Chieftaincy title. The right procedure for initiation into the prestigious Ozo Chieftaincy position according to Igbo tradition is to initiate the first son. This procedure allows for peaceful hand over of ofo to the first son. It was the reversal of this order that was responsible for the tragedy of Omekagu in the story.

But he did not live to enjoy this privilege position bestowed on him by the fortunes of his father. Usually, a day is set aside for an outing after conferment of Ozo chieftaincy title on a recipient. So on the Eke Market day scheduled for his ceremonial outing, his father mandated one of his servants to lead Omekagu round the town. In the process of riding round the village, he failed from the horse died instantly. This unfortunate incident happened as soon as his elder brother blew his flute thus;

**Igbo**

Opi m fubarum Omekagu line 1  
Omekaguririjimuo line 2  
Omekaguririedemuo line 3  
O buruna I fubaru m Omekagu,  
Ka m were ebulugwaya aka line 4  
Ma gijideogujidefo line 5  
Ma gijideogujidefo line 6  
O ooo ! O ooo !!

**English**

My flute call Omekagu line 1  
Omekagu ate the yam of the spirit line 2  
Omekagu ate the coca-yam of the spirit. line 3  
if you call Omekagu,  
I will make a sacrifice with a ram line 4  
But you must be innocent line 5  
But you must be innocent line 6  
O ooo! O ooo !!

For proper understanding of the folk story, it is perhaps necessary to explain the significance of the word "ofo" in Igbo customs and traditions. "Ofo" can be referred to as a piece of wood used as a symbol of authority in every Igbo family, kindred and village. It can also mean "uprightness" or "justice" when used in the expression "E ji m ofo". It can also be expressed to mean "My hands are clean". Ofo is a link between the living and the ancestors. Many writers have given various definitions of the term, ofo. One of such writers, Nwankwo T Nwaezigwe posits that "Ofo" in political and religious terms is a symbol of authority and continuity between the people and their ancestors. He further explains that ofo and its uses have been explained by many writers such as Edmund Ilogu who says "Ofo is used for prayer, swearing, certification of truth, by an ozo titled man and as an outward symbol of the presence of the ancestors. For Rev Fr Christopher Ejizu, ofo is used for "prayer, ritual sacrifices, and contract with the spirit, patrons, magico-religious uses, naming ceremony, determination of calendar of events, affirming moral uprightness, sealing

of covenants, legitimating of status/office, decision-making, settling of disputes, oath-taking and promulgation and enforcement of laws.(11- 13)

Omekagu folklore brings to mind the Biblical story of Esau and Jacob. The story also illustrates the danger of playing a game of love and hate in a family. In each case, one of the parents loves the younger son more than the elder. Though the two stories are not exactly the same but they are closely related. In the Bible story we are told that Esua and Jacob were brothers. Esua the elder son was hated by their mother, Rebecca. For this reason, when Esua was hungry after a hunting expenditure he sold his birth right to his younger brother, Jacob for a port of portage. He also lost his father's blessings to his younger brother. This unfortunate incident brought about quarrel, jealousy and envy between the two brothers.

Similarly, Omekagu denied his elder brother the opportunity of receiving his birth right from his father. His elder brother was angry and reported them to the gods and ancestors. It is a common belief among the Igbos that the ancestors and the gods are great advocates in the spirit world and they adjudicate over serious matters in order to champion the cause of justice in the human world. By so doing, they vindicate the just and punish the wicked. Omekagu's brother was very perturbed that his father had decided to sell his own inheritance to his younger brother. Logically by such attitude he has become a sub ordinate and a servant to his younger brother. This is a reversal of tradition. Custom and tradition is supreme. A man of honour and integrity must respect tradition. As such the right thing to be done could have been to initiate the first son into the Ozo chieftaincy title first before the second or better still, to initiate both at the same time. In Igbo cosmic realm, there is sequence and order. Initiation ceremony of this nature serves both divine and secular purpose. In the secular world it becomes a status symbol and a form of communion. At the spiritual realm the relationship is extended to bridge the gap between the dead, the living the unborn and more importantly, maintains the family status quo. Omekagu's story appraises the beauty of Igbo tradition and culture. His death could have been averted if he had not placed his aspiration above communal interest.

Again, we are told that Omekagu was riding on a horse on Eke market day before his brother's flute sounded solo and sorrowful. The use of a "horse" here and the "Eke" market day also signify a special and important day out of the four market days that make up Igbo Calendar. Apart from horse, Mike Ejeagha also mentioned another important aspect of material culture of the Igbo people: the flute. The flute is an instrument for dance and music.

Another Folk story which Mike Ejeagha uses to illustrate aesthetics of Igbo folk Art is Obiakor story. It has the same theme of intimidation, oppression, and deprivation. Ejeagha begins the story by asking this rhetorical question, "My people, the person you want to persecute, what wrong has he done to you? He expressed his opinion that it is painful that a man should carry a keg of wine to his in-laws to enable him marry their daughter, only to grow bitterness and hatred against his wife. The story has it that Obiako's father gave him a bead which represents a communal symbol of strength. Obiakor was a brave man but he nurses inexplicable anger against his father for the mere fact that he hates his mother with passion. In order to hurt his

father's feelings, Obiakor informed his father of his intention to break the "pot of life" in his possession. His father thought that his son was having a monumental madness and warned him of the implication of such an action. He further persuaded him to rescind in his early decision but he refused. Ejeagha captured this pathetic state thus

<b>Igbo</b>	<b>Chorus</b>	<b>English Translation</b>	<b>Chorus</b>
Obiakor Obi nwa mu,	Awanzenze	Obiakor my son,	Awanzenze
Obiakor Obi nwa mu	Awanzenze	Give me my pot of charm,	Awanzenze
Nyekene mu ijele mu,	Awanzenze	That I used in wrestling,	Awanzenze
Ijele mu jiangbamgba,	Awanzenze	In the spirit world,	Awanzenze
O buruna be Muo,	Awanzenze	My pot of charm is powerful,	Awanzenze
Ijele mu na-akpaike,	Awanzenze	In the human world,	Awanzenze
O buruna be mmadu,	Awanzenze	Your pot of charm is powerful,	Awanzenze
Ijele mu na-akpaike.	Awanzenze		

Despite his father's passionate appeal, Obiako went ahead and destroyed the pot of life in his possession and consequently died. The tragic death of both Omekagu and Obiakor therefore re-echoed the African world view on man's tragic destiny. Obi Maduakor in his *Introduction to Writings of Wole Soyinka* explains this concept arguing that individual misfortune and tribulations are viewed as personal reflection of god's agony".

### **Art and Aesthetics In "Omenala Series"**

Igbo folk music no doubt derived more from Igbo folk Literature rich in fables, proverbs, riddles and jokes. In olden days, moonlight provides ample opportunity for recreational activities where various oratories are displayed. Such oral literature is often rich in songs, music, poetry and dance. They are part of the oral tradition inherited from one generation to another and the art sustains the Igbo people. Thus in the contemporary period, most oral Literature form the bases of the Igbo Art be it music, literary drama, prose or poetry. It is not surprising therefore that it form a great repertoire in which contemporary folk artist like Mike Ejeagha draws from. In case of Omeka and Obiako story Ejeagha draws from material culture of the people in order to embellish his music. Such material culture include flute. Bodune (89) writes that "the flute is the symbol of celebration, the festive season and musical instrument in masquerade performance."

Such Contributions of Ejeagha can best be appreciated from the point of view of African rendering duties to his god. Generally speaking, African inhabits three worlds of the dead, the living and the unborn. These three worlds are believed to complement one another in a flux because it encourages communion. Soyinka in his attempt to interpret African World view talks about "Cosmic Totality" which according to him is brought about by an interaction of the gods, the ancestors and the living. (Ezikeojiaku 37) tries to explain this in relation to Igbo cosmology. According to him, "the behavioural pattern of ndi Igbo is derived from their conception or perception of their world- view". He opines that "a through perception of this

cosmology does not only provide ndi Igbo with a charter of action, but ultimately, also, with guidelines for their behaviour in the community” In other world, Igbo philosophy strictly revolves on the three world where the living is heavily indebted to the ancestors whose protection and magnanimity is continuously seek. This ideology is fully expressed in the story of Omekagu. His father deviated from the norms of his society and therefore breached peace and harmony. Even when the elders intervened, his father ignored them and the punishment was instant death of Omekagu. Thus it can be seen that three attributes of gods, fierce anger, instant punishment and justice pervade all folk stories. The story in Igbo Philosophy therefore illustrates that peace and harmony are goals of life that can be guaranteed through constant communion with the gods. Omekagu had bridged the gap of harmony that exists not only in human society, of the living but also of the ancestors. The result was a tragic destiny. In the second story of Obiakor, his father’s hatred for his mother bridged the gap of harmony. By telling the story, the artist reflects on women oppression and subjugation in the society. Maltreatment of Obiakor’s mother by the father created a psychological problem for the son. The Psychological trauma finally leads him to commit suicide. In both stories the moral lessons are clear. Justice is the first condition of humanity.

The Igbos no doubt is one of the most musically oriented people in Africa. Though Igbo music are sometimes performed for its cheer fun, the message it communicates, the outlet it provides for social interaction or the sharing of the community’s sentiments, distinguishes it from other western popular music tend to have no other purpose, other than to entertain. Folk music in Nigeria especially as exemplified by Mike Ejeagha’s Omenala series postulates the spirit of cultural re-awaking. The music as an art form is an embodiment of protest towards change. The nature of artistic products derives their spiritual elements from society and culture: the Igbo people the artist happens to belong tell moonlight stories as one of the didactic means of rebuking deviance and inculcating morals. This explains the originality of not only the song but also the instrumental music such as the flute. There is a world of difference and diversity in respect of practitioners involved in folk music. Diversity also exists in distinctions between the super star and the mere popular entertainer such as is the case with most of albums of OkonkwoAsa (77)

Folk music re-news the spirit, preaches peace, love, unity, and above all, fear and respect for elders, reverence for ancestors, spirit of the clan and transcendental Supreme Being called God. Believe in supernatural forces and re-incarnation became well pronounced. In Omenala one, Omekagu was said to have fallen from the hoarse and died when he heard the flute of his elder brother. Towards the end of the story, we learnt that Omekagu “resurrected from death” following his father’s passionate appeal for forgiveness and reconciliation with his elder son. His father’s repentance and reconciliatory move pacify the anger of gods and the spirits of the clan who in turn tempered justice with mercy. Another important aspect of Igbo belief highlighted in the folk music is metaphysical powers associated with the spirit of sooth saying and divination (Igba-Afa). Despite wide impact of Christianity in Igbo land, people still believe tenaciously in seeking help from other orthodox means such as sooth

Sayers, fortune tellers, and diviners because supernatural forces are believed to be mediators between the deity and the people. It is therefore not surprising to see that Omekagu's father consulted these powers in order to unravel the mystery behind mysterious and unfortunate death of his son.

Other non-material culture communicated through the folk music of Mike Ejeagha include supremacy of council of elders who stand for both legislative and judicial arm of government in the traditional Igbo society. The elders are the custodians of customs and traditions and are often allowed to preside over disputes ranging from land to marriage. These two are the most crucial in traditional Igbo society. The inheritance problems, rights and privileges of individuals in a family and community are part of Igbo shared experiences and values. The use of proverbs, idioms to embellish speeches are very common in rendition of songs and music." Proverbs according to Chinua Achebe are palm oil by which words are eaten in Igbo culture". Examples of such proverbs are, "god drives away flies away for a tailless cow".(Meaning that God is the spokesman or defender of the oppressed). Again "No yam germinates from the tail".(Meaning that things should be done accordingly or following the sequence of nature) Ejeagha's father also reminds us that any man who wishes to succeed in his marriage must do that with "one close eye"(Meaning that one will always endeavour to overlook and forgive his wife as often as possible if he wants a peaceful and successful marriage.)

### **Conclusion**

We have seen that folk music is music of the lower class, rich in culture of the people because it is derived from their folk stories. Folk musicians like Mike Ejeagha explores the rich cultural nuances in bringing Art to the grassroots in such a manner that it serves multifarious function. Thus folk music entertains local audience, teach and instruct them and they socialized as well. In his Omenala series, the two stories of Omekagu and Obiakor

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## **Epithets of the Ata Igala: A Sociolinguistic Perspective**

**Abdullahi Ahmad**

### **Introduction**

Onomastics is the branch of linguistics that studies names. It is divided into four major branches: (a) *toponymy* is concerned with place names; (b) *ethnonymy* studies ethnic names; (c) *anthroponymy* studies personal names (Diagne, 1984:1 in Dauda 2002/2003:14). The fourth branch of onomastics is *characteronymy* which, in the words of McArthur (1996:652), examines the use of proper names in literature, and often focuses on the names of characters in fiction. *Name* is an ancient word whose history could be traced to Indo-European – *honen*. This has produced Latin *nomen*, the source of English words such as *nominator*, *noun*... (source of English *anonymous* – etymologically *nameless* – and *synonym*), Welsh *enw*, and Russian *imja*, among others. Its prehistoric German descendant was *namon*, which has evolved to German and English *name*, Dutch *naam*, Swedish *navn*, and Danish *navn* (Ayto, 2005:345). *Name* has been defined by Crystal (1998:112 in Yahya, 2012:139) as “a word or phrase that identifies a person, a place or things.”

Etymologically, an epithet is a word that is ‘put on’ or ‘added’ to another. The term comes from Greek *epitheton* which literally meant ‘addition’, but was used by Greek grammarians for ‘adjective’ (Ayto, 2005:196). It is an adjective or a descriptive phrase that is used to indicate the characters of somebody or something (Sakaran and Al-Nasir, 2005:3). Daba (2002/2003:118) says an epithet is a descriptive word or phrase that is used in place of the bearer’s given name as a form of address. Allen (2004:211) says an epithet is an adjective indicating some quality or attribute (good or bad) which the speaker or writer (or the verdict of history) regards as characteristic of a person or thing, e.g. *Alexander the Great*. An epithet can also be a noun used as a significant title or appellation, e.g. *William the Conqueror*.

Mode (2005:196) says epithets can be words, phrases, or sentences that are mentioned or written ostensibly to praise, incite, flatter, describe or criticize someone or something. Any of the aforementioned acts can be done for oneself, for someone/something by another person or a group.

The Ata Igala’s epithets, praise names or names of power are called *Odu Ukpahiu* among the Igala.

### **Theoretical Framework**

Semiotics and semiology are two terms that are of Greek origin: *semeion*, sign. Hence, the science of signs (Cuddon, 1999:804). The basic founders of modern semiotics and semiology were the philosopher C.S. Peirce (1839-1914) and the linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (1847-1913). Newton (1988 in Eyeh, 2011:145) says that it was Peirce that coined the term *semiotics* in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to denote ‘the formal doctrine of sign’.

A sign is anything that stands for something else in the production of meaning. It may include words, photographs, sounds and gestures. It has three characteristics: First, it must have a physical form – you can see, hear, smell and or touch it. Second, it must refer to something other than itself; and finally, it must be an element in a shared cultural code or system. According to Saussure's idea of semiotics, a sign has two equal parts: the sign signifier and the signified. The former works at the level of denotation, literal, shared, agreed upon meaning and the latter works at the level of connotation – one's personal image, meaning or interpretation of the signifier. Epithets have both denotative and connotative meanings. If we refer to the Ata Igala as *Agaba-idu*, we are, at the denotative plain, comparing an individual to the male lion. At the connotative level we would be talking of the Igala monarch as that individual who is so powerful over his people that no one from his subjects dares to challenge his authority.

It is the view of the American psychologist, Abraham Maslow (1908-1970) (in Colman, 2003:480) that human needs fall into five categories that form the following hierarchy. The strongest and most important or imperative are the *psychological needs* for food, water, oxygen and sex. When the psychological needs are met, the *needs for safety* emerge as the individual begins to seek for safe environments where he will lay his head. Next to emerge are *needs for love and belonging* as the individual yearns for a friend, a lover and a place or position in a group. Next are the *needs for self-esteem* as one seeks self-respect, respect from others, status and achievement. When these are actualized, one goes ahead to satisfy the *needs for self-actualization*: to realize one's latent potential, understand oneself and get established as a whole person.

A new Ata's ascension to *the throne of his forefathers*, as the popular parlance goes among the Igala traditional leadership circles, is not just a remarkable achievement in the life of the monarch, but it is also a quantum leap in the social status of the beneficiary. He therefore chooses names, appellations or epithets that will reflect his new position. Moreover, will the Igala *Ata'ate* witness a new and better era of development as the new man occupies the Ata stool?

### **The Personality of the Ata Igala**

Latin *persona* originally denoted a 'mask' particularly one worn by an actor (it may have been borrowed from Etruscan *phersu*: 'mask'). It gradually evolved through 'character played by an actor' (a meaning preserved in English *persona* – a term introduced by Jungian psychology – to 'individual human being'. It got into English via Old French *persone* and, by the normal processes of phonetic development, has become *person*. The original Latinate spelling *person* was restored for human being (Ayto, 2005:374). Colman (2003:547) says one's personality is the sum total of the behavioural and mental characteristics that are distinctive of an individual. Lahey (2004:462) says one's personality defines one as a person rather than just a biological conglomeration of organs. One's personality is the sum total of all the ways of acting, thinking and feeling that are typical of that person and make that person different from all other individuals.

Two terms that are worthy of note in Lahey's definition above are *typical* and *different*. Some persons are typically generous, others are typically miserly; some are typically impulsive, others are level-headed and shy. As for the term *different*, each person's pattern of typical ways of acting, thinking and feeling set them apart from others.

Ata is either one's biological father or a surrogate father who has come to occupy the position of a benefactor in the life of an individual. In the context of this discussion, Ata Igala, in the words of Usman (2014:39), refers to the Igala monarch who resides at Idah, the headquarters of Igalaland. To all Igala speakers, the Ata is not just a ruler but The Father of the Igala nation who mediates between his people and the ancestors, on the one hand, and the government of the day across the three tiers – local, state and federal, on the other hand.

In order to sustain the divine personality of the Ata Igala, the Igala traditional institution came up with some taboos around the number one citizen of the Igala nation:

1. It is a taboo to touch or have a handshake with the Ata. Though this is a taboo that he violates when he shakes the hands of some highly-placed government functionaries who pay him special visits or at special occasions.
2. Only the initiated could handle or touch any of his personal insignia.
3. The Ata is not supposed to spend a night in another person's house.
4. The Ata should not travel in a boat.
5. He is not supposed to touch the round barefooted.
6. He should not pick any object from the ground. If it becomes imperative for him to take anything on the ground, one of his aides should do that for him.
7. No one, not duly permitted by tradition, should sit on his chair, mat or bed.
8. He is not expected to look at a corpse or at individuals suffering from a disease such as leprosy.
9. He should not remove his cap while in public.
10. The Ata is not expected to display such human foibles like eating, drinking or sleeping in public. If he is involved in any of these *weaknesses*, his servants would tell the people around that 'the Ata is busy', 'he is inside the house' or 'he has gone within' (Okwoli, 1973:65-66).
11. As a divine being, the Ata is not expected to display any of the day-to-day human emotions such as smiles, anger or grief. If he is overcome by any of these, while in public, two large fans (*Utowo obijimu*) are used by his two aides to conceal his countenance from the view of those around him.

It is strongly believed by the average Igala that the Ata has the power to ensure bumper agricultural harvest for his people just as he could also contain diseases such as leprosy, measles, small pox and whopping cough that invade his land. During the reign of Ata Obaje Ocheje in the 1950s, a horde of locusts invaded Igalaland causing minimal damage to crops planted in that year. Shortly, thereafter, the Ata declared at a council meeting with his lieutenants that he used his supernatural power to expel the invading insects from his land (Okwoli, 1973:66). It is strongly believed by the Igala

that it was Ata Ame Oboni's (1945-1956) curses that led to the extinction of some wild animals that attacked flocks of domestic animals from his land. He also used his tongue to cause the extinction of *ikpelikpe* (jiggers) that attacked the feet of his subjects from Igalaland (Etu, 1993:42). The praise-names for the Ata Igala given below speak volumes of the feeling of awe which the Igala individual has for the Ata and the sense of dignity, nay divinity, with which the bearer conducts himself. He is: *Ata Ochamachaala* (Ata the 'Ultimate Being'); *Ata ki che alu ki I ka, kiche abale ya de* ('Ata says whatever he likes and his words come to pass').

Let us, at this juncture, mention three things that are exclusive to the Ata Igala as the potentate of Igalaland. In the first instance, the title *Ata Igala* is borne by whoever occupies the coveted seat of the paramount ruler of the Igala nation. No traditional ruler in Igala land is so called or so addressed. Furthermore, the *Agaba Idu* mode of address is also exclusively reserved for the Ata as no traditional ruler – first class or of other ranks – is greeted with that formular. He is *above all the traditional rulers in his Ataate. It is wrong to think or say that he is first among equals because he has no equal among other title holders in Igalaland!* *Agaba idu* means the strong lion, the leader, that kills a game and leaves it for the weak, old lions and lionesses to feed on. The epithet is symbolic of the nature of the Ata's position and power (Etu, 1993:74). Finally, of all the traditional rulers in Igalaland, only the Ata possesses and wears the *Eju beju ailo* mask that is worn by the Ata Igala particularly for special outings. *Eju beju ailo* derives from the Igala expression: *Eju kia beju ailo*: 'The eye or face that scares or creates fear in other eyes or faces'. It means that the shiny and superhuman face of the Atah, in the mind of the average Igala person, is not the same as the face of the ordinary Igala man. The Ata's face is extraordinary, awesome and this is rooted in the belief that the Ata or wearer, in this instance, is a supernatural being (Miachi, 2012:119-120).

### **Literature Review**

Boston (1968:199-203, 233-235) has, from a purely anthropological perspective, treated some of the epithets of the Ata Igala in his *The Igala Kingdom*. Etu (1993:73-74) has, in looking at the life and times of Ata Ame Oboni, noted some of the praise-names of the indefatigable Ata that held sway in Igalaland between 1945 and 1956. Kafin Hausa (1997:99-112) has, in his *Kirarin Sarakuna da na Garuruwa* ('Epithets of some chiefs and human settlements [in Hausaland]') noted that musicians use a lot of epithets to popularize the names of chiefs and human settlements in Hausaland. Mode (2004) says that a lot of epithets, seasoned with lots of simile, personification, hyperbole and other figures of speech, are employed to praise some towns in Jigawa, Kaduna, Kano, Katsina, Kebbi, Sokoto and Zamfara States in Northern Nigeria. In yet another write-up, Mode (2005:103-117) has noted that places like Malumfashi (Katsina State) and Aliero (Kebbi State), among other places in Hausaland, have epithets specifically invented for them on account of the agricultural products that they produce in abundance on annual basis. Ahmad, Kofoworola and Nasir (2015:163-177) have noted that out of several characters in Ike's *The Potter's Wheel*, four are noted to bear epithets, namely: Mama Obu, Mama

Oti, Mazi Lazarus, Obu's father, and Madu who gets *Ono nikpo egbu agu*: 'One who could destroy leopards with ease' from Mazi Lazarus. Ahmad (forthcoming) is of the view that of the 113 names borne by Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardaunan Sokoto, 38 are epithets. Scholars, particularly of Igala extraction (see Egbunu, 2014:90-103 and Oyibo, 2014:131-147 as instances) have, in recent times, begun discussions on Igala onomastics. We are out to complement such efforts just as we wish to fill in a yawning gap with respect to talks on epithets of the Ata Igala specifically from a linguistic perspective as we are out to do.

### **Installation of a New Ata Igala**

Ceremonies marking the installation of a new Ata Igala give the incoming monarch of the Igala opportunity to choose his *Odu ukpahiu*. Upon the demise of an incumbent Ata, the *Atebo* or Chief Priest of the Ancestral Shrine at Idah offers some sacrifices to the gods and moves into the Ata's room to wear some of the attires belonging to the dead monarch so as to prove to the people that the Ata is not dead. Thereafter, an announcement is made that *Ata mu ch'olu* ('The Ata has gone asleep').

The Achadu and other kingmakers are formally informed of the passage of the Ata and mandated to choose a successor to the late leader. The most suitable choice from any of the ruling houses is asked to move to Idah and spend nine days in the Achadu's court. While there, the most senior wife of the *Achadu*, called *Iye-Okpo*, pierces the incoming Ata's ears so that he starts wearing *ileli* or ear-rings while on the throne. At that stage, he graduates from being a mere member of the large royal family to be christened as *Aidokanya*, 'The Ata-Elect' and greeted as *Toodo*.

As the funeral ceremonies of the dead Ata proceeds at *Ojaina*, the Royal Burial Cemetery at *Ofukolo*, Idah, the *Aidokanya* stays at *Igalogba* with the Achadu during which he is: (a) taught the basics of his responsibilities when he becomes the Ata Igala; (b) the do's and don'ts that he should observe while on the throne; and (c) to pound cooked yam for the Achadu, the figurative husband of the Ata.

The *Aidokanya* later moves to *Ojaina* during which he stays with the *Egwuola* for another nine days. While there, he is shown the burial ground of his predecessor Atas as he is also made to choose the red cloth that would be used to cover the staves or *Okwute* of his immediate past predecessor. He continues to commune with his ancestral spirits and on the ninth day he is given the *oka* or wrist beads of office and a large gown.

The stage is now set for giving birth to the new Ata. The *Aidokanya* leaves *Ojaina*, moves to *Ofukolo* where he is reborn by *Onede*, an Igalamela Chief with the *Onubiogbo* acting as the Father. Therefore, the crowd there bellows *Ogayelo-o-o* and dane guns are fired to announce the *birth of a new Ata Igala*. *Okakachi* and *Odechi* are played to welcome the new Ata Igala to his throne. Henceforth, he drops the *Aidokanya* title and becomes the Ata Igala and he is greeted *Agaba-idu*. To assume full authority as the Ata Igala, the new monarch of the Igala nation is given sandals, aprons, waistcloths, bronze-anklets, girdles and loin-clothes. He, in addition, gets the *Okpa* Ata, the royal scepter, the *ikebe*, the crown and the *Ejubeju ailo*, the brass pectoral mask.

After his investiture with the paraphernalia of office, he takes a ride on a beautifully dressed horse to the *Opu Ata*, the Ata's Palace, at Idah. While on the throne of his ancestors, *Ojede Ayegba*, his subjects and chiefs, *Ama akwoka*, pay him homage. It is at that stage that he announces his epithets or names of praise, invokes his blessings on the land, he goes back into the royal court while the celebrations continue with lots of merriments and jubilations (Egbunu, 2001:68-70).

### **Epithets of Past Ata Igala**

The incumbent Ata is quite free to borrow the *Odu ukpahiu* of some previous Ata Igala and incorporates such into the ones he has taken or come up with. The *Agaba-idu* greeting formular offered by the Igala males and the *Ata Amideju, mi deju, amilekwu, mi lekwu*. ('If the Ata wants me to remain alive so be it, and if he asks that my life be taken so shall it come to pass') greetings made by females to any sitting Ata Igala is said to date back to the reign of the Ata Ayegba Oma Idoko. The incumbent Ata Igala, Idakwo Michael is not just Ata Ame Oboni Ekeji ('Ame Oboni II – an indication that he is a reincarnation of his father, the legendary Ata Ame Umoru Oboni) but he went ahead to adopt one of his father's *Odu ukpahiu: Una jo kerebo omi, I mu owo ka* ('Water is the natural agent for containing fire', 'Ata, The all-powerful that cannot be overcome or contained by any mortal').

### **To Extol the Personal Quality of the Bearer**

Some of the epithets of the Ata came into being to extol the personal quality of the bearers. Ata Idoko Adegbe, for instance, had *Adegbe ki ma railo ejo* ('Adegbe that is not frightened by a [big] snake') as one of his praise-names. This is probably a reference to the fact that he was a snake charmer or that he found joy in keeping snakes around him. Ata Akogwu, known for his conquests, earned the epithet of: "the spreading *irereku* grass that takes over other people's dwellings". For his administrative acumen and steadfastness, Ata Ohiemi Ocholi is nicknamed: Ohiemi Ocholi, *ebije ki ma je bu* – "Ohiemi Ocholi, iron of the finest grade that never rusts" (Ukwedeh, 2003:155).

### **Borrowing from Non-Igala Sources**

Some of the epithets of the Ata Igala were taken from non-Igala sources. One of the ancillary greeting formulars of the Ata Igala is *Jachi* (from the Hausa *Zaki*, a lion). He is also Ata *Olichia-Oke Negbulu*, 'Ata, the very High Being' – *Orisa Oke*, means 'The High God in Yoruba (Miachi, 2012:118). Boston (1968:194) argues that when written as *Olisa*, the term means 'God' among the Bini of present Edo State, Nigeria. Ata Ocheje has an epithet that says:

Ocheje, *idu okakpuru onya,*  
*Una ki ma li egbe n ki*  
*Mu ane du jo*  
(‘Ocheje, [the] lion that roars an  
unanswerable challenge, fire that  
saw no grass to burn and burnt  
the grass instead’).

It should be noted that *Idu Okakpuru onya* in the epithet is an Ebira [Koto] phrase. Apart from the tremendous political influence which the *Ataate* wielded over the Idoma to the east of the pre-19<sup>th</sup> century Igala kingdom, the Ata Igala of that era coined some of their *Odu ukpahiu* from the Idoma language “possibly to bring home to the Idoma that they were still powerful and that the obvious implication of any revolt would be a punitive expedition against the relevant Idoma Chieflet” (Ukwedeh, 2003:193). Ata Ame Aga took the Idoma power name of *Okojokwu*: ‘The strong-necked who is able to carry the heavy burden of his office’. Ata Ocheje Onokpa, on his own part, is:

*El’oje t’ola j’oje abong*: ([An] iron put in the fire with the hand cannot be removed with bare hands’) (Ukwedeh, 2003:193).

### **Conclusion**

The Ata Igala, down the ages, adopts or uses epithets that remind whoever comes across the Igala monarch at Idah that one is dealing with or is at the presence of an awe-inspiring, divine entity – an individual who has the power of life and death over his immediate subjects. His epithets, particularly *Agaba-Idu*, portrays the territorial influence of the old Igala *Ataate*. We have hinted at the tremendous influence which the Ata Igala exercised on the Idoma kingdom before the coming into being of the present Och’Idoma kingship. It is therefore not surprising that the Och’Idoma is greeted, like the Ata Igala, as *Agaba-Idu* (Abdullahi, 2006:63-64). The paramount ruler of Koton-Karfe, rulers of Umaisha and Alago in Nassarawa State and the Aku Uka of Wukari, Taraba State, have all adopted the *Agaba-Idu* greeting formular (Hussaini, 1991/2006, 2009:47, 54, 56, 101, 103 and Aruwa, 2012:142-143). This indicates the influence which the Ata Igala exercises over non-Igala speaking rulers in our time.

There is no gainsaying the fact that *Agaba-Idu* is the arrowhead of the Ata’s epithets and his greeting formulars. It is on that note that we end this piece with a poem of similar title by John Usman. It goes:

The father of all fathers  
The eyes that frighten eyes  
The aggressive lion  
Whose roar lends the forest coloration  
One father, one course,  
One destiny, ‘*Gabaidu*’  
The coronated legendary  
Crown of crowns  
Of divine sacred purpose  
Harmonious stigma of lily  
Noble peageon apple of peace  
The dazzling arbiter of  
Royal recess  
Thou heroic pillar of  
Providence whose dimensions are

Our heart of pride  
As you are crowned with  
Bracelet petals of golden birds  
In magnificent portrait of  
Ideological legendary  
Lo! Mighty lion  
May your passion be  
That we predestined  
In thy undisputed oak  
Found it where truth  
Emancipates  
What the ears have heard  
And the eyes have seen  
Is no more tales  
But eternal truth  
For you are the sea-salt  
Catering the harbages  
For thou probe them all  
To a stare of royal  
Recognition in their  
Secret fixed eyes  
In your distilled  
Royal Majesty.

(Usman, 1980:27).

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## **Conversational Analysis of Deborah-Adolphus Interaction in ...A Darkling Plain**

**Magnus A. Aniago**

### **Introduction**

One of the challenges of humanity is the establishment of coherent, coordinated and progressive families. The family is the mini society. Everything possible is done to keep the family comfortable. Every member of the family has a role to play in order to make the family happy, comfortable and progressive. When any member of the family dies or fails to play his or her role, the negative effect is easily seen in the family. It becomes even a greater problem when the “Bread Winner” of the family, which in the Igbo context is most often the “father” of the house, dies or is incapacitated. Any of such conditions leads to a shift of roles, adjustments and change of condition.

This is the challenge faced by Deborah, a woman who lost her husband and was left with the task of taking care of their three children. The children are aware of their predicament as Deborah usually reminds them whenever any of them wants to be stubborn. In one of such instances she told Chiemerie, her daughter:

I am not straining myself almost to death because I want to buy a Mercedes car, build a mansion, or realise any of such vaulting ambitions in life but just to see that at least we feed everyday and take care of other daily needs. And I thank God that we have managed to survive in spite of the turbulences of the bygone years.(P.1 & 2)

The above summarises the problems most families face in the Igbo cultural area when the bread winner of the house dies. As usual, the older children understand the challenge more than the younger ones. This is exemplified in the constant quarrel that erupts between Chiemerie and Nkiru. Their disputes signify that they understood less the problems of the family in contradistinction to their senior sister, Mmeso, who took it upon herself to struggle within her capacity to receive higher education so that she would be able to push her family out of poverty lane. Deborah captures Mmeso's strides when she says:

But I make bold to say that you have not Suffered any deprivation as a result of your Father's death ... we feed fairly well at least by the standard of an average Nigerian family. You do not go naked. You are not lacking in basic education. I trained Mmeso up to the university level, and soon she will return from the National Youth service. (P.2)

Mmeso is constantly aware of the situation of her family and is determined to pull the family out of the quagmire of poverty and to reward the mother, as the musician, NicoMbarga, would say, “For the many gifts she has given to me”. Mmeso would like to reward the mother for her “toils” and “labours” that helped to see her through university education. The author of the novel ... *a Darkling Plain* captures

Mmeso's determination and her manly courage when he says in his backpage comment:

...Mmeso embarks on a lifetime journey to redress the vicissitudes of a family life. Midway, something happens that alters the seemingly straight path of fate but she is determined to concentrate in her the whole rebellion of man, the unutterable fury of human nature to swim against the tide of fate, to take fate in her own hands and straighten it to mesh with her own blueprint.

In her own words, Mmeso remarks:

You see mum, each time I sit back to roll back my mind in retrospect, I remember how you toiled day and night to make me what I am today. My heart rises in silent adoration of God Almighty for giving me a mother like you... It is only reasonable and natural that I reciprocate your affectionate cares. It is a promise, mum and God willing I will be alive to fulfill it (P.143).

Mmeso hopes to achieve her dreams if she gets the position of a maintenance engineer in an oil company in Nigeria. Though, Mmeso's dream about the path to life was truncated with her experience in the auto crash that nearly took her life, she nevertheless maintained her desire to reward her mother and push the family out of poverty. The experience Mmeso had in the accident made her to reflect on her original picture of life. She now decided to start helping the mum by considering her interest in marriage. This she did by accepting to marry Patrick.

It is often said that all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. One philosopher would wonder what life might look like without love. In spite of all problems associated with family life, the life of families of all types is still spiced with "love affairs". So it is with Deborah's family. Mmeso had love affairs with Eme the tutor, before accepting Patrick. Deborah has her own with Adolphus. Onyinye and Ben started their own affairs before Onyinye's vaulting ambition ensnared her. For Adolphus, having Deborah to give him a male issue is one of his most ultimate desires in life. For Mmeso, Eme stands above every other thing. For Onyinye, grabbing Patrick can cost her anything, she may not mind

...*a Darkling Plain* is a novel of 199 pages written by Krisagbedo. It was first published in 2006 by Praise House Publishers. It is a work of fiction. The heroine of the 'narrative' is Mmeso who with her siblings Chiemerie and Nkiru lost her father early in life. Deborah, her mother, in her determination to keep the family ongoing, engage in small businesses like sale of akara and oil. From the proceeds of her petty businesses, Deborah is able to take care of her children's education, their feeding, and their clothing. Through her effort, Mmeso became a university graduate and completed her National Youth Service Programme.

Mmeso on her part is determined to make it in life and more especially to reward her mother for all her efforts and care towards her and her siblings. She had in mind to do that, not by any other person's assistance, but by her singular effort. On the other hand, Deborah expects reward from Mmeso more especially through the kind of husband she would marry. Disagreement came in between Deborah and

Mmeso when Mmeso rejected Patrick that came to marry her in preference to Eme, a secondary school tutor. Patrick is wealthy and rich while Emestill manages his “average resources” in acquiring higher education. In the midst of this “inferno”, Adolphus comes into Deborah’s life. Adolphus uses this disagreement between mother and daughter as a bait to draw nearer into Deborah’s life. Adolph would use the opportunity to help Deborah prevail on Mmeso to marry Patrick get closer to Deborah. It is a welcome development that later metamorphosed into involving the pastor of a Pentecostal sect. A fatal accident that nearly claimed Mmeso’s life gave her a rethink that made her decide to marry Patrick to the joy and happiness of Deborah and her two other children.

In... *a Darkling Plain*, one witnesses the incursion of Adolphus in the life of Deborah, the mother of the heroine of the novel who happens to be his concubine. Each time they come together, they normally engage in one conversation or the other. The conversations are not analysed in any literature known to the researcher There is the need to bridge this gap. It is necessary to analyse these conversations to decipher their ingredients and what informed their content. This will enhance the comprehension of the novel. The result will also help, those carrying out literary criticisms and literary appreciation of the novel to arrive at logical truth.

#### **Method of Data Collection and Analysis**

The content of the novel forms the data for the analysis of the conversations. The most outstanding conversations of Deborah and Adolphus are extracted and discussed through conventional mode of Conversational analysis (CA). Since it is a descriptive research, most of the analyses are based on statements. Harvey Sacks theory of Conversation Analysis (CA) is adopted with slight modifications, as the framework for the analysis. The conversations of Deborah and Adolphus are extracted and subjected to selected Harvey Sacks Conversational Analysis indices in order to ascertain if such discussions conform to the framework.

#### **Literature Review**

The review of literature of this study is mainly based on theoretical and empirical studies of conversations and its analysis. The review appears under the following headings: Theoretical Studies, Empirical Studies and Summary of Literature

#### **Theoretical Studies**

. In his discussion of Speech Act Theories, Ndiribe (2016) says that in speech act, the disciplines of both semantics and pragmatics are explored to bring out logical meanings, or intended meanings. This is because languages often have specific morphemes, intonations and sentence patterns to ask questions, wishes, orders, etc in communication and communicative functions. According to Ndiribe, we need to learn the uses to which utterances are conventionally put in the new language community and how these uses are signaled if we are to use the language in all realistic way. Quoting Yule (1996), Ndiribe states that when a form such as, ‘Did

he...? Are they....? Or Can you...? is used to ask a question, it is known as a direct speech act. He affirms that when a speaker does not know something and asks the hearer for the information, he/she will typically provide a direct speech of the following type 'can you ride a bicycle?'. Williams (1972) in Ndiribe (2016) sees speech act as that which is distinguished by much that is the product of our personality, our temperament or our physical incapacities and by those distortions in our speech which are not part of the system of language. The proponent of the speech Act theory, J.L. Austin was an Oxford Philosopher. Austin proposes that uttering a sentence includes actual doing things like in a wedding ceremony.

In sociolinguistics, according to Nordquist (2017), conversation analysis is the study of the talk produced in ordinary human interactions. Sociologist Harvey Sacks (1935 – 1975) is generally credited with founding the discipline. It is also called talk in interaction and ethno-methodology (<http://www.thoughtco.com>). According to Sydney (2010), at its core, conversation analysis is a set of methods for working with audio and video recordings of talk and social interaction". Conversation Analysis can be discussed in the following sub-headings:

1. Adjacency pair
2. Asymmetry (communication)
3. Broken-Record Response
4. Constructed dialogue
5. Conversation
6. Conversational grounding
7. Conversational implicature and explicature
8. Centralization

The basic structures of Conversation Analysis as enunciated by Sacks, Shegloff, Jefferson and their contemporaries include:

9. Turn-taking organization
10. Adjacency pairs
11. Sequence expansion
12. Preference organization
13. Repair
14. Action formation

In contrast to other theories, especially that propounded by Noam Chomsky which is based on a distinction between competence and performance and dismisses the particulars of actual speech, Conversation Analysis (CA), according to Sacks in Atkinson and Heritage (1984), studies naturally occurring talk and shows that spoken interaction is symmetrically orderly in all its facets. CA focus is on processes involved in social interaction. Its method, following Garfinkel (1967) and Goffman (1983) initiatives, is aimed at determining the methods and resources that the interaction participants use and rely on to produce interaction contributions and make sense of the contributions of others. The CA is neither designed for, nor aimed at examining the production of interaction from a perspective that is external to the

participants own reasoning and understanding about their circumstances and communication. Rather the aim is to model the resources and methods by which those understandings are produced.

In her analysis of conversational implicature propounded by Herbert Paul Grice in 1967, Omekwu (2016) says that conversational implicature is something which is implicit in a conversation, something which is left implicit in actual language use. According to her, the phenomenon is that we seem to be dealing here with a regularity that cannot be captured in a simple semantic or syntactic rule but has to be accounted for in other ways. Blines (1986) posits that in everyday talk, we convey proposition that are not explicit in our utterance but are merely implied by them. Sometimes, we are able to draw such inferences only by referring to conversational principle (Omekwu, 2016).

In her discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis Theory (CDA), OkoUko (2017), states that CDA draws on post-structuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics. It focuses on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed through written and spoken texts. Quoting Dijk (2001), OkoUko says that CDA deals with social issues and power relations in the society. It features such issues as power, dominance, hegemony, ideology, class, gender, race, discrimination, interests, reproduction, institutions, social structure and social order.

### **Empirical Studies**

Scientific observations have often been based on the practical aspects of theoretical framework. According to Kendrick (2017), Naturalistic observation is the engine of discovery that has propelled Conversational Analysis (CA) for over four decades, generating countless insights into the organization of language, action, and interaction, It has led to the identification and description of a multitude of fundamental phenomena and the development of theoretical models firmly grounded on observational data. Cymperz (1996) observes that scholars in a number of fields have in recent years turned to everyday talk as the principal source from which to gain insights into both linguistic and social processes. The move, according to him, is motivated by issues rooted in specific academic traditions and each group school tends to focus on different aspects of verbal signs. Sociologists for example, look to the sequential organization of conversational exchanges to learn how conversations are created and sustained: ultimately to deepen their understanding of participant alignments that constitute social relationships and reflect social order. Linguists on the other hand, mindful of the empirical findings indicating that understanding rests on context bound inferences, and that grammar and semantics cannot alone account for situated meaning, look to everyday talk for evidence of how such inference works.

Kuhlen and Selting(1996) state that recent experimental research by phoneticians and phonologists made major advances in identifying the perceptual cues, that is the shifts in intonation, volume, rhythm, and tempo, that underlie prosodic assessments and in explaining their grammatical functions. Yet at the same time they continue to accept the common Saussurian view that words, phrases, and sentences make up the core of language and that prosody is somehow derivative and can be treated as an

expressive overlay that supplements or modulates the more basic propositional content. As a result, they have encountered problems in relating with other aspects of intonational meaning and attempts to find a resolution have all been unsatisfactory.

Auer, Wells, and Pepper investigated the role of prosody in the organization of conversational turn taking. Peter Auer focuses on the relation between prosodic and syntactic cues for the contextualization of turn construction units and the projection of turn completion. Auer identifies that syntactically logged on material can be presented either as integrated into the prior unit ('camouflaged') or as exposed in a new unit and that the particular kind of integration or exposure serves to contextualize the status of the material as thematic or rhematic information. Auer concludes that prosody and syntax play independent roles in a 'division of labour' for turn taking, and that both are monitored by recipients in order to infer when to come in.

Wells and Pepper analyse the role of prosodic features in turn - taking in Belfast English. They use a combination conversation – analytic technique and impressionistic phonetic observation. Their research reveals that while the function of each cluster of phonetic cues is phonological since it systematically relates to turn delimitation, the dialects use distinct sets of phonetic features for this task. According to Wells and Pepper dialects can differ both in the locus of phonological prominence as well as in the particular cluster of phonetic cues. They found that as loudness and tempo features are often shared across dialects, the greatest differences are in pitch.

Considering the line of demarcation between the tasks of turn – taking and activity constitution, Muller and Local look at conversational objects used to signal different kinds of reciprocity: acknowledgement tokens and news receipts. Muller compares two extracts from Italian radio – talk: one in which acknowledgement tokens are used to signal affiliation and another in which they signal disaffiliation. The result shows that the interpretation of acknowledgement tokens is sensitive both to the tokens sequential placement and to its intonational and rhythmic fit with respect to the acknowledgeable.

John Local makes a detailed phonetic analysis of the change – of – state particle *Oh*. Employing conversation analytic and phonetic techniques, Local shows that the token, which is encountered in a variety of phonetic and prosodic forms and at different locations in conversational talks, can have quite different interactional meanings.

### **Summary of Literature**

The review is mainly on theoretical and empirical studies on Conversational Analysis, Conversational Implicature, Prosody, and Critical Discourse Analysis. Though, there are other theories related to conversation, the researcher concentrates on the above four because of their relevance in utterances, written and oral. They help to explicate the topic of study which is conversational analysis of Deborah/Adolphus interaction.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The study adopts Harvey Sacks theory of Conversation Analysis (CA). According to Sydney (2010), this theory at its core is a set of methods for working with audio and video recordings of talk and social interactions. Its indices include: Turn-taking organization; Adjacent pairs; Sequence expansion; Preference organization; Repair and Action formation, etc. The study adopts this framework with slight adjustment in the application of some of its indices.

### **Data Analysis**

This section on data analysis deals with the analysis of the conversation that took place between Deborah and Adolph in *...a Darkling Plain*. Adolph's initial conversation with Deborah took place in Deborah's bedroom where action was combined with words. In the bedroom, Adolph was persuading Deborah for an amorous relationship as the culmination of their love affairs. Adolph was very desperate but Deborah was not ready. Adolph applied some force and was struggling with Deborah to strip her. In their argument over the love affair, Adolph applied persuasive principle both in his words and action in trying to woo Deborah. In their arguments, they employed the principle of 'turn – taking organization. According to this principle, the participants in a conversation are expected to issue their utterances in allocated turns. Adolph and Deborah were taking their turns in their dialogue. This format is also taken in almost all their conversations in the entire novel. According to Sacks, Scheglot&Jefforson (1974), the turn taking system consists of two distinct components: allocation mechanism which is responsible for distributing a turn (in any case), and the lexical components that parties utilize in filling that turn while remaining sequentially implicit in order to deal with the contingency of conversations that forces turn taking to happen. Also, at play is action formation: Action formation focuses on the description of the practices by which turns at talk are composed and positioned. When Deborah, for instance, was obsessed by the desire for Mmeso to marry Patrick, Adolph capitalised on that need and directed his words in such a way as to fill the gap and elicit the response of closeness from Deborah. It worked out because the conversations offered him more time to stay with Deborah.

Action formation has major dimensions which include: Action, Structure, and Inter-subjectivity. In 'structure', participants in the conversation must abide by the rules and structures of the conversation. Inter-subjectivity on the other hand, concerns the ways in which the participants' intentions, knowledge, relations, and stances towards the talked – about objects is created, maintained, and negotiated. The meeting between Omeke and Adolphus on the issue of soliciting Omeke's assistance in convincing Deborah to continue her friendship with Adolph is an action outside conversations of Adolphus and Deborah (p.39). Adolph also sought a way of fixing a marriage between Mmeso and Patrick as a gateway into deeper entry into Deborah's life (p.101). In doing that, he followed the action formation which is outside conversation. In his actions and utterances, Adolphus can be likened to Chiwetaluagu of Nollywood fame.

### **Summary of Findings and Conclusion**

The Conversational Analysis of Deborah-Adolphus interaction reveals that they fall into different indices of Conversation Analysis. The major areas of application identified are 'Turn-taking organization' and Action 'formation'. Almost all the conversations of Deborah and Adolphus fall within these two domains

### **Conclusion**

... *a Darkling Plain* is an interesting novel written in a straight forward and "comprehensive language". It is a fiction that mirrors the reality of society. The practical experience of reality makes the reader love to continue reading. The author removes all iota of pretentiousness in the narrative. Things and situations are mentioned as they appear in real life. The philosophical spices infused in the novel makes it unique in extending the frontiers of academic knowledge beyond the domain of literary work. Indirectly, the author portrays the family as the fulcrum in which the wheel of society revolves. Deborah, Omeke, Onyinye belong to different families that played significant roles in the novel. Ben, Eme, and Patrick put in everything to get at families of their choice. Deborah-Adolphus interactions signify love affairs as a venture not limited by age or generation. Indirectly, it also portrays that following and adhering to morality and its practices is not a function of age but of personal values.

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